Theological Seminary Library
Princeton, New Jersey
Donation of the Rev. Dr. Van Rensselaer.

124 - C
5

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.
Princeton, N. J.
Case. Division DS236
Shelf, Section P94
Book, No. V.3:2

CHRONOLOGICAL RETROSPECT,

OR

*MEMOIRS*

OF THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

OF

# MAHOMMEDAN HISTORY,

FROM

THE DEATH OF THE ARABIAN LEGISLATOR,

TO THE ACCESSION OF

*THE EMPEROR AKBAR,*

AND

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MOGHUL EMPIRE

IN

***HINDUSTAUN.***

FROM ORIGINAL PERSIAN AUTHORITIES.

---

*BY MAJOR DAVID PRICE,*

OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE.

---

Per quas——————
Crevêre vires, famâque et imperî,
Porrecta majestas ad ortum
Solis ab Hesperio cubili.
HOR. LIB. IV. OD. 15.

---

*IN THREE VOLUMES.*

---

VOL. III. PART II.

---

LONDON:

SOLD BY J. BOOTH, DUKE STREET, PORTLAND PLACE; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER ROW; AND BLACK, KINGSBURY, PARBURY, AND ALLEN, LEADEN-HALL STREET.

1821.

# CHRONOLOGICAL RETROSPECT

OF THE

## PRINCIPAL EVENTS

OF

# *Mahommedan History, &c.*

## CHAP. X.

A. H. 807. A. D. 1405. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

AS soon as it was consistent with prudence to divulge the important secret, the Ameirs Shah Melek and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein dispatched, in every direction, to announce to the different branches of the imperial family, the awful and afflicting event which had just taken place; while they omitted no precaution to secure the general tranquillity of the empire from disturbance. At the same time, they proceeded with tristful solemnity to discharge the last sacred duties to the remains of their departed sovereign; which were now conveyed, under the direction of Khaujah Yûssuf, and Ally Koutchin, towards Samarkand. At that metropolis, having received instructions to proceed with the utmost expedition, these persons accordingly arrived on the night of the twenty-second of Shabaun;* and it must be acknowledged that their progress on this occasion exhibited rather the celerity of a forced march, than the solemnity of a funeral procession, since they accomplished a journey of eighty-six farsangs, or about 300 miles in the short space of five days; having left the vicinity of Otraur on the 18th of the month. Shortly after their arrival, they committed their sacred deposit, with the usual ceremonies, to its final repose, in the Gûmbuz, vaulted structure, or mausoleum, long since erected for its reception.

Immediately after the remains of the departed monarch had been conveyed on the road to Samarkand, Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan,† and the Ameirs,

* 22d of February, A. D. 1405.

† The second son of Shah Rokh.

A. H. 807. A. D. 1405. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

and generals on the spot, hastened to put the troops in motion, with the object of carrying into execution the design against the dominions of the Chinese Empire; and having marched, accordingly, to the distance of about one farsang to the eastward of Otraur, they there encamped. But the intelligence of his grandfather's death was no sooner communicated to Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, with the troops at Yassy and Sabraun, than he caused an immediate and general dispersion of the army under his orders; and with one thousand men only, each provided with a spare horse, made the best of his way towards Samarkand, in order to seize that city, and secure the throne for himself. This piece of information necessarily produced a change in the measures of Ibrauhim Sûltan and the Ameirs who commanded in the neighborhood of Otraur; and they resolved without delay to return towards the metropolis, at the same time, forwarding a dispatch to apprize Mirza Khaleil Sùltan, the son of Meiran Shah, of the ambitious projects of his kinsman. Not less obnoxioos, however, to the seductions of ambition than his competitors, this prince had also been prevailed upon by the arguments of Khodadaud ul Hûsseyny, and the other Ameirs of his division, to aspire to the sovereign dignity; and, with equal resolution to assert his claims, like them proceeded immediately towards Samarkand.

On the other hand, when the designs of Khaleil Súltan became known to the Ameirs Shah Melek and Sheikh Nùr-ud-dein, they conveyed repeated messages to explain to that prince and to the chiefs who supported his claims, that, by the dying instructions of their departed sovereign, the throne of Samarkand had been allotted to *Mirza Peir Mahommed* the son of Jahangueir; and that it behoved them to beware how they presumed to set aside that allotment—without, however, producing the slightest effect. The Mirzas Olùgh Beg, and Ibrauhim Sûltan, neither of whom were at this period more than eleven years of age, together with the princes belonging to the family of Teymúr, and the Ameirs Shah Melek and Sheikh Núr-ud-dein, at the same time continued their march; but when they reached the station of Karjek, or Karajek, it was on consultation agreed upon, that Ameir Shah Melek should proceed alone to Samarkand. On his arrival in the neighborhood, that gallant chief, however, found the gates of the metropolis closed against him, by the governor Arghûn Shah; who had been seduced, by the promises of Khaleil Sûltan, to declare for the authority of that prince, against the claims of any other person whatever. Thus, after exerting all his influence, in vain, to prevail upon Arghûn Shah to admit him within the gates of the city, Shah Melek had no other alternative than to return to the princes Olûgh Beg and Ibrauhim, whom he found encamped with the army, on the plains of Allyabad. Nevertheless, it was determined to make still one effort to gain over the governor of Samarkand; and the veteran Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein was now dispatched to try whether his counsels might not yet have the effect of inducing him to recede from his resolution. But Arghûn Shah proved equally inflexible to the persuasions of friendship and to the arguments of reason; and Sheikh Núr-ud-dein, like his precursor, was constrained to rejoin his associates without success.

In the mean time, Rûstum Toghâi Bouga presented himself, from the army of Khaleil Sûltan, to announce that the whole of the Ameirs of that army, and their followers, had solemny renewed their pledge of allegiance to that prince; and that they were on their march immediately for Samarkand. On this intelligence, the princes of the imperial family were advised to throw themselves at all hazards, and without further delay, into that metropolis; while Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and Shah Melek, with the young Mirzas Olûgh Beg and Ibrauhim Sùltan, and most of the cabinet ministers, and officers of the household, of the late sovereign, drew off towards Bokhâra; and reaching the city in the course of the succeeding month of Ramzaun,* there proceeded, with all diligence, to place the walls and towers, and other fortifications, in a competent state of defence. A. H. 807. A. D. 1405. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

It would appear, that when the army at Tanshkent were known to have undertaken the elevation of Mirza Khaleil Sûltan, while his father was yet living, to the imperial dignity, the other shahzâdahs did not hesitate equally to consider that the provisions of Teymûr's will must cease to have effect; and that prince shortly afterwards actually took his departure, from the territory on the Seyhûn, in triumph for Samarkand, the principal inhabitants hastening to join him from all parts of the country. On the banks of the Kouhek river, Arghùn Shah proceeded to present him with the keys of the city and castle of Samarkand, which he entered a short time afterwards; placing the imperial diadem on his brows, on the sixteenth of the month of Ramzaun, of the 807th of the hidjerah.† Disregarding the dictates of his grandfather's will, altogether, he caused the young Mirza Mahommed Jahangueir, the son of the deceased Mahommed Sûltan, and brother's son to the declared successor, Mirza Peir Mahommed, to be seated on the throne of Tcheghatâi; the name of that young prince being exhibited, according to custom, at the head of all letters patent, and decrees of the government. The gates of the treasury were then thrown open, and its contents distributed, with a prodigality which acknowledged neither bounds nor discrimination. Some days were, however, devoted to propitiate the soul of the departed conqueror, by a liberal distribution of food to the distressed and indigent; and the poets and men of genius, who had in any shape recorded the praises of the hero, were, at the same time, most bountifully remunerated, for the exertion of their talents on a subject so abundantly fertile in materials for panegyric.

It is not to be forgotten that, at the period under consideration, the city of Samarkand surpassed all places in the world, in the number of men of science, genius, and literature, as well as of the most skilful proficients in every branch of the arts, who resided within the circumference of its walls; and with regard to all that constitutes wealth and splendor, to specie in gold and silver, jewels of every description, to the most beautiful articles of manufacture in every form and fabric, to all kinds of arms offensive and defensive, and furniture for war in all its departments—to all that was necessary to the support and display of imperial grandeur, this renowned

* March 1405. † 16th of March, 1405.

A. H. 807. A. D. 1405 Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

metropolis is said to have contained within its bosom, far more than the human mind is capable of framing an estimate. Yet, though all this superb inheritance had dropped, as it were, into the lap of Khaleil Sûltan, almost without an exertion, and with the concurrence of every individual in the place, whether civil or military, could not that prince contrive to preserve his power within the territory of Samarkand—much less to extend it over the neighboring provinces—beyond the contracted period of four short and fleeting years. But, he was the slave of an unhappy passion for Shaud Melek, a woman of depraved, intriguing, and artful disposition; and to this infatuated predilection has been entirely ascribed, the early subversion of his authority. He had, as we have already noticed, clandestinely united himself to the object of his passion, some time previous to the death of his illustrious grandsire, and continued his intercourse with her under the perpetual terror of discovery. But the moment he attained to the sovereign authority, on the death of Teymûr, he instantly threw off all restraint, and consigned to the discretion of his mistress, the absolute controul of every concern of his government. Misled by the insidious counsels of this woman, in the first place, he presumed to insult the memory of his imperial grandfather, by causing several of the princesses of his haram, to be forcibly married to men of ignoble birth, and inferior origin; but, what had a tendency infinitely more decisive in hastening the subversion of his power, he was encouraged by her influence to yield to a disposition already too prodigal of expence; and, in the course of a very short time, to dissipate the inestimable produce of the mines of the earth, and of the chambers of the ocean, accumulated in the imperial treasury of Samarkand, among the basest profligates, and the very dregs of society. Hence, the minds of the nobility and principal officers of his court, and of the generality of his subjects, became equally disgusted with the government of the infatuated shahzâdah: the province of Mawur-un-neher soon became a prey to the most violent commotions; and the wretched Khaleil was compelled to seek an asylnm with his uncle Shah Rokh, under whose protection he finally quitted this world and its calamities, in the territory of Rey, as will be briefly noticed hereafter.

We shall now be permitted to direct the attention of our readers to the contemplation of, we trust, a more consoling picture; a system of moderation crowned with success, in the example of a just and prudent prince, promoting his own substantial glory in the welfare of his people, and deservedly blessed with a prosperous and protracted reign of almost half a century.

When the death of Teymûr was announced to Shah Rokh at Herât, that prince, after discharging the tribute of mourning due from filial piety, and to the memory of the illustrious dead, proceeded, with the concurrence of the nobles of his province, to seat himself on the throne of sovereign power. This event took place during the month of Ramzaun, of the year eight hundred and seven;* and the authority of Shah Rokh was immediately acknowledged by every chief throughout the

* March 1405.

three provinces of Khorassaun, Seiestaun, and Mazanderaun; the coinage and public prayers being pronounced and circulated in his name, with unanimous approbation, through each of those important provinces. Thus confirmed in his authority in that part of the empire of his father, Shah Rokh, on whom the oriental writers henceforward generally confer the title of Khâgan-e-Sâeid, *the august Khâgan*, leaving Ameir Mûzraub the son of Jaukou, or Tchaukou, together with the Ameirs Hussun Souffy Terkhan and Alleikah Koukeltaush, to take charge of Khorassaun during his absence, directed his course towards the territory beyond the Oxus. At the station of Derrahzen-gui, however, being met by Seyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, with advices from Samarkand announcing the accession of Khaleil Sûltan, he determined, on consultation with his principal officers, to send Ameir Jullaul-ud-dein Feyrouz, the son of Arghûn Shah, back to Herât, for the purpose of putting the walls and towers of that city in a state of defence; while Seyud Khaujah proceeded, with a similar object in view, towards the ancient city of Touss, in order to repair the fortifications of the castle; and these prudent precautions dispatched, Shah Rokh continued his march for the Oxus.

A. H. 807. A. D. 1405. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Having encamped shortly afterwards near Lungur, the mausoleum, or perhaps anchoring place, of the sheikhzâdah Bayezzid, he was unexpectedly joined by his nephew Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne; who had failed in his designs on Samarkand, and who now sought the protection of his uncle. On the banks of the Oxus, again, he was met by Ameir Shah Melek from Bokhâra, with intelligence that the princes Olûgh Beg and Ibrauhim Sûltan were safely lodged in that city: and much about the same crisis, by the agent of Khaleil Sûltan himself, with many protestations of duty and allegiance from his master, declaring that he had no other object in taking possession of Samarkand, than to retain the government as the lieutenant of his uncle. The sincerity of these professions was so little doubted, that Shah Rokh returned immediately towards Herât; dispatching Shah Melek to bring away the young princes his sons from Bokhâra. On his arrival at Endekhoud, he was destined to receive abundant proof, that the instability of character, and propensity to change, of his kinsman Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, was by no means altered; that prince now forsaking his

A. H. 807. A. D. 1405. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

standard, and flying in quest of some fresh object of ambition. In the mean time, the Ameirs at Bokhâra, obtaining intelligence that Khaleil Sûltan was approaching at the head of a large force from Samarkand, and that he was already encamped on one of the intervening rivers, at no very great distance from Bokhâra, immediately quitted that city in some degree of consternation; and crossing the Amûiah, or lower Oxus, with the two young princes in charge, shortly afterwards conducted them in safety to the camp of their father.

In these circumstances, Shah Rokh conceived it advisable to enter into a negociation with Khaleil Sûltan; and the discreet and loyal Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein was accordingly dispatched, to propose a formal accommodation with that prince. This, after considerable difficulty, was, however, at last accomplished, through the persevering diligence, and indefatigable zeal, of that able and warlike chief; it being finally settled that Khaleil Sûltan should convey a moiety of the treasures of his renowned grandsire, to his declared and acknowledged successor, Mirza Peir Mahommed, and remain satisfied with the sovereign power which he had assumed over Transoxiana. Such, in substance, appears to have been the nature of the stipulations to which Shah Rokh, on his part, now readily acceded; that monarch upon this continuing his march without further delay towards Herât. In the mean time, while he was thus proceeding on his return, Ameir Sûliman Shah, who had been invested by his departed master with the government of Feyrouzkouh, and the adjoining territory of Rûstumdaur, and who had recently fled in dismay from his government, at the approach of the troops of Meiran Shah, embraced the present opportunity of claiming the protection of Shah Rokh; by whom he was left to recover from the fatigues of his flight at Endekhoud and Sheberghaun—the shah reaching his capital of Herât, on the twentieth of Zilkaudah, of the eight hundred and seventh of the hidjerah.*

When he withdrew himself from the protection of Shah Rokh, Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne had, it seems, proceeded immediately across the Jeyhûn, to join the party of Khaleil Sûltan; who admitted him, without hesitation, among the most confidential adherents of his government, and further employed him, in conjunction with several

* 26th of May 1405.

other distinguished commanders, at the head of a division of his troops, higher up on the river just mentioned, in order to watch the motions of Mirza Peir Mahommed; the latter prince having, by this time, quitted Kabûl, and established his authority at Bâlkh. In this situation, yielding again to the suggestions of an ungovernable ambition, over which the ties of gratitude and the sense of obligation appear to have but little influence, Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne did not scruple to put to death the Ameirs Temûr Khaujah the son of Auk Bouga, and Khaujah Yûssuf, two of the most distinguished officers associated in his command, and, after bringing the other Ameirs to concur in his views, to direct his march immediately for Samarkand. On the 8th of Mohurrem of the year eight hundred and eight,* he was, however, met by Khaleil Sûltan at the head of his army, in the neighborhood of Kesh; where, in the battle which ensued, he was easily and ingloriously defeated, in consequence of the treachery, or defection, against which he should have been prepared, of some of the chiefs who had embraced his party. He now fled to the territory of Endekhoud and Sheberghaun, where he experienced a friendly reception from Ameir Sûliman Shah; but being unexpectedly attacked, some time afterwards, by Mirza Peir Mahommed from Bâlkh, he was compelled, together with his friend, to fly to Herât, and once more to claim the protection of Shah Rokh. This terminated the career of Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, who was shortly afterwards put to death by order of his kinsman; Ameir Sûliman Shah having been previously sent off to Touss, through some considerations of state policy. But, whatever these considerations might have been, Ameir Sûliman was no sooner apprized of the death of Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, than openly proceeding to hostilities, he threw himself into the strong fortress of Kulaut; where he prepared to defend himself against the authority of his protector. Shah Rokh, however, hastened without delay to defeat the designs of the revolter; who no sooner discovered that the offended monarch was encamped in his neighborhood, than abandoning his impregnable position, he fled with all his might towards Samarkand. Shah Rokh then returned in triumph to Herât; from whence the young Mirza Olûgh Beg, accompanied by the experienced Shah Melek, was now dispatched

A. H. 808. A. D. 1405. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

* 5th July 1405.

A. H. 808. A. D. 1405. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

to take charge of the government of Endekhoud and Sheberghaun, his royal parent proceeding shortly afterwards himself to pass the spring season at the summer quarters of Baudgheiss.

During the period in which Olûgh Beg and his preceptor Shah Melek were thus employed in conducting the government of Endekhoud, an agent was dispatched by Mirza Peir Mahommed, to request that Shah Melek might be permitted to repair to Balkh ; in order to hold a conference with him, on a subject of material importance to the interests of the parties concerned. In compliance with this request, Shah Melek proceeded immediately to that ancient capital; where an arrangement was concerted, without much difficulty, for an attack upon the dominions of Khaleil Sûltan: and the young Mirza having been easily led to concur in the design, the whole force of the two governments, in this quarter, proceeded shortly afterwards across the Oxus. Khaleil Sûltan, on his side, was not on this occasion deficient in promptitude to oppose the invaders, whom, in an action which took place not far from the station of Nessef, he entirely defeated; Mirza Olûgh Beg, and his preceptor, being compelled to recross the Oxus with disgrace, and Peir Mahommed in no very agreeable plight to return to Balkh. As soon as intelligence of this unlooked for discomfiture was conveyed to Shah Rokh, he hastened at the head of his troops towards the Oxus, in order to repair the disgrace; and being met on his march by Olûgh Beg and his associate, received from them a circumstantial report of the unfortunate issue of their expedition. Not long afterwards, an envoy from Khaleil Sûltan also presented himself, and stated in behalf of his master, that since Mirza Peir Mahommed had crossed the Oxus, and carried hostilities into the territory subject to his authority, he conceived that he had no other alternative than to employ the means in his power to repel the aggression. For the residue, that he was still disposed to abide by the stipulations of the treaty recently concluded with Shah Rokh. To these apologies and explanations the Shah found it most convenient to lend an indulgent ear, and from the station of Aylaur, returned again towards Herât.

In the mean time, offended by the imperious and haughty demeanour of some of the Ameirs of the court of Shah Rokh, the veteran Shah

Melek suddenly withdrew to Bâlkh; and soon afterwards, without the slightest apparent cause, Seyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, who had received the dignity of Ameir-ul-oomra, at the hour of evening prayer, on the 1st day of Zilhudje of the eight hundred and eighth of the hidjerah,* abruptly quitted his residence in the neighborhood of Herât, and proceeded in the direction of Jaum, accompanied by several misguided persons, whom he had prevailed upon to concur in his selfish views of independent ambition. Being, however, the very same night closely pursued by Shah Rokh in person, the insurgents were overtaken in the forenoon of the following day; and becoming terrified by the immediate presence of the monarch, threw themselves without hesitation upon his mercy. After condescending to pardon this offence against his authority, Shah Rokh returned towards Herât, accompanied by Seyud Khaujah and his followers; but on reaching the Pûll-e-salaur, a bridge, or aqueduct in the neighborhood, the Shah, conceiving that he might now venture to proceed into the city leaving the malcontents without, Seyud Khaujah availed himself, without compunction, of the opportunity thus offered to evince the unabated hostility of his designs; and immediately withdrawing towards Touss, proceeded from thence shortly afterwards to Kûlaut, of which important fortress he appears, by some means or other, to have obtained possession.

A.H. 808. A. D. 1406. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

On the twenty third of Zilhudje,† Shah Rokh proceeded from Herât, in quest of his rebellious vassal; whom, on his arrival at Mûsh-hed, he found to have abandoned Kûlaut, retiring from thence towards Asterabad. Thither also Shah Rokh now bent his course in pursuit of him. At Ghuzzelniauje of Jennoushaun, or, more probably perhaps, Khaboushaun, he was joined rather unexpectedly by Ameir Shah Melek from Bâlkh, whom, notwithstanding his recent discontents, he received with distinguished kindness. Prosecuting his march to Semelgaun, Shah Rokh here halted for some days; and at this place he was joined by his nephew Omar, the son of Meiran Shah, who also experienced from him the most generous and hospitable reception.

In order to account for the appearance of shahzâdah Omar, who

* 19th May 1406. † 10th of June.

A. H. 808. A. D. 1406. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

was the second son of Meiran Shah, on this occasion, the narrative must again revert to the period of the death of Teymûr; in consequence of which event, this prince also conceived it not beyond his pretensions to aspire to the sovereign dignity, in opposition to the superior claims of his father, and elder brother Aba Bukker, both then residing at Baghdâd: although he might have urged the most plausible grounds for his pretensions, in the recent nomination by his departed grandsire, particularly, to the government of Azerbâijaun. But, however he might have been impelled, the coinage was immediately struck, the public prayers were pronounced, and all the other functions of royalty conducted in his name, throughout the whole of that interesting and powerful province. At this conjuncture also, for it would seem that the unquiet and turbulent spirits, hitherto kept in subjection by the master mind of Teymûr, were in all quarters turned loose upon the world immediately on the demise of that great conqueror, Ameir Jahaun Shah the son of Tchaukou, led astray by the counsels of ambition, boldly opposed the authority of Mirza Omar, in behalf of himself; and having put many of the principal officers of his court to death, proceeded on the morning of the twenty second of Ramzaun, of the year eight hundred and seven,* to attack the head quarters of the shahzâdah himself. Mirza Omar standing, however, resolutely on his defence, and opposing his household born slaves and domestics to the exertions of the assailants, until gradually supported by the rest of his troops, at last succeeded in repelling this unlooked for violence, Ameir Jahaun Shah saving himself for the moment by a precipitate retreat; but being closely pursued by Omar Tâban, on the part of the shahzâdah, the unfortunate Ameir was overtaken in the course of the same day, and immediately put to death, although, as it is alleged, without the concurrence of the Shahzâdah.

Much about the same time, Mirza Aba Bukker, conceiving a desire to pass the summer at Hamadaun, had dispatched an agent from Baghdâd, to request the permission of Mirza Omar for that purpose. The latter sent to inform him in reply, that it was his anxious wish that his kind brother would without further delay or ceremony repair to visit him; in order that they might in conjunction adopt such mea-

* 22nd March 1405.

sures as were best calculated to promote and secure the general welfare of the country. Deceived by these professions, Aba Bukker attended by about two hundred horse, imprudently proceeded to the court of his brother; by whom hewas immediately seized, and his person confined to the castle of Kehlfah, one of the strongest places in Irâk Ajem. The imprisonment of his eldest son was no sooner made known to Meiran Shah, than, in order to favor his escape, he resolved on marching towards the frontiers of Khorassaun. In the mean time, not long after the perfidious seizure of his brother, Mirza Omar had engaged in hostilities with Ameir Sheikh Ibrauhim, prince of Shirvaun, and was now encamped on the banks of the Kûrr; the Shirvanian having taken post at the head of his troops on the opposite side of the same river. After a few day's confinement, during which, according to the author of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, he defeated an attempt to destroy him, by putting to death the two assassins employed for that purpose by his brother, Mirza Aba Bukker, however, contrived to gain over his guards, together with the governor of the castle; and having thus effected his deliverance proceeded without delay to join his father, at this period arrived at Kalpoush in the territory of Mazanderaun. The father and son then returned together, and shortly afterwards made themselves masters of the citadel of Sûltauniah, together with the family, and much of the property, of Mirza Omar and his followers.

A. H. 808. A. D. 1406. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

As soon as the capture of Sûltauniah became known in the camp of Mirza Omar, the greater part of the troops of that prince, whose fortune was already in the wane, immediately forsook him, and went over to Meiran Shah; leaving their former master to conclude a hasty accommodation with the prince of Shirvaun. Aba Bukker now caused his father to be publicly seated on the throne of Azerbâijaun and Irâk; although, in the sequel, he assumed to himself all the functions of the royal authority, including the honors even of the Khotbah and Sikkah, which might without any great inconvenience have been dispensed with, in favor of a very indulgent parent. After this Aba Bukker proceeded against Tebreiz, which was abandoned at his approach by Shahzàdah Omar, who now sought an asylum with his kinsmen the sons of Omar Sheikh; but hostilities ensuing shortly

A. H. 808. A. D. 1409. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

afterwards between the brothers, he took the final resolution of withdrawing into Khorassaun: and it was in pursuance of this resolution that he joined Shah Rokh at the summer-station of Semelgaun, in the manner just related.

Not long after he had thus given his protection to Mirza Omar, Shah Rokh resumed his march towards Asterabad. At the station of Seiahbelàei,* or the black mischief, not far from that place, he found himself opposed by a very numerous and formidable army, under the malcontent Seyud Khaujah, aided by Peir Padshah, who had been for years maintained in the government of Mazanderaun, by the friendship of Teymûr. A severe action immediately ensued, in which, however, Shah Rokh was finally victorious; Peir Padshah flying into Khaurezm, and Seyud Khaujah in the utmost distress towards the territory of Shirauz. In consequence of this victory the whole of Mazanderaun, together with the districts of Saury and Hazaurjereib, submitted to the authority of Shah Rokh, without further exertion. The government of the province was then conferred upon Mirza Omar, the son of Meiran Shah; after which Shah Rokh returned towards Herât, where he arrived on the 4th of the former Jummaudy, of the eight hundred and ninth of the hidjerah.†

During the month of Ramzaun of the same year, and on the 4th day of that month,‡ according to the statement of the Rouzut-us-suffà, Mirza Peir Mahommed, the son of Jahangueir, was basely assassinated by Peir Ally Tauz, a man whom he had raised from obscurity to the highest dignities under his government. An account of this nefarious transaction was brought to Herât by Mirza Seyud Ahmed Meirek, one of the sons of Omar Sheik, who resided at this period at Sheberghaun; and Shah Rokh, after exhibiting the most unaffected marks of regret and indignation, delayed not to dispatch a sufficient force under the Ameirs Mûzraub, Hussun Souffy Terkhan and Noushirvaun, towards Balkh, to avenge the death of his murdered kinsman. But, at the moment he was about to follow in person to prosecute this object of his just vengeance, he received unexpected intelligence that Mirza Omar, the man whom he had so recently

* According to the Rouzut-us-suffâ, it is Sepahbelaud, but it is not material which.

† 16th of October 1406. ‡ 11th of February 1407.

and generously established in the government of Mazanderaun, had passed the Gûrgan river, and was advancing with rapid strides to invade the province of Khorassaun. His attention was therefore, in the first instance, necessarily required to repel this unprovoked and ungrateful aggression, and he accordingly hastened to meet the invader; whom, on the 9th day of the month of Zilkaudah,* he attacked and finally defeated, in the neighborhood of the town of Yezdûiah. Mirza Omar, although his troops were in other respects totally dispersed, however, with a few followers, effected his escape from the field of battle; but not many days afterwards, on the banks of the Mûrghaub, he was intercepted, and taken, after receiving a wound in the head, by some of the retainers of Ameir Mûzraub; by whom he was conveyed in bonds immediately to the army of Shah Rokh, then on his return towards Herât. Regarding the fate of his misguided kinsman with compassion, Shah Rokh sent him on before towards the capital; but on reaching the Tenghouz-rebaut, a caravanserái in the neighborhood, the unfortunate prince expired of his wound; and his remains were committed to the grave close by the mausoleum of Imaum Fakher-ud-dein Rauzy, on the twentieth of the same month of Zilkaudah.† Shah Rokh re-entered his capital, on this occasion, in the beginning of Zilhudje.‡

A. H. 809. A. D. 1407. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Towards the middle of the same month, Shah Rokh repaired to the summer quarters of Baudgheiss; but, on the nineteenth of Mohurrem of the eight hundred and tenth of the hidjerah,§ resuming his designs against the traitor Peir Ally Tauz, he once more put his troops in motion for Balkh. At the station of Khaujah-doukah, intelligence reached him that Peir Ally had taken to flight; in consequence of which he detached Ameir Seyud Meirek, immediately, in pursuit of the assassin, and advanced without further delay to Balkh. On reaching that ancient capital, the first object of Shah Rokh was to put the adjoining fortress of Hindwaun in a state of repair; after which, appointing the Ameirs Mûzraub and Towukkel Berlas, afresh, to prosecute the operations on foot against Peir Ally Tauz, and his party, and placing the government in the hands of Mirza Keydou, the eldest

* 15th of April, 1407. † 28th of April. ‡ Beginning of May.
§ 25th of June.

A. H. 810. A. D. 1407. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

son of the departed Peir Mahommed, he again returned into Khorassaun, and reached his capital on the 11th of the latter Rebbeia.*

In the mean time, the chiefs employed to crush the designs of Peir Ally Tauz, shortly afterwards, came up with and defeated the party of the traitor; after which they appear to have returned to Balkh. Having re-assembled his scattered force, the rebel now ventured at its head to direct his course towards the same city; but conceived it prudent to retire again, immediately on the approach of Mirza Keydou with the troops of his government. In these circumstances, entering into a consultation together, the followers of Peir Ally came to a resolution that so long as they submitted to be governed by this ungrateful traitor, and to support him in his rash designs against the several branches of the imperial family, they had nothing to look for but an endless succession of fatiguing marches, distress, and hardship; and they proceeded without further ceremony, to strike off his head, which they immediately transmitted to the court of Shah Rokh—thus at once relieving a considerable portion of mankind from the grievous train of oppressions, to which they had for some time been exposed.

Previous to the conclusion of the year, the presence of Shah Rokh was again required in Mazanderaun, in order to oppose the designs of Peir Padshah; who had invaded that country with a body of troops, whom he had raised in Khaurezm for the purpose of reinstating himself in his government. Proceeding by the route of Beshertou, or Meshertou, Jaum, Mûsh-hed, Raudegaun, Jourjan, and Khoujah Kûmber, Shah Rokh received intelligence at the latter place, that Peir Padshah, on the mere report of his approach, had raised the siege of Asterabad, and retired with precipitation towards Rûstumdaur. In consequence of this, the Shah encamped shortly afterwards in the neighborhood of Asterabad, and appears to have restored his authority throughout the province without further difficulty. The government of Mazanderaun was now conferred upon Olûgh Beg, in addition to certain districts in Khorassaun already under his management; and these arrangements dispatched, Shah Rokh proceeded on his return to Herât, where he arrived on the ninth of Zilkaudah, of the year eight hundred and ten.†

* 14th of September. † 5th of April 1408.

A. H. 810.
A. D. 1408.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

The shah was, however, now assailed in his authority, by a formidable combination among his own nobles; at the head of which appeared the Ameir Jahaun Melek, the associate of his earliest years, and whom, on the defection of Seyud Khaujah, he had advanced to the highest dignities of his government. To him were joined Ameir Hussun Jandaur, and his son Yûssuf Khaleil, together with Saadet the son of Teymûr Taush, and many more of the same class; one of their alleged grievances being a moderate contribution levied upon their stipends, for the service of the state, by Gheyauth-ud-dein Salaur the Semnaunian, who held the office of minister of finance. Happily, this rebellion was soon suppressed, and its authors brought to the punishment they deserved; but not before they had been defeated in a conflict near Herât, in which Ameir Mûzraub, one of Shah Rokh's principal generals, was severely wounded.

It will be in the recollection of the reader, that when Teymûr had succeeded in extending his conquests over the Asiatic part of the dominions of the house of Othman, Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd, and Kara Yûssuf the Tûrkomaun, both fled for protection to the court of Melek Faredje Sûltan of Egypt; and that, at a subsequent period, the latter wrote to the conqueror to intimate that the fugitives were at his disposal. To this, as hath been already stated, Teymûr replied, that if the Egyptian was sincere in his professions of amity, he would immediately dispatch Sûltan Ahmed in irons to his presence; but with regard to the Tûrkomaun, from some change of circumstances unexplained, that he might set him at large whenever he thought it convenient. On this, the two royal fugitives were both imprisoned in two separate towers of the castle of Cairo; in which having, nevertheless, contrived to open a correspondence together, after deploring their former animosities, to which alone they ascribed the cruel reverses to which they had been exposed, they entered into mutual engagements, provided it was their good fortune to escape the present danger, to maintain ever afterwards an intercourse of the strictest friendship; and it was, at the same time, expressly stipulated that Baghdâd, with all its dependencies, should belong to Sûltan Ahmed, and Tebreiz to the Tûrkomaun. The death of Teymûr was, however, no sooner announced in Egypt, than the behavior of Melek Faredje,

A. H. 810. A. D. 1408. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

towards the illustrious exiles became totally changed, and he proceeded to treat them with the most liberal proofs of kindness and hospitality. In this, it is further alleged, that he was not without a more selfish motive, expecting to derive from their counsels considerable assistance in suppressing the spirit of disaffection, and discontent, which had about this time made its appearance among the subjects of his government. Nevertheless, observing that the Tûrkomauns hastened, in great numbers, to join the standard of their chief, as soon as he appeared at large, Melek Faredje became shortly afterwards alarmed, lest Kâra Yûssuf might ultimately be impelled to conspire against the authority of his benefactor. This jealousy was soon discovered by the wary Tûrkomaun, and he one day suddenly quitted the territory of the Nile, without giving his protector any intelligence of his design; and having succeeded in cutting his way, at the head of his countrymen, through the Syrian frontier, and making good his retreat through the province of Irâk Arab, he finally took possession without difficulty of the whole province of Diaurbekir.

Finding that the violent departure of his associate had exposed him to similar suspicions on the part of the Egyptian, Sûltan Ahmed, not long afterwards, also contrived, in the disguise of a dervaish, to effect his escape from Cairo; and, after experiencing considerable hardship, finally reached Hellah on the Euphrates in perfect safety. At that place, he was soon joined by a sufficient number of the turbulent and licentious inhabitants of the neighboring districts; which produced so great an alarm in the metropolis of Baghdâd, that Doulut Khoujah Aynauk, who at this period held the government under the authority of Mirza Omar the son of Meiran Shah, immediately abandoned the place in consternation, and withdrew into Azerbâijaun. Seven days afterwards, Sûltan Ahmed entered the city with a few followers, and once more re-established his authority over Arabian Irâk. From thence, towards the close of the eight hundred and eighth of the hidjerah,* while Mirza Aba Bukker the son of Meiran Shah, after the expulsion of his brother, was employed in besieging Isfahaun, and Sheikh Ibrauhim of Shirvaun had taken possession of Tebreiz, Sûltan Ahmed proceeded immediately into Azerbâijaun; and in the

* Spring of 1406.

latter part of Mohurrem of the following year,* he entered the metropolis of Tebreiz without resistance, the prince of Shirvaun having abandoned the place on his approach. Devoting himself, however, as is here alleged, to indulgences, and debaucheries, utterly inconsistent with his age and dignity; and Mirza Aba Bukker, after the reduction of Isfahaun, returning with rapid steps to repossess himself of the capital of his government, the Sûltan gave way to an impression of terror, and again withdrew with precipitation towards Baghdâd. Mirza Aba Bukker appears to have re-entered Tebreiz, on this occasion, on the eighth of the former Rebbeia, of the year just mentioned;† and finding that the city had been nearly depopulated, through the ruinous violence of contending chiefs, he prudently determined, by the revival of a system of moderation and justice, to encourage the return of the dispersed and persecuted inhabitants.

A.H. 810. A. D. 1408. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

At a subsequent period, when these flattering prospects of the re-establishment of a just and prudent government, had in some measure replaced the capital in a state of prosperity, the province of Azerbâijaun was afresh invaded by the warlike and enterprising Kâra Yûssuf; of whose proceedings on the occasion, we cannot, in this place, omit to avail ourselves of the detail furnished in the more ample relation of the Rouzut-us-suffâ.

When, towards the conclusion of the eight hundred and tenth of the hidjerah,‡ Mirza Aba Bukker had been defeated, in several sanguinary conflicts on the banks of the river Araxes, by the warlike Tûrkomaun, the vanquished prince finally fled to Sûltauniah, which remained in possession of the agents of his authority; and here, by collecting together the troops from Hamadaun, Dergûzein, Kazvein, and other neighboring districts, he, in a short time, succeeded in recruiting his army to a state, in point of number and equipment, as powerful and effective as ever. Finding, moreover, that Norouz and Abdurraihman, two chiefs of the Jauny Garbauny tribe, with five thousand followers, who had withdrawn through some discontent or other from the service of his brother Khaleil Sûltan, in Transoxiana,

Rouzut-us-suffa.

* July 1406. † 22nd of August 1406.

‡ Spring of 1408. From what follows we are disposed to think that this date is erroneous, and that it should have been twelve months earlier.

A. H. 810. A. D. 1408. Rouzut-us-suffa.

were about this crisis arrived in the territory of Irâk Ajem, Aba Bukker immediately opened a negociation with these chiefs; and ultimately engaged them, as soon as the season for action should return, to join him in the design of repelling the Tûrkomauns from their usurpations in Azerbâijaun. Early the ensuing spring, accordingly, Aba Bukker, accompanied by his father Meiran Shah, at the head of a numerous and formidable army proceeded towards Tebreiz; and soon afterwards encamped at Meraughah.

Kâra Yûssuf, on the other hand, as soon as he became apprized of the march of the Tcheghatayan princes, hastened to assemble in his presence the nobles of Azerbâijaun, who attached themselves to his authority; and declared to them, with affected humility, that a Tûrkomaun by habit and inclination, he was perfectly satisfied with Allataug, or Allahtauk, for his summer, and the rich vallies of Diaurbekir, for his winter quarters, without aspiring to the pomp of sovereign power which was entirely foreign to his pursuits. Then, to sound their intentions with respect to Aba Bukker, he proceeded to observe, that as the grandson of Teymûr, it was but reasonable to conclude that the ties of gratitude, and the recollection of past benefits, received from him and from his family, should yet retain a powerful influence over their minds in his favor. If therefore, they found themselves in any way disposed to concur in the designs of that young prince, it could not in any shape excite surprise, neither should he conceive the slightest offence at such a circumstance. They were, it was sufficiently obvious, all connected either by the ties of friendship, or consanguinity; and he had no hesitation in recommending that they should immediately proceed to join the prince. For his own part, that he was perfectly reconciled, and should return without the slightest repugnance to that condition, from which he had been originally withdrawn more by a concurrence of events than by any inclination of his own.

With united voice, the Ameirs of Irâk, and Azerbâijaun, loudly remonstrated against this mode of reasoning; protesting that while they had life nothing should induce them to separate from the Tûrkomaun chief. And, as the last proof of their sincerity, they now offered to combat in the very foremost ranks in support of his autho-

rity. With respect to what had been alleged regarding the claims which Mirza Aba Bukker and his brother possessed upon their gratitude, they acknowledged that he had most truly spoken; but that this same Mirza Aba Bukker had expelled his own brother Omar from the government in which, with every circumstance that ought to have given it permanence, he had been established by the choice of his august grandsire. That he had, moreover, cancelled every obligation on their part, by cutting off the prime nobility of the country, and by bestowing the most illustrious and honorable of their women, on the very dregs of the people. From him, therefore, they had nothing to expect but the very worst species of violence and injustice. Neither could they omit to state, that the men whom he had selected for the highest and most important offices of his government, were such as they had never been accustomed to hold in the smallest esteem; being equally unskilled in the art of war, and in the most ordinary maxims of domestic policy. And, in conformity with the opinions thus freely expressed, the nobles of Irâk, including Ameir Bostaum, and his brothers Maussoum and Munsûr, together with Jullaul-ud-dein and his brother Yadgaur Shah, Jauleik, Alleikah, and Peir Ally the head of the tribe of Seldûz, and many others assembled on this occasion, now proceeded to ratify their engagement, of strict and inviolable union with the Tûrkomaun chief, under the most solemn oaths; and Kâra Yûssuf, rejoiced to the last degree at these assurances, no longer delayed his preparations for battle; and encamping shortly afterwards at the station of Shumb-e-Ghazan, he was there successively joined by numerous bodies of armed men from all quarters.

A. H. 810. A. D. 1408. Rouzut-us-suffa.

On the twenty-sixth of Zilkaudah, then, of the eight hundred and tenth of the hidjerah,* the hostile squadrons having approached to a convenient distance for battle, Kâra Yûssuf on his part, from a belief that Aba Bukker with the best of his troops, would attempt to force the centre of his army, declined his proper station; and took post with another division, prepared to convey support, should the designs of the Mirza prove to be such as had been foreseen. The views of Aba Bukker were, however, not directed towards the centre,

* 22nd of April 1408.

A. H. 810. A. D. 1408. Rouzut-us-sufla.

but upon the right wing of his adversary, under the command of Teizek, the Jullaul-ud-dein abovementioned probably, and his brother Yadgaur Shah; whom, at the head of a chosen body of cavalry, he accordingly attacked with his usual gallantry and impetuosity. The attack was sustained at first with equal courage and firmness, and with considerable mutual slaughter; until, compelled at last to give way, Teizek fled in confusion from the field of battle, eagerly pursued by Aba Bukker; and, being soon overtaken, his head was immediately struck off, and presented to that prince, by his soldiers, attached to the point of a lance. But while Aba Bukker was thus incautiously engaged in a distant pursuit, Bostaum and the other Ameirs, who commanded in the left wing of Kâra Yûssuf's troops, availed themselves of his absence to attack the opposite wing of their adversaries; which, either through the cowardice or misconduct of the officers in command, instantly gave way; and the troops of the Jauny Gorbauny tribe, perceiving these proofs of weakness or treason, which seemed to prevail through the army, embraced the first convenient opening to withdraw from the field.

Thus abridged of both its wings, the centre of Aba Bukker's troops was exposed, without support, to the attack of a formidable body of Tûrkomauns, who immediately advanced to assail it. Bàba Hadjy made, however for some time, a brave resistance, at the head of the vanguard; but finding himself hard pressed by superior numbers, and no movement from the main body to sustain him, he was at last compelled, though reluctantly, to retire upon the centre. In the mean time, the Ameirs of Irák in the cause of Kàra Yûssuf, having dispersed every thing in their front, now appeared in the rear of Aba Bukker's centre, where Meiran Shah commanded in person. The whole was immediately thrown into irretrievable confusion, and the troops dispersed in the utmost disorder and consternation. In these appalling circumstances, a slave belonging to Ameir Moussa, an officer in the service of the Tûrkomaun chief, singled out the person of Meiran Shah; and having severely wounded, and dismounted him from his horse, proceeded to strip him of his robes and armour. After which, conceiving that the wound he had inflicted must in all likelihood prove mortal, he, without further consideration than that

of putting a period to his sufferings, struck off the head of that unfortunate prince, and left the body, thus naked on the field, still ignorant of the rank and importance of his illustrious victim. The women belonging to the haram of Mirza Aba Bukker fell into the hands of the Tûrkomaun troops, and being conducted to the presence of Kâra Yûssuf, they were by him treated with the most scrupulous decorum, and immediately lodged among the ladies of his own family. The slave who presented the head of the slaughtered Meiran Shah, to the Tûrkoman chief, was instantly put to death by his orders; and the head and body both decently buried, with the usual ceremonies, at Sûrkhaub. The bones of this unfortunate prince were, however, at a subsequent period taken up, by a person of the name of Shums Ghoury, and conveyed to the territory beyond the Oxus; where they were deposited in the Mausoleum of the family at Kesh.

A. H. 810. A. D. 1408. Rouzut-us-suffa.

About three hours after the defeat and dispersion of the right wing and centre of his army, Mirza Aba Bukker, with about three hundred of his followers, returned from his improvident pursuit of Teizek to the field of battle, and perceiving not a living vestige of those whom he had so recently left in all the pomp and pride of martial array, necessarily directed his course in quest of them; the Tûrkomaun, with singular forbearance, giving orders that not a man should stir in pursuit of him. In truth, the conquerors had possessed themselves of a prodigious booty, among the articles of which we find particularized, one thousand skins of sables, which they ignorantly sold at a price infinitely below the value. All the prisoners who fell into the hands of the Tûrkomauns were, at the same time, set at large, with sufficient means for their support; and Kâra Yûssuf himself, while he nobly abstained from appropriating any thing to his own use, gave to every one of his followers the hope of further bounty. The materials of royalty having, however, thus accumulated in the hands of the Tûrkomauns, to a magnitude beyond all ordinary calculation, their chief resolved at last, with the power, to assume the name and dignity of a great king; and with these designs, Kâra Yûssuf and his victorious squadrons directed their march for the summer quarters of Allahtauk: Ameir Bostaum, in consequence of his distinguished exertions in the

A. H. 810. A. D. 1408. Rouzut-us-suffa.

late battle, being advanced to the most exalted honors under the authority of his patron.

On his arrival at Allahtauk, the warlike Tûrkomaun proceeded to deliberate further with his followers, on the expediency of assuming the honors of the mosque and mint, [Khotbah and sikkah,] being himself disposed to raise his son, Peir Bedauk, to the throne; from which, it is alleged, that he was only prevented by an unwillingness to give offence both at home and abroad. This mode of reasoning does not, however, come exactly home to our comprehension; since we should rather conclude, that the assumption of the royal authority in the person of his son, was less calculated to excite jealousy, than immediately in himself. In the mean time, he dispatched, to the different neighboring powers, messengers conveying, together with intelligence of his victory, some of the most beautiful articles from among the valuable booty taken in the camp of Aba Bukker. To Sûltan Ahmed at Baghdâd, he thought fit, however, on this occasion, to send a person in his most intimate confidence, accompanied by a separate messenger from his son, each charged with letters and suitable presents for that monarch. The agents of both father and son, were received with distinguished honors on their arrival at Baghdâd; and after a reasonable interval, dismissed, loaded with favors, and bearing an adequate return of presents, for their respective lords; the messenger of Peir Bedauk being charged, in particular, with a royal umbrella, and other emblems of sovereign power, together with a letter conceived in terms of peculiar kindness and affection; the Sûltan addressing him afresh by the endearing appellation of "Son," having long since adopted him in that relation, at the period when he entered into his engagements with the Tûrkomaun, during their imprisonment in the castle of Kaherah.

These indications of paternal solicitude from the Sûltan of Baghdâd, in behalf of his son, were received with undisguised satisfaction on the part of Kâra Yûssuf; and the secretaries of his government were immediately instructed to address all ordinances, and letters patent, and official papers under the royal authority, in the following form: "Peir Bedauk Khaun Bahauder *Yerleigheid*, Eben Abû Nasser Yûssuf Bahauder, *souz-o-meiz*." Of the words in italics, we do not

pretend to give the precise signification. Yerleigh is, however, a term well known to signify, a mandate; but of the termination with which it is accompanied, and standing in the order in which it here appears, it is not easy to speak decisively. Had it been placed last in the sentence, it would have clearly implied "you are required." With respect to the phrase, Souz-o-meiz, we must labour under equal uncertainty; but in Richardson, *Souz-o-sauze*, a word of similar sound and construction, is made to signify, "inflamed with passion, love, &c." Does the warlike Tûrkomaun mean to designate himself the "conflagrator and disturber?" However this may have been, on the first occasion that brought the son to the presence of his father, the latter took him by the hand, and seated him immediately on the throne, placing himself on his knees directly at the foot, as prime minister under the authority of his son. At the same time, all those in the service of Kâra Yûssuf, who possessed either father or brother, were immediately enrolled among the stipendiaries of Peir Bedauk Khaun; and wherever there remained a district not already assigned in fee, by the letters patent of the father, the same was now formally tranferred to the exchequer of the son. And it is but justice to observe, continues our author, that this same Peir Bedauk was not less distinguished for the elegance of his person, than for the amiable and benevolent qualities of his mind; and to acknowledge, that for the short period during which he remained to inhabit this frail tenement of earth, so far from exerting himself to the injury of any human being, his whole life was devoted to acts of clemency towards his fellow creatures, to a scrupulous forbearance to aggravate towards others, and to exhibit in himself an example of patient endurance under, the evils of human destiny. If such indeed were the character of this prince, it is not surprising that the report of his accession to power should have diffused universal satifaction; and he accordingly received numerous deputations from the neighboring states to felicitate him on the occasion; and, in particular, from the princes of Guilân, Mazanderaun, the *Kâly* of Georgia, the different independent chiefs of Kûrdestaun, and the rulers of Hussun-Keyfa, and Mardein. Kâra Yûssuf, however, undertook, by a particular communication from himself, to announce to Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd, that

A.H. 810.
A. D. 1408.
Rouzut-us-suffa.

A. H. 810. A. D. 1408. Rouzut us-suffa.

in consequence of his recent acknowledgment of the adoption of Peir Bedauk, and his transmission of the umbrella and other insignia of sovereign power, he had not hesitated, in conformity with such manifest indications of his pleasure, to place his adopted son on the throne of Azerbâijaun; while he should continue on his part, as formerly, to conduct the affairs of the army, the general administration of the government, and to oppose on all sides the hostile attempts of their enemies, whenever occasion should require it. But, without enlarging further on the subject, it would appear that through the exertions of Ameir Bostaum in particular, and of the other native chiefs of the province, for the Tûrkomauns honestly disclaimed all knowledge of that branch of the art of war, which relates to the reduction of fortified places, Kâra Yûssuf, by the capture of Sûltauniah, Derghûzein, and Hamadaun, not long afterwards extended his conquest over the whole of Irâk Ajem.

Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

In the mean time, having abandoned the country altogether, Mirza Aba Bukker made the best of his way, through Yezd, into the province of Kermaun; on his approach towards the capital of which, Sûltan Aweiss the son of Eydekou Berlas, the governor, conceived it his duty to meet the illustrious fugitive at a considerable distance, and to conduct him with every circumstance of respect into the city of the same name. No distant period was, however, suffered to elapse before Aba Bukker began to harbour designs against the government; but Sûltan Aweiss, at the very same crisis, having concerted a plan to seize the person of his guest, proceeded late one evening to carry it into execution, by entirely surrounding the palace which had been assigned for his residence; where he compelled him on the spot to subscribe to an engagement, by which he pledged himself to quit the province immediately, without producing any further disturbance—provided the people of Kermaun abstained from offering any personal violence to himself or his followers. Aba Bukker was accordingly permitted to withdraw into the adjoining province of Seiestaun; where he succeeded in contracting a very close and intimate friendship with Shah Kûtb-ud-dein, the ruler of the province. Unfortunately for the latter, this circumstance did not escape the attention of Shah Rokh, who immediately marched his troops against Ferah;

and, in a short time, became master of the whole of Seiestaun, in addition to the extensive territory already under his authority. Upon this, the unfortunate Aba Bukker was again persuaded to enter Kermaun; where, after sustaining repeated conflicts with Sûltan Aweiss, he was at last killed in a battle with that chieftain, in the neighborhood of the town of Jireft, towards the latter part of the month of Rudjub, of the eight hundred and eleventh of the hidjerah.* A. H. 811. A. D. 1409. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

At the period of Teymûr's death, it becomes now further necessary to recollect that Mirza Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh, held the government of Shirauz, and his brothers Rûstum and Eskunder, those of Isfahaun and Hamadaun respectively. On intelligence of the close of his grandfather's eventful career, however, Peir Mahommed, influenced by the circumstance of his mother Melket Agha having become one of the wives of Shah Rokh, resolved with the advice of his council, to pronounce the Khotbah, and regulate the mint, in the name of that monarch; immediately dispatching into Khorassaun to acquaint him, that both he and his brothers had equally bound themselves to be obedient to his authority. Shah Rokh, on his part, received the communication with reasonable complacency, and dismissed the messengers with abundant proofs of his bounty. Subsequent to this, when it was announced that Omar the son of Meiran Shah had put Ameir Jahaun Shah to death, and imprisoned his brother Aba Bukker, as already related, Mirza Eskunder, at Hamadaun, became alarmed lest these measures of violence should be at last extended to himself; and he accordingly withdrew from Hamadaun, to take the protection of his brother at Shirauz, who received him with fraternal kindness, and conferred upon him the government of Yezd. From this time to the eight hundred and ninth of the hidjerah, the best intelligence subsisted between the brothers; but at that period this auspicious intercourse was wickedly interrupted, through the malevolent exertions of the turbulent and evil disposed: and in consequence of the hostility thus excited, Mirza Peir Mahommed caused the person of Eskunder to be seized, and he was immediately conveyed as a prisoner towards Khorassaun. In the neighborhood

* Beginning of December A. D. 1408.

A. H. 811. A. D. 1409. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

of Tebbes, or Tabess, the prince, however, contrived to break his fetters; and flying immediately to Isfahaun, was there admitted to the kindest hospitality, by his brother Mirza Rûstum. Shortly afterwards, the two brothers proceeded in conjunction towards Shirauz; and having defeated Peir Mahommed, who did not in the least demur to meet and give them battle, they pursued him to the gates of his capital, to which they immediately laid siege. Finding, however, at the expiration of forty days, that they had made but little progress towards the reduction of Shirauz, they employed their troops in the pillage of the neighboring parched and sandy districts, the Gurrumseyers, and then returned to Isfahaun.

In the course of the following year, the eight hundred and tenth of the hidjerah, Mirza Peir Mahommed in his turn, at the head of a very numerous army, proceeded towards Isfahaun; Mirza Rûstum having encamped to oppose him at the station of Kundemaun, or perhaps Gundemaun. In the conflict which ensued the troops of Isfahaun were, however, totally defeated, and Mirza Rûstum, and his brother Eskunder, were now compelled to fly towards Khorassaun. Peir Mahommed then established his son Omar Sheikh in the government of Isfahaun, and returned in triumph to Shirauz. On the other hand, Mirza Rûstum proceeded without interruption into Khorassaun, where he experienced a favorable reception from Shah Rokh, and was honorably provided for in the court of that prince; while his brother Eskunder, less fortunate in his decision, continued his flight towards Sheberghaun and Balkh. His progress was interrupted by some troops dispatched against him by Mirza Keydou, at this period in possession of the government of Balkh; and he was compelled to take the direction of Endekhoud, where he was treated with respect, and suitably accommodated, by Seyud Ahmed Terkhan, then in charge of the place. The Seyud thought it advisable immediately to report his arrival to Shah Rokh, and that prince, with singular good nature, instantly dispatched a person to intercede in behalf of his unfortunate brother, with Peir Mahommed in Farss; at the sametime conveying his instructions to Seyud Ahmed at Endekhoud, not to offer the slightest molestation to Mirza Eskunder, but to permit him to depart whenever he indicated a desire so to do. Relying upon a brother's

compassion, Mirza Eskunder chose the alternative of returning into Farss; and accordingly, about the hour of evening prayer on the 26th of Ramzaun, of the eight hundred and eleventh of the hidjerah,* he entered Shirauz on foot—Peir Mahommed sending for him the very moment he was apprized of his arrival, and bestowing upon him all those marks of kindness that could in any shape contribute to restore his confidence, or console him under the sense of his misfortunes.

A. H. 811. A. D. 1409. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

This was the situation of affairs in Farss when, some time in the course of the year eight hundred and twelve,† accompanied by his reclaimed brother Eskunder, Mirza Peir Mahommed left Shirauz with the design of reducing the province of Kermaun; but on his arrival at the station of Doutchah, the two wells, he there perished from a conspiracy formed against him by Hûsseyne Sherbetdaur, his butler, whom from an humble compounder of medicines, he had raised to the highest dignities of his government: for ambition and treason have been too frequently fellow travellers. In the silence of midnight, the traitor followed by his accomplices, among whom appear to have been included the greater part of the army, entirely surrounded the tent of his benefactor, and most basely put him to death, being at this period in the very flower of his age, his one and thirtieth year. Mirza Eskunder being, however, timely apprized of the fate of his brother, hastened back to Shirauz; where the Ameirs, and principal natives of the province, united to invest him with the royal authority, and with him proceeded to secure the city, and to place the fortifications in a state of defence. When, on the other hand, the traitor Hûsseyne discovered that Eskunder had escaped him, he immediately followed at the head of the army which had espoused his cause, and for one whole day, by repeated attacks on different points, endeavoured to make himself master of the city. Perceiving, however, at nightfal, that the chiefs in his interest evinced a disposition favorable to Mirza Eskunder, the traitor thought it prudent, the very next morning, to make a precipitate retreat towards Kermaun; in the course of which he fell into the hands of Ameir Sedeik, an officer in the service of the late Peir Mahommed, by whom he was immediately secured and conveyed towards Shirauz. At the tomb of Sheikh Saady in the

* 11th of February 1409. † Commencing the 15th of May A. D. 1409.

A. H. 811. A. D. 1409. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

neighborhood of that city, with his beard and mustachios half shaved he was mounted on a sorry bullock, and from thence conducted to the gates of the town, through the streets of which he was for some time paraded in this disgraceful guise; after which he was led to the presence of Mirza Eskunder. To the demand of that prince, as to what motive it was that could have impelled him to become the butcher of his benefactor, the traitor coolly replied that if his conduct towards the deceased had been that of a villain, the result, at least, did not appear with unwelcome advantages to the surviving brother. At this the indignation of the Shahzâdah was excited to such a degree, that he drew his dirk and instantly scooped the right eye of the assassin from the socket; after which the attendants were directed to beat him to death with their maces.

While these events were passing at Shirauz, an insurrection was excited at Isfahaun by Sûltan Miatassem the son of Zeyne-ul-aubbedein, son of Shah Shujia, of the race of Mûzuffer; which rendered the presence of Mirza Eskunder immediately necessary in that quarter. In an action to which he was brought by his antagonist, shortly afterwards, the insurgent was, however, totally defeated; and in his endeavor to escape by flight, was finally overtaken and put to death by a soldier of the successful party, by the side of a river at some distance from the field of battle. Eskunder then returned, more confident from his victory, to Shirauz. Subsequent to this period, Mirza Rûstum, with the concurrence of his uncle Shah Rokh, proceeded to invade the territory of Isfahaun, where he became engaged in repeated conflicts with his brother Eskunder; but being frustrated in all his attempts, he was finally compelled, once more, to fly for safety into Khorassaun; where, in the course of the eight hundred and fourteenth of the hidjerah,* he was again hospitably received at the court of Herât. Thus absolutely master of both Farss and Irâk, Mirza Eskunder now fixed the seat of his government at Isfahaun.

We are now, for the last time, to speak of Sûltan Ahmed Jullâeir of Baghdâd; who, without any very distinguished claims to attention, has been so often brought to the notice of the reader, in his perusal of these pages. Towards the conclusion of the eight hundred

* Commencing 24th of April A. D. 1411.

and twelfth of the hidjerah, when the whole of Azerbâijaun had been finally subjugated to the authority of Kâra Yûssuf, the presence of the latter was required towards the north-western frontier of his dominions, by some hostile indications on the part of his rival Kâra Othmaun, and by the solicitation of Ameir Taherten, the prince of Erzenjaun, to defend him against the aggressions of the same chief. This was an opportunity which Sûltan Ahmed, notwithstanding his engagements, conceived too favorable to his interests to be neglected; and he accordingly took his departure for Azerbâijaun some time in the month of Mohurrim, of the year 813;* and he appeared, not long afterwards, in great force before the metropolis of Tebreiz, which he entered without opposition, and with unusual pomp, on the first day of the former Rebbeia, of the same year.†

A. H. 811-12. A. D. 1409. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

As soon as this unwelcome intelligence reached Kâra Yûssuf at Erzenjaun, only two days after he had taken possession of the place for himself, he summoned a council of his principal officers; with whom he entered into deliberation, as to the measures which he ought to adopt on such an emergency. The result was a determination to proceed to immediate hostilities against the Sûltan, and a solemn pledge on the part of all his Ameirs, to continue faithful in their attachment to the authority of their chief. An order of march was then concerted, by which the whole army were to reach the neighborhood of Tebreiz, in forty menzels, or days journey, according to which the troops were immediately put in motion from Erzenjaun. About the period agreed upon, they arrived on the plains near Shumb-e-Ghâzan, at the distance of two farsangs‡ from Tebreiz; where Sûltan Ahmed was already encamped, with a resolution to give battle. On friday the 28th of the latter Rebbeia,§ the warlike Tûrkomaun drew out his troops for the conflict, and proceeded in battle array towards Shumb-e-Ghâzan; from whence, in equal preparation, the Sûltan advanced to meet him. A most severe and obstinate conflict immediately ensued, in which, however, after dreadful mutual slaughter, victory finally declared for the Tûrkomauns; the troops of the Sûltan being totally defeated, and dispersing in consequence in every direction. Finding himself thus alone on the field of battle, Sûltan Ah-

* May 1410. † 3rd July. ‡ About 7 miles. § 29th of August 1410.

A. H. 811-12.
A. D. 1409-1410.
Rouzut-us-suffa.

med was, at last, constrained to follow the example of his army. He was in his flight soon overtaken by an ordinary Tûrkomaun, who, however, ignorant of his quality, was content with beating him off his horse; and who, after plundering him of his rich armour and apparel, left him to his fate.

Sûltan Ahmed then made for the opening in a garden-wall, intended for the outlet of a water-course, where he seated himself down, in the utmost perturbation of mind, until he could ascertain whether he was pursued by any one. It chanced that an old shoemaker, who had left the city and mounted a walnut tree, in order to view the occurrences of the battle, observing a person thus withdrawing from the field alone, immediately recognized the Sûltan's horse, and was at no great loss to identify his rider. Descending from his post on the tree, he approached the place of the Sûltan's concealment; and calling to him by his royal title, proceeded to condole with him on the deplorable situation to which he found him reduced. The Sûltan admonished him to be silent, and not to add shame to the sorrows which already weighed down his head. After this, he ventured to add that he had yet many zealous friends in Tebreiz; and that as soon as night came, he should enter the town, and from them receive both money and the means of conveyance from the scene of danger. In the mean time, that any assistance which he could render would not be forgotten; and that the moment he returned to Baghdâd, he proposed to settle upon him the lordship of Yakoubiah in perpetual fee. To this he bound himself by a solemn promise; after which the shoemaker returned to his habitation in the city. Unfortunately for Sûltan Ahmed, the man had for his wife an old woman who professed to deal in magic; and her husband had no sooner related to her the circumstances of his interview with the Sûltan, than she affected to apply to the mysteries of her art; which having consulted, she proceeded to observe to her husband, that the distance between Tebreiz and Baghdâd, would cost him many a tedious and wearisome day's journey; neither, from what appeared at present, could such a journey, to any reasonable certainty, be productive of any of those advantages to them, with which he seemed disposed to flatter himself. At the same time, it was not to be supposed but that, as soon as night came, the Sûltan

would be surrounded by a multitude of powerful friends, and that a person in his humble station, would scarcely have a chance of approaching him again. Thus this noble prize would slip through their fingers, and repentance would avail but little to their consolation. She therefore advised her husband to hasten, without a moment's further delay, to the presence of Kâra Yûssuf, to acquaint him with all he knew; and, she doubted not, that the result would be an abundant remuneration for all their disappointments.

A. H. 812-13. A. D. 1409-1410. Rouzut-us-suffa.

In compliance with the suggestions of this hag, the shoemaker repaired to the camp of Kâra Yûssuf; where he found them employed in interrogating the grooms and equerries of the Sûltan, as to the number of horses which their master had brought into the field, the number he had carried off with him, and how many had fallen into the hands of the victors. The shoemaker made his way, without obstacle, to the presence of the Tûrkomaun chief; announced to him, that Sûltan Ahmed lay concealed at no great distance off, and that if it was his pleasure, he would immediately conduct a party to the spot. For a moment, Kâra Yûssuf disbelieved his statement, affirming that the Sûltan must, by that time, have conveyed himself many farsangs on his retreat; but the man persisting in his allegation, and demanding that some proper person might be sent with him in order to take charge of the royal fugitive, his request was at length complied with, and four confidential officers accompanied him accordingly to the spot which he had indicated. The unhappy monarch was immediately dragged from his concealment; and as he was bareheaded and almost naked, they threw upon him a common coarse tunic, and covering his head with a tattered turban, they mounted him behind Beirdy Sheirtchei, one of the party, and in this manner he was conducted to the presence of Kâra Yûssuf. The Tûrkomaun chief arose to meet the Sûltan the moment he came in view; and, having seated him by his side, proceeded to upbraid him, in bitter terms, for the total disregard which he had evinced for the most solemn engagements; in consequence of which it was, he alleged, henceforward impossible to place the smallest reliance on his word. For how repeatedly had he pledged himself upon the sacred volume of the law, and by the mighty name of the most high, to abstain from every design hostile to the

A. H. 812-13.
A. D. 1409-1410.
Rouzut-us-suffa.

Tûrkoman, or the country under his authority, and yet sought every occasion to violate his pledge? He then entered into a recapitulation of all the provocations which he had received at his hands, from the earliest period of their intercourse to the present moment; after which he sternly directed him to quit his seat and take his place among the very lowest of the assembly, even on the spot where they deposited their sandals.

Peir Bedauk now entered the pavilion, immediately seating himself on the throne; on which, the whole of the Ameirs and principal officers called aloud to the Sûltan, that his power was transferred to Peir Bedauk Khaun. A paper was then drawn up in letters of gold, by which, in a few short lines, the province of Azerbâijaun was formally ceded to the same Peir Bedauk Khaun; and to this, whether willing or unwilling, they compelled the Sûltan to affix his signature. They next proceeded to allege as an accusation against the Sûltan, that he had presumed with a superior force to invade the same province of Azerbâijaun, and to wrest it from the hands of Shah Mahommed, another of the sons of Kâra Yûssuf; when it was notorious to the world that it had been conferred upon him by the unanimous concurrence of all the native Ameirs.* As an atonement for this act of alleged usurpation, they therefore now called upon him to make an immediate transfer of his remaining government of Baghdad, to the same Shah Mahommed; and to that effect a second paper was drawn up on the spot, and ratified under his sign manual, by which his lieutenants at Baghdâd, Heit, and Tekreit, were charged to deliver up the keys of those fortresses, and of all his treasures, to Gheyauth-uddein Shah Mahommed; on whom he was made to bestow the appellation of a beloved son, and to whom he acknowledged to have resigned his capital of Baghdâd, with all its dependencies, in full and absolute sovereignty.

When the unfortunate monarch had made a conclusion of these mortifying transfers of power, and had nothing further to concede, Shah Mahommed was invested, on the spot, with the government of Baghdâd, by his father and the Ameirs of his court; the chiefs of the

* This declaration, by the way, implied pretensions, which we should little expect to find advanced by the vassals of a despotic monarchy.

Aweyraut and Arab tribes, and other prisoners taken in the late battle, being immediately set at large, and permitted to accompany their new governor to take possession of his capital. In the mean time, to relieve the Sûltan from any apprehension of personal danger, Kâra Yûssuf proceeded to assure him, that however, in repeated violation of his engagements, he had not scrupled to seek both his life and dominions, yet that he might set his mind at ease; for on his part, he had resolved not to offer the slightest injury to his person. Far different was the language with which the Sûltan was addressed by Bostaum, who sternly upbraided him with having brought destruction upon the family, and butchered the posterity, of Sûltan Aweiss, together with the best part of the nobles of his court. From him, therefore, as they had never hitherto experienced ought but evil, so neither for the future was it reasonable to expect any good at his hands: and they would accordingly take care that Ameir Yûssuf should no longer be the dupe of his artful practices. Then, starting on his feet, he unclasped the scimitar from his waist, and flung it towards Kâra Yûssuf, declaring that the existence of this man had already been the cause of too much mischief; but, that if suffered any longer to breathe upon earth, the evils of which he would be the occasion would be a thousand-fold more destructive, than any thing to which they had hitherto been witness. Common prudence, therefore, as well as the general interests of humanity, demanded that he should immediately be put out of the way. The other Ameirs of Irák concurred, at the same time, in pronouncing that mercy to Sûltan Ahmed would be entirely incompatible with the public safety. The conscientious Tûrkomaun persisted, however, in maintaining that, under God's providence, though a thousand such as Sûltan Ahmed were present in his camp, he should feel but little solicitude as to their attempts; but that, at all events, he had sworn to spare his life, and was resolved not to violate his oath. Ameir Bostaum here rejoined that the blood of many an unhappy and innocent individual had been unjustly shed by this man, and that the hereditary avengers of that blood were in attendance. If, therefore, he had pledged himself on his part not to offer violence to the person of his prisoner, the law of retaliation imperiously demanded that, at least, he should not protect

A.H. 812-813.
A. D. 1409-1410.
Rouzut-us-suffa.

A. H. 812-813.
A. D. 1409-1410.
Rouzut-us-suffa.

him against the vengeance of those whose kindred he had immolated. Kâra Yûssuf was now silent; and Settelmesh, one of the officers present, was instructed by the Ameirs to convey the Sûltan to his quarters, in the college of Kauzy Sheikh Ally. Khaujah Jauffer the Tebrizian, on his knees, then formally accused the Sûltan of having unjustly put his brother to death; which being confirmed by the testimony of Bostaum, the Tûrkomaun chief could no longer resist the pressing importunities of the people of Irâk, and finally consented to the execution of the unfortunate monarch. On which Khaujah Jauffer, with some other persons, proceeded immediately to the residence of Settelmesh; where they strangled the unhappy Sûltan without further ceremony.

On the day following, Bostaum found it expedient, nevertheless, in the name of his brother Ameirs, to represent to the Tûrkomaun, that, although Sûltan Ahmed had been so effectually disposed of, the preceding day, a report had been circulated by the seditious populace that he was still alive; and that it had produced such violent agitation as to threaten some very dangerous commotion. In consequence of this, Bostaum was authorized to adopt any measure he thought fit in order to remove the impression; and the body of the Sûltan, with a coarse black wrapper bound round the head, was, accordingly, for three days, publicly exhibited forinspection, in the above-mentioned college, which finally terminated all discussion on the subject. The body was then buried, with the usual solemnities, in the cemetery of the celebrated Damashk Khaujah; at the very feet of his brother Sûltan Hûsseyne, of whom he had made an early sacrifice to his relentless ambition. Several of the sons of Sûltan Ahmed, who had fallen into the hands of their enemies during the battle and pursuit, shared the fate of their father; and Sûltan Allâ-ud-doulah, who had been for some time a prisoner in one of the castles of the Tûrkomaun, was now put to death by an order from Kâra Yûssuf.

On this subject we shall finally observe, that when intelligence of the death of Sûltan Ahmed was conveyed to Shah Rokh, in Khorassaun, that prince demanded of Abd-ul-Kâder, a distinguished poet who had passed many years under the protection of the Sûltan, whether it had not occurred to him to compose something to the me-

mory of his unfortunate patron. The poet immediately wrote a stanza of four lines, which he conveyed to the Shah, the concluding words of which, "*Kusd-e-Tebreiz*,"—the design upon, or the attempt on Tebreiz—numerically applied, comprised the exact era of his death, A. H. 813.* With respect to Shah Mahommed the son of Kâra Yûssuf, dispatched on this occasion to possess himself of the government of Baghdâd, it may be proper briefly to state, that after a siege of eighteen months, during which the children of Sûltan Ahmed continued to defend it against all his exertions, the Shah finally obtained possession of that metropolis, the sons of the Sûltan having fled the place by water, under cover of a dark night. Soon afterwards, Shah Mahommed became undisputed master of all Arabian Irâk; and having raised a numerous and powerful army, and amassed prodigious wealth, he ultimately assumed the honors of the mosque and mint, and governed for a considerable period in his own name, without even once repairing to do homage to his father; who for his part, appears to have equally abstained from putting him to any further inconvenience on the subject.

A. H. 812-813.
A. D. 1409-1410.
Rouzut us-suffa.

But, to resume the regular course of the history; while at the summer quarters of Baudgheiss, on the fifth of Zilkaudah, of the year eight hundred and eleven,† we find Shah Rokh employed in giving orders for the assembling of his army; in consequence of the reports here successively conveyed to him, of the hostilities which had broke out between his nephew Khaleil Sûltan, and Khodadaud-ul-Hûsseyny; in which the latter prevailing, the grandson of Teymûr was finally compelled to submit to the authority of this subordinate chief. To vindicate the insulted majesty of his family, or more probably to secure the province for himself, Shah Rokh, therefore, on the 21st of the same month of Zilkaudah,‡ put his troops in motion from Baudgheiss; and having crossed the Oxus, about the 6th of the following month of Zilhudje,§ proceeded to Khozaur. Here it was announced to him, that having seized the person of Khaleil Sûltan, the insurgent Khodadaud had betaken himself to flight; on which Shah Rokh

Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

* August September 1410. The turn of the verse runs something in this way:

"Reader wouldst thou know the era of his fate,"
"Kusd-e-Tebreiz exactly marks the date."

† 21st March 1409. ‡ 6th of April. § 21st of April.

A. H. 812-813.
A. D. 1409-1410.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

continued his march, and, on the 20th of the same month, entered the metropolis of Samarkand without opposition.

In the succeeding month of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and twelfth of the hidjerah,* Shah Rokh proceeded in pursuit of Khodaud, towards the frontiers of Moghûlstaun; dispatching Shah Melek with some other commanders in advance, towards the Seyhûn. An event which appears to have been as fortunate, as it was unforeseen, rendered the presence of Shah Rokh, however, no longer necessary in this quarter. The insurgent Khodadaud had, it seems, demanded the assistance of Mahommed Khaun, the monarch of Moghûlstaun; and that prince had dispatched his own brother Shummaa Jahaun, to convey to him the support he required. This latter prince, however, no sooner found himself united with the troops of the insurgent, than he suggested to the Ameirs under his orders, that this same Khodaud-ul-Hûsseyny must have been an utter stranger to every principle of good faith and generosity, before he could so soon have forgotten his multiplied obligations to the most bountiful of masters, the renowned and invincible Teymûr, and thus enter into hostilities against the children of such a benefactor. Nothing further was required to de-determine the fate of Khodadaud. His head was struck off without the smallest compunction, and immediately conveyed to Shah Melek; who returned with it, shortly afterwards, to the camp of Shah Rokh.

The Shah now embraced the opportunity of conferring the government of Ouzkhund, upon his nephew Mirza Meirek Ahmed, perhaps Sidy Ahmed, one of the sons of Omar Sheikh. In the mean time, intelligence was conveyed to him that Mirza Khaleil Sûltan, on the death of Ameir Khodadaud, had succeeded in gaining over his guards; and that he was now busily employed in placing the fortress of Alankouh, or Alankella, in a proper state of defence. Shah Melek was again detached, with instructions to reduce this place; but when he had continued his operations for some days, Mirza Khaleil Sûltan sent out to desire, that a particular post in the hands of the besieging army might be left unguarded; in order that he might be permitted to proceed, without interruption, to the presence of his uncle. This request was immediately complied with; but instead of repairing to

* May and June 1409.

the camp of Shah Rokh, as he affected to propose, the prince proceeded immediately to join Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, who had recently obtained permission to retire to Otraur. On information of this unaccountable perversity of conduct, Shah Rokh conceived that his presence might be requisite in the same quarter; but, an intercourse of messengers having been fortunately established, an accommodation was finally brought about, and confirmed under the most solemn mutual engagements. Shortly afterwards, Mirza Khaleil in person hastened to the presence of his august relative, and experienced a very indulgent and distinguished reception, without, however, any circumstance that could lead to the expectation that he was to be restored to his government.

A. H. 812-813.
A. D. 1409-1410.
Kholausset ul-akhbaur-

Affairs thus favorably arranged, Shah Rokh took his departure for Khorassaun, after having conferred the government of Transoxiana, with the neighboring territory on the Seyhûn, upon his son Olûgh Beg; at the same time bestowing the country of Hessaur-e-Shaudeman upon Mirza Mahommed Jahangueir, the son of his nephew Mahommed Sûltan. Soon after, recrossing the Oxus, he invested Mirza Keydou the son of Mirza Peir Mahommed, with the government of the three provinces of Kandahaur, Kabûl, and Gheznein, transferring the government of Balkh and Tokharestaun, to his second son Abûl Futtah Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan. On the 16th of Shabaun, of the eight hundred and twelfth of the hidjerah,* Shah Rokh reentered, on this occasion, his capital of Herât, without the intervention of any further incident. During the month or Zilkaudah of the same year,† Mirza Khaleil Sûltan, as some compensation for the loss of Samarkand, proceeded by his orders, at the head of ten thousand horse, to attempt the reduction of Irâk Ajem; and he succeeded so far as to take possession of, and, for some time, to establish his authority in the territory of Rey, having received from Shah Rokh a patent for the government of both provinces of Irâk Ajem, and Azerbâijaun, should he prove so fortunate as to conquer them, for himself.

During the eight hundred and thirteenth, and the following year of the hidjerah, the attention of Shah Rokh was considerably engaged in counteracting the designs of that distinguished and gallant veteran,

* 23d of December. 1409. † March, 1410.

A. H. 813-15.
A. D. 1410-1412.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Ameir Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, who had reared the standard of revolt in the territory of Otraur; here stated to have been the seat, and perhaps the patrimony, of his forefathers. This untoward event drew the Shah twice into Mawer-un-neher, in the course of that period. The last time, however, during a conference before the gates of Sovraun, or Sabraun, which he defended against the troops of Shah Rokh, under the orders of his old associate in arms, Ameir Shah Melek, the unfortunate Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein was suddenly dragged from his horse, as he stooped to embrace him, and put to death on the spot, by an officer of the name of Herkedauk; who had received his instructions for that purpose from Shah Melek himself. On the death of Teymûr, we learn from a passage in the Rouzut-us-suffâ, that the illustrious chief, whose career was thus perfidiously terminated, had espoused the princess Tomaun Aga, one of the widows of his departed sovereign. Soon after the period under consideration, the same princess was conveyed, under an injunction from Shah Rokh, by the nephew of Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein from Sabraun to Herât; the town of Gaousûiah, about eleven farsangs from that city, was assigned for her maintenance; and she is stated to have left there many memorials of her bountiful and benevolent character. On his return to Herât, from this last expedition into Transoxiana, the Shah received intelligence of the death of his nephew Khaleil Sûltan, after a few days' illness, at Rey, on the 16th of Rudjub of the eight hundred and fourteenth of the hidjerah.*

During the month of Mohurrem of the year eight hundred and fifteen,† and on his return from the solemnization of the feast of sacrifice of the tenth of Zilhudje, of the preceding year, at the mausoleum of Ally Ruzza at Mûsh-hed, we also find it recorded in the Rouzut-us suffâ, that Shah Rokh was employed at Herât, in giving a splendid reception to the ambassadors of *Dâeiming Khaun*, monarch of Khatâi, or emperor of China. In the discharge of their mission, the objects of which on this occasion appear to have been of a nature purely amicable and conciliatory, they delivered from their sovereign, letters in different languages; which, among other expressions of a complimentary import, conveyed some very strong recom-

* 2d of November, 1411. † April 1412.

mendations in favor of the late Mirza Khaleil Sûltan, and which, whatever might have been their effect at an earlier period, could now no longer be of service. These ambassadors were shortly afterwards honorably dismissed, on their return to China, accompanied by Sheikh Mahommed Bukhshy; on a mission of a corresponding and similar import from Shah Rokh to the Chinese monarch.* A. H. 815-16. A. D. 1412-13. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Ever since the death of his brother Meiran Shah, and the consequent snbjugation of the province of Azerbâijaun by Kâra Yûssuf, Shah Rokh had internally resolved on employing the very first convenient opportunity, to reduce that province with the adjoining territory of Irâk, under his own authority. Such an opportunity appeared to have arrived, during the eight hundred and sixteenth of the hidjerah; and he accordingly quitted Herât, at the head of a numerous and powerful army in order to take advantage of it, on the 18th of Rudjub, of that year—† proceeding towards the north-west, by the route of Neyshapûr, in the neighborhood of which city he encamped shortly afterwards. From thence, he conceived it expedient to transmit a dispatch to Mirza Eskunder, at Isfahaun, requesting that he would, at as a early a period as possible, join him in the territory of Rey, with the troops of Fars and Irâk Ajem; in order that they might proceed together to the expulsion of the Tûrkomauns; after which he continued his march, at leisure, hunting as he proceeded, into Mazanderaun, where he passed the winter. When, however, the dispatches from his uncle were communicated to Mirza Eskunder, that prince, instead of resolving to co-operate cordially in the design against the common enemy of his family, immediately gave way to the suspicion, that something sinister was in contemplation against himself; and, under this impression, returning an insolent and disrespectful reply to the demand which had been conveyed to him, openly declared himself hostile to the authority of the Shah; and, dispatching to all quarters to assemble his troops, proceeded without delay to form an encamp-

* Whether this, or any of the succeeding ones, of which several were dispatched to China from the court of Herât, during the reign of Shah Rokh, was the embassy, of which the translation of a Journal, by Mr. Vansittart of the Bengal Establishment, appeared in one of the English periodical publications some years ago, a comparison of dates will easily determine.

† 13th of October 1413.

A. H. 816-17.
A. D. 1413-14.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

ment near Isfahaun. This refractory behavior on the part of his nephew, necessarily produced a change in the plans of Shah Rokh; the expedition into Azerbâijaun was indefinitely postponed; and his attention immediately directed to check, at their outset, the rash and ambitious projects of his misguided relative.

Having dispatched his son Mirza Bâysungur, at the commencement of the spring, to provide for the tranquillity of Khorassaun, Shah Rokh, on the fourteenth of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and seventeenth of the hidjerah,* quitted his winter quarters in Mazanderaun, and, by the way of Damaghaun, proceeded towards Rey. On his arrival near the castle of Sheheryaur, adjacent to, or not far from that ancient city, several Ameirs who had been employed, on the part of Mirza Eskunder, to take possession of Sawah and lay waste the intervening territory, came over to the camp of Shah Rokh; easily yielding to the persuasion, that having all, either by themselves or their fathers, served in the armies of Teymûr, their allegiance was unquestionably due to his family; but where the claims of the son and grandson were brought into competition, that the former was clearly entitled to the preference. From thence continuing his march, by Sawah, to the gardens of Rûstum, within two farsangs, or about seven miles of Isfahaun, Shah Rokh was joined by other respectable Ameirs, who embraced the opportunity to abandon the cause of Eskunder. Notwithstanding these inauspicious beginnings, the latter did not, however, decline to give battle to the superior force of his uncle, shortly afterwards; and being defeated, and compelled to shut himself up within the walls of Isfahaun, he was there immediately besieged by the victorious troops.

In the mean time, the adherents of Mirza Eskunder, at Shirauz, were seized and imprisoned by the principal inhabitants, who proceeded without delay to proclaim the authority of Shah Rokh; immediately dispatching an agent to announce to that monarch the fortunate revolution that had thus taken place in his favor. The intelligence was calculated to produce peculiar satisfaction at such a crisis; and Lûtfullah Beyaun Temûr, a distinguished officer, was sent express to take charge of the revenues of the province. The siege of Isfahaun

* 4th of April 1414.

was, however, prosecuted with little intermission, and had now continued for a period of nearly two months, every attempt at an accommodation having totally failed; when on the 2d of the former Jummaudy, of the eight hundred and seventeenth of the hidjerah,* the place was attacked by general assault. The conflict was supported, with equal resolution and obstinacy, during the whole of the day; but, on the following night, the troops of Shah Rokh succeeded in escalading the works, and, finally, in obtaining possession of the town, Mirza Eskunder retiring into the castle. But, on learning that one of his principal officers had deserted and gone over to the enemy, he, with some reason, considered his situation as hopeless, and fled the place while yet favored by the darkness of the night; proposing to effect his escape, if possible, into some of the adjoining districts. The unfortunate prince was, however, too closely pursued to attain his object; and being very early overtaken in his flight, he was conducted to the presence of the Shah; who, to all appearance, seemed disposed on his part at least, to treat him with humanity, since he consigned him to the care of his brother Rûstum—conceiving perhaps, that the rigors of his destiny might receive some alleviation from the sympathies of fraternal affection. In this, nevertheless, his calculations appear to have been infinitely wide of the steeling influence of the spirit of ambition, which equally spurns at the ties of nature, and the obligations of private friendship Mirza Rûstum no sooner found him in his power, than he forever closed his views upon all objects of human grandeur, by an immediate application of the searing instrument to the eyes of his unhappy brother.

A. H. 817. A. D. 1414. Kholausset-ul-adhbaur.

Thus master of Isfahaun, Shah Rokh immediately conferred the government of that place, and of the province dependent upon it, on the same Mirza Rûstum the son of Omar Sheikh; who had served him with distinguished valour and fidelity in many of his expeditions, and who continued to rule the country with singular ability and moderation, for the remainder of his life. The government of Hamadaun, together with the fortresses of Verûjerd and Nihawend, and the adjoining province of Lorristaun, was assigned in perpetual jagnir, or fee, to Mirza Baykera; another of the sons of Omar Sheikh, who had in

* 19th of July 1414.

A. H. 817. A. D. 1414. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

the very flower of youth, already displayed the most conspicuous proofs of courage and talent; while that of Rey was generously bestowed upon Mirza Eyjel the son of Meiran Shah, at this period not more than twelve years of age. The territory of Komm was, at the same time, consigned by Shah Rokh to Saud-e-Wokauss, one of the grandsons of his brother Jahaungueir. Having dispatched this arrangement of the affairs of Irâk, and made some considerable sacrifices of property in order to reconcile the inhabitants of Isfahaun to the losses sustained during the recent capture of the city, Shah Rokh left that place for Shirauz; where, on his arrival, he proceeded to diffuse among the inhabitants, afresh, the blessings of a just and beneficent government. He then appointed his own son, Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan, to preside over Farss, on the death of the gallant Ameir Mûzraub; and quitting the metropolis of Shirauz, shortly afterwards, he proceeded by the route of Yezd on his return to Khorassaun; and crossing the desert of Mogheishaun, finally reached his capital of Herât, on the 22d of Rudjub of the eight hundred and seventeenth of the hidjerah.* In the mean time it becomes necessary to observe, that while he was engaged on this occasion, in establishing his authority in Irâk Ajem, misunderstandings and jealousies had unfortunately arisen between Olûgh Beg, and his cousin Mirza Meirek Ahmed; who had been placed by Shah Rokh, as formerly noticed, in the government of Ouzkhund, towards the northern extremity of Ferghaunah. These jealousies finally terminated in hostilities, the issue of which proved unfavorable to Meirek Ahmed; who was compelled to fly for protection into Moghûlstaun.

Among the events which took place subsequent to the return of Shah Rokh to his capital, it has been thought sufficient to notice the illness and death of Mirza Eyjel, recently appointed to the government of Rey. The person chosen to succeed him was Mirza Aylengur the son of Aba Bukker, and grandson of Meiran Shah; who was accordingly dispatched, accompanied by a respectable train from Khorassaun, to take possession of his government. Next it may be necessary to relate, that during the period at which he was directing his march towards Isfahaun, Ameir Bostaum, who then resided

* 6th of October 1414.

at his jagueir of Sûltauniah under the authority of Kâra Yûssuf, had embraced the opportunity of conveying his submission to Shah Rokh; in consequence of which, the Tûrkomaun chief some time afterwards indicating a design to attack the fortress of Sûltauniah, Bostaum thought it prudent to abandon his government, and hastened to place himself under the protection of Saud-e-Wokauss, at Komm. With great alleged simplicity, or want of judgment, the latter prince conceived it proper to imprison the fugitive Ameir; only dispatching to announce the circumstance to Shah Rokh. Entirely disapproving of this impolitic step, with which he was made acquainted on the 10th of the former Rebbeia, of the year eight hundred and eighteen,* the Shah transmitted orders that Bostaum should be instantly set at large; at the same time conveying a letter to the imprisoned chief, apologizing, and condoling with him, on the unauthorized harshness of his treatment. So far, however, from yielding the slightest attention to such orders, Saud-e-Wokauss, seduced by the evil counsels of some profligates about his person, immediately went over to join Kâra Yûssuf, the enemy of his family, taking Ameir Bostaum a prisoner in his train; and he was received, with equal kindness and distinction, by the Tûrkomaun.

A.H. 818. A. D. 1415. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Another of the occurrences which marked the crisis under consideration, was the disloyal design of invading the government of Shirauz, into which the gallant Mirza Baykera of Hamadaun was persuaded by the imprudent counsels, and yet unextinguished ambition of his brother Eskunder; who had been permitted to pass his days under his protection, from the period at which he was deprived of the blessing of sight, by Mirza Rûstum. The latter prince receiving, however, intelligence of the design and march of the brothers, immediately employed a chosen detachment to way-lay them; and the troops thus dispatched falling in with those of Mirza Baykera, in the neighborhood of Jerbaudegan, his brother Eskunder again became a prisoner with his enemies, and was immediately conveyed to Isfahaun, where he was placed in safe custody. This misfortune produced considerable indecision in the proceedings of Mirza Baykera, and he remained, for some days, stationary at Kundemaun, the position of

* 19th of May 1415.

A. H. 818. A. D. 1415. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

which we have not hitherto been able to ascertain; but the ardent spirit of conquest again reanimating his bosom, he resumed his march for Shirauz. In the mean time, fully apprized of his intentions, Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan, at the head of a numerous and well appointed army, was advancing from that city to oppose him, and at the station of Beyza, perhaps Obedah, the two kinsmen came to a battle; Mirza Baykera, with the small body of troops under his standard, the greater part without defensive armour of any description, preparing for the conflict, with all the precision of maturer discipline, and more powerful resources. At the first onset, Ibrauhim Sûltan completely drove before him the right and left wings of his adversary; but Ameir Jullaul-ud-dein Abû Sâeid, who commanded the right wing of Mirza Baykera, hastening to the support of his prince in the centre, instead of quitting the field of battle with the fugitives, Baykera, with admirable promptitude and intrepidity of mind, immediately determined in conjunction with Abû Sâeid, to make a desperate push against the main body of the troops of Shirauz, and succeeded to the utmost of his expectations. Ibrauhim Sûltan was unable to withstand the fury of this onset, and, retiring from the field, made the best of his way towards Aberkouh; whither he had already had the precaution to dispatch his mother, together with the most valuable of his effects, from Shirauz. In consequence of his victory, Mirza Baykera entered that city, the metropolis of Sûliman as it is frequently denominated by the Orientals, without further opposition, towards the latter end of the former Rebbeia, of the eight hundred and eighteenth of the hidjerah.* In the mean time, Mirza Rûstum at Isfahaun, had taken care to dispatch the unfortunate cause of these evils, his brother Eskunder, to explore the regions of another world.

When, on the other hand, intelligence of these unlooked for changes was received at the court of Shah Rokh, that monarch proceeded without delay to deliberate, with his ministers, on the measures to be pursued for the speedy re-establishment of his authority; and having soon assembled a very powerful army for that purpose, he took his departure for Shirauz, by the apparently circuitous route of

* Beginning of June 1415.

Jaum, Bestaum, Rey, Komm, Kashaun, and Isfahaun, on the 17th of the latter Jummaudy, of the same year;* Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan having been already sent in advance with a respectable force, in the hope of being able to reduce his revolted kinsman to his duty. In the course of the march a dispatch from Olûgh Beg at Samarkand, announced the death of Mahommed Khaun, monarch of Moghûlstaun, and the accession of Nekhsh-e-jahaun, grandson of Khezzer Khoujah Oghlan, to the throne of Moghûl Tartary. To proceed, however, with the narrative, Mirza Baykera, rejecting all thoughts of accommodation, had shut himself up in Shirauz, in the belief that Shah Rokh was not in person with his army; but when, in consequence of a communication from Mirza Ibrauhim, that monarch appeared himself in the neighborhood, Mirza Baykera could no longer affect to doubt the circumstance, and immediately gave himself up to the most discouraging apprehensions. Under more favorable circumstances having, however, cultivated a very intimate friendship with Mirza Baysungur, one of the sons of the Shah, he conceived the expedient of employing his faithful dependent Abû Sâeid, recently mentioned, to endeavor to persuade that young prince to become his mediator for pardon with his father. Mirza Baysungur experienced no difficulty in introducing Abû Sàeid to the presence of his father, to whom he communicated, without reserve, the object of his visit. The agent was very favorably received by Shah Rokh, who evinced afresh the natural clemency of his disposition, by readily yielding to the intercession of his son, in behalf of his revolted kinsman; whose guilt he then promised to consign to oblivion. Returning immediately to Shirauz, Ameir Abû Sàeid communicated without delay to Mirza Baykera, the encouraging result of his mission; and on sunday evening, accordingly, of the 5th of Ramzaun,† the latter prince hastened from the city, to present himself to his uncle; who, so far faithful to his engagement, forbore to offer the slightest injury to the person of the shahzâdah. But to guard against any future attempts of his ambition, he dispatched him in the custody of those in

A. H. 818.
A. D. 1415.
Kholausset ul-akhbaur-

* 23rd of August 1415. Our immortal Harry V. landed in France on the 1st of August of the same year.

† 8th of November 1415.

A. H. 818 19. A. D. 1415-16. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

whom he could safely confide to Kandahaur; where he was destined to remain under the supervision of Mirza Keydou the son of Peir Mahommed Jahangueir.

Shah Rokh continued at Shirauz for the remaining part of the month of Ramzaun; restoring the government of that city, and the province of Farss, to his son Ibrauhim Sûltan. At the same time, he conceived it prudent to consign the territory and cities of Komm, Kashaun, Rey, and Rûstumdaur,to the boundaries of Guilân, to the able management of the veteran Eliauss, or Elias Khaujah—probably as the best qualified to resist the encroachments of Kâra Yûssuf, and the Tûrkomauns. Having then made a short excursion to Kauzerûn, at the foot of the mountains, in order to visit the tomb of Sûltan Sheikh Abû Ishauk,and of other celebrated Peirs in that district, the Shah finally quitted Shirauz, directing his march towards Kermaun, with the design of reducing the whole of that province under his authority. But on reaching Seirjaun, Seyud Shums-ud-dein Ally the Bemmian repaired to his presence, in behalf of Sûltan Aweiss, the ruler of the country, to implore that, in compassion to the inhabitants, he would continue his march for Khorassaun, without entering the province; and engaging, in that case, by all the means in his power, at a proper period, to conduct the Sûltan to do unqualified homage in his presence. In compliance with the intreaties of this Seyud, Shah Rokh, immediately recalled the detachments which had been already sent off towards Jireft, and the Gurrumseyr, and withdrew through the desert, into Khorassaun; returning to Herât in the middle of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and nineteenth of the hidjerah.* We cannot here omit to observe, from the Rouzut-us-suffâ, that during the 818th of the hidjerah, Shah Rokh ordered the castle of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, contiguous to the northern wall of Herât and originally erected by Melek Fakher-ud-dein of the race of Guerret, but subsequently demolished by Teymûr, to be entirely rebuilt from the foundations; a labour which, according to some written memorials that escaped the ravages of time, required the exertions of no less than seven hundred thousand workmen to carry to its accomplishment—but for what period is not exactly explained.

* Middle of March 1416.

It was onhis return from Shirauz, on this occasion, that Shah Rokh invested his son Baysungur, with the important office of first minister of his Diwaun—president of the council of state perhaps—which he retained, with equal credit to himself and advantage to the people, during the remainder of his life. Much about the same crisis, Mirza Meirek Ahmed the son of Omar Sheikh, whom we have recently mentioned as having been constrained to retire into Moghûlstaun, in consequence of hostilities with Olûgh Beg, thought it prudent to return and claim the protection of the Shah, who received him with equal kindness and indulgence. Nevertheless, a very short time afterwards, he was detected in concert with Mirza Aylengur, one of the grandsons of Meiran Shah, hatching fresh plots of sedition and hostility, which did not, however, escape the vigilance of his protector. While he was engaged in developing the mazes, and providing against the effects of this plan of treason and ingratitude, Shah Rokh received a dispatch also from Mirza Keydou, at Kandahaur, in which that prince announced a conspiracy against himself on the part of Mirza Baykera, in consequence of which, he had found it expedient to place his person under restraint, until he should receive instructions from Herât, in what manner he was to be further disposed of. In reply to this, Mirza Keydou was desired to convey his turbulent kinsman across the Indus, with permission to proceed to whatever quarter he chose in that direction. With regard to Mirza Meirek Ahmed, and the associate of his designs Mirza Aylengur, the former was significantly advised to make the pilgrimage to Mekkah, and the latter to try the effect of a voyage to sea; and proper persons were employed to take care that they disposed of themselves, precisely in the manner thus indicated to them. At all events, they are described to have departed, never after to be heard of. With respect to Mirza Baykera, Mirza Keydou ventured to deviate from the letter of his instructions, by declining the hazard of dismissing that prince to take his range among the nations on the other side the Indus; on the contrary, when Shah Rokh was on his march towards Kandahaur, during the eight hundred and twentieth of the hidjerah, the captive prince was conveyed, in conformity with subsequent orders, to the royal camp, from whence he was immediately sent towards Samarkand; and of him also we have no further information.

A. H. 819.
A. D. 1416.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

A. H. 819.
A. D. 1416.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

It has been recently observed, that a certain Seyud Shums-ud-dein Bemmi had undertaken, at a particular period, to conduct Sûltan Aweiss of Kermaun, to the presence of Shah Rokh, provided the royal armies should be made to withdraw, without committing further depredations upon the inhabitants. It now appears, that on returning from his interview with the Shah to the capital of Kermaun, the Seyud found, nevertheless, that his influence was not sufficiently strong with the Sûltan, to prevail upon him to accompany him to court; and he was therefore constrained to proceed to Herât alone, in order to report his failure. This, as might have been expected, produced considerable resentment in the mind of Shah Rokh; and the Ameirs Ibrauhim son of Jahaun Shah Berlas, and Hussun Souffy Terkhan, with the governors of Ferah and Seiestaun, at the head of a powerful body of troops, were directed, by that monarch, to proceed immediately to the effectual reduction of Kermaun. Having entered the province accordingly, these chiefs compelled the Sûltan to shut himself up in his capital, in which he was some time afterwards closely invested. When, however, he had sustained a siege of seventy days, Sûltan Aweiss sent a deputation to propose that his besiegers should again withdraw; and, provided their sovereign would promise on his part once more to forgive his disobedience, to engage now most faithfully to convey himself, in a posture the most humble and abject, to do homage of duty in the royal presence. These proposals were transmitted to court, without delay, by the besieging generals; and they were informed, in reply, that if Sûltan Aweiss were truly sincere in his professions, it behoved him immediately to dispatch a person in his confidence to Herât, in order to furnish some pledge for the performance of his engagements—in which case the besieging army might suspend their operations; otherwise they were on no consideration whatever to quit Kermaun, until the capital was actually in their possession. The orders which they had received were punctually made known to Sûltan Aweiss, by the generals of Shah Rokh, and that chief accordingly fixed upon Sheikh Hussun, an officer in his confidence, to proceed to the presence of the Shah as he had been required to do; and the agent thus employed having been admitted to an interview with the monarch, on his arrival at Herât,

experienced but little difficulty in obtaining from him a solemn engagement, on oath, that so far from entertaining any design hostile to the person of the Sûltan, he should treat him with distinguished kindness, whenever he chose to make his appearance. The agent returned immediately into Kermaun; and having faithfully advertised Sûltan Aweiss of all that had occurred during his mission, the latter divested himself of all further apprehension, and repaired to Herât; where, according to our author, he experienced from Shah Rokh, the most abundant proof of the benevolent and bounteous disposition of that monarch. Some months afterwards, it however appears, that he was conducted to pass his days in exile at Samarkand.

A. H. 819-20. A. D. 1417. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

So far back as the beginning of the former Rebbeia,* Shah Behâ-ud-dein Yengui Shah, one of the princes of Buddukhshaun, had arrived at Herât, to complain of the disturbances occasioned in that country, through the refractory and licentious measures pursued by his brothers. In consequence of this it was determined, on the part of Shah Rokh, to confer the government of that inaccessible province upon his son Seyûrghetmesh, at this period about nineteen years of age; and accordingly, towards the close of the same year, the eight hundred and nineteenth of the hidjerah,† he was disspatched, accompanied by the above-mentioned Yengui Shah, to take possession. Towards the end of the latter Rebbeia of the year 820,‡ the author of the Rouzut-us-suffa notices the honorable dismission of a second embassy from Dâeyming Khaun, the emperor of China, with suitable presents for that monarch; after having participated in a sumptuous entertainment given to Olûgh Beg, at this period on a visit at his father's court, from Samarkand; and, on the 10th of the former Jummaudy,§ we find recorded the birth of Allâ-ud-doulah, one of the sons of Mirza Baysungur, who will be frequently mentioned hereafter. On the 10th of Rudjub of the same year,‖ Shah Rokh proceeded from Herât on an expedition towards Kandahaur, destined to the chastisement of the Afghan, and Hazaurah tribes, in that neighborhood. On the 14th of Shabaun,** he encamped on the river Heirmund, and was there joined by his son Seyûrghetmesh, accompanied by the

* May 1416. † January 1417. ‡ Beginning of June 1417.
§ 15th of June 1417. ‖ 22nd of August. ** 25th of September.

A. H. 820. A. D. 1417. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Ameirs Ibrauhim son of Jahaun Shah, and Noushirvaun, from Budukshaun, which he appears to have placed under the authority of the same Yengui Shah already described; and on the 22d of the same month, Shah Rokh arrived in the vicinity of Kandahaur. In the following month of Ramzaun,* a deputation composed of the chief magistrates, and principal inhabitants of Gheznein, appeared to do homage to the authority of the Shah; but soon afterwards, a person from the camp of Mirza Keydou brought intelligence that that prince had suddenly, and unaccountably, withdrawn himself from the same authority. This information was received with an appearance of indifference by Shah Rokh, who merely observed that Keydou had peradventure been seized with some absurd and groundless alarm, without considering it at all necessary to order any one in pursuit of the fugitive. On the 9th of the same month of Ramzaun a second messenger arrived to announce that, neither at Kabûl nor Gheznein, was there left a vestige of or any one belonging to the absconded Mirza; and Ameir Ibrauhim the son of Jahaun Shah was then, and not before, dispatched to that quarter, with instructions, should the misguided prince make his appearanee, to invite him to an accommodation; to which, if he acceded, Ameir Ibrauhim was, without further advice, to invest him with the government of Gheznein; otherwise, he was to take possession of the whole of the country, in behalf of the Shah.

In the mean time, presents to a considerable extent, in horses and camels, were conveyed to court on the part of the chiefs of the Hazaurah districts, together with concessions sufficiently satisfactory on the subject of tribute and allegiance; after which, Shah Rokh returned from Kandahaur to the banks of the Heirmund, where he had determined to take up his winter quarters. During the period in which he remained in cantonments on that river, he suffered by a fall from his horse, some material injury in one of his arms, or perhaps hands; and a certain Oustaud Meirûg, eminent for his skill in surgery, although, by profession, an artificer of bows and arrows, was sent for in all haste from Herât, in order to undertake the cure; which he appears to have accomplished without much difficulty. It was during

* 13th of October.

A. H. 820-21.
A. D. 1417-18.
Khoiausset-ul-akhbaur.

the same period of inaction, that the office of Vezzeir was lodged in the hands of Gheyauth-ud-dein Peir Ahmed, of Khawauf, by whom it was retained to the very conclusion of the reign of Shah Rokh. Ameir Ibrauhim the son of Jahaun Shah had, towards the end of the month of Ramzaun,* already returned from his mission towards Kabûl and Gheznein, and announced that Mirza Keydou was on his way to the royal presence, in order to make his submission. Ameir Sheikh Lûkman Berlaus, on the contrary, who had been dispatched among the Hazaurah tribes, in order to collect the stipulated tribute, transmitted information that, after a residence of several days, instead of fulfilling their engagements, he found them disposed, under every possible pretext, to protract and elude the payments for which they had pledged themselves. In consequence of this, the Ameirs Mahommed Souffy, and Moussa, were necessarily employed, by order of the Shah, to over-run and lay waste the country; which having executed, and further sufficiently chastised the insolence of these refractory hordes, they rejoined the camp of their sovereign on the Heirmund.

At the commencement of the spring, or moderate season, of the 821st of the hidjerah, Shah Rokh nominated Mirza Sunjur, another of the sons of Peir Mahommed Jahangueir, assisted by the Ameirs Yadgaur Shah Erlaut, Feyrouz Shah, and Alleikah, to maintain good order and tranquillity in this quarter; with instructions, when Mirza Keydou should present himself in conformity with his promise, to conduct him to Herât; otherwise, to employ the force under his authority, in order to seize and bring him to court by compulsion. Shah Rokh then broke up from his winter quarters; and, proceeding into Khorassaun, entered the capital on the second day of Mohurrem, of the year just mentioned.† In the early part of the former Rebbeia,‡ intelligence was received of the death, in Azerbâijaun, of Mirza Saud-e-Wokauss, the son of Mahommed Sûltan, son of Jahangueir; of whose ill-advised and unprovoked flight from Komm, and defection to Kâra Yûssuf, notice was formerly taken. In the mean time, the Ameirs employed in the government of Kandahaur succeeded at last, in pre-

* Beginning of November A. D. 1417. † 8th of February 1418.

‡ Beginning of April.

A. H. 821. A. D. 1418. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

vailing upon Mirza Keydou to accompany them to the presence of his uncle; and being soon afterwards, accordingly, conducted to Herât, he there appears to have experienced from Shah Rokh, those proofs of regard and indulgence, which, from his dilatory and evasive conduct, he had possibly little reason to expect. Shortly afterwards, information was received that the Shahs, or petty princes of Buddukhshaun, were again in a state of revolt; in consequence of which, Mirza Seyûrghetmesh was a second time dispatched to that quarter, accompanied by some of the most distinguished Ameirs of Khorassaun, together with a body of troops collected from the provinces of Kandahaur, Bakalaun, and Arheng, in order to reduce these refractory mountain chiefs once more to their allegiance. When the Shahzâdah had, however, reached the station of Keshem, and had been further reinforced by five thousand of the troops of Transoxiana, the son of Shah Behâ-ud-dein, the paramount prince of the country, sent his agent, Khaujah Tauje-ud-dein Hussun Attaur, one of the most learned men of his age, to the presence of Shah Rokh, with the most submissive professions of duty and loyalty, and a specific and formal engagement to remit, without further failure, the stipulated tribute to the royal exchequer. The mediation of Khaujah Hussun was favorably received by Shah Rokh, and he consented to overlook the recent disobedience of the Buddukhshanian chiefs; whom he now reconfirmed in their authority. Seyûrghetmesh and the troops under his orders were then recalled into Khorassaun.

It has been already observed, that Mirza Keydou had, to all appearance, been completely restored to the favor of his royal relative. Nevertheless, forgetful of his numerous obligations, and mindful only of the power which he had lost, the young prince suffered himself to be again led astray by the counsels of the evil disposed; and on the night of the 19th of Rudjub,* suddenly withdrew from Herât, taking the road towards Kandahaur. Being, however, immediately and vigorously pursued by Mirza Baysungur, he was after sustaining several desperate attacks on his march, at last compelled to surrender his person to that prince, at the town of Seberz; and being securely conducted back again to Herât, he was now closely imprisoned in

* 21st of August 1418.

the citadel of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein. The government of the whole of the provinces of Kandahaur, Kabûl, and Gheznein, was, after this, finally vested in Mirza Seyûrghetmesh, at this period about twenty years of age.

A. H. 822-823. A. D. 1419-1420. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

In the course of the month of Shabaun, of what would appear to be the eight hundred and twenty-second of the hidjerah,* according to the statements of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, Shah Rokh, led by his ardent zeal and veneration for the family of the prophet, and for the memory of the righteous Imaums, was engaged in a visit of devotion to the mausoleum of Ally Ruzza, at Mûsh-hed; where he now caused a superb lamp of gold, some time since prepared by the most skilful workmen, under his instructions, to be suspended to the dome of the sacred shrine. On a former visit, the royal consort, Gouher-shaud Aga, had laid the foundation of a noble mosque, by the side of the mausoleum; and, as it was now nearly completed, the structure was viewed by the Shah, with equal admiration and applause, both with respect to the elegance of the design, and to the beauty and delicacy of the workmanship. During his residence here, on this occasion, Shah Rokh moreover designed, and carried into execution, the plan of a fair palace and suite of gardens to the eastward of the town, to serve for his accommodation during any future visit to the sepulchre of the Imaum. He then proceeded to the neighboring city of Touss, where he further signalized his benevolent disposition, by various acts of charity extended to the devout mendicants, and other classes of the poor, settled about that place: after which he took his departure for Herât, which he reached on the first day of Ramzaun.† While Shah Rokh was absent on this visit to the shrine of Ally Ruzza, the ambassadors of Khatâi again made their appearance at Herât, for the third time since his accession, with an infinite variety of presents, and with letters of the most friendly tendency from Dâeyming Khaun, the Chinese emperor still on the throne. The nature and objects of this embassy have, it seems, been described at large by other authors: it has been considered sufficient to mention, in this place, that it was accompanied by Ardesheir Nowâei, the ambassador of Herât, who had proceeded with the former mission on its departure for China.

* August 1419. † 20th of September 1419.

A. H. 822-823.
A. D. 1419-1420.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Another event which has been thought worthy of record, was the arrival, on the 21st of the same month,* of the daughter of Shummajahaun, monarch of the country of the Moghûls; whom Shah Rokh had demanded as the bride of his son Mirza Mahommed Jouky, then in his eighteenth year, a splendid entertainment being provided for the reception of this princess, by the queen consort Gouher-shaud Aga. The nuptials of the illustrious pair were soon afterwards solemnized with the usual forms, and with a magnificence proportioned to their exalted birth. The succeeding winter† was passed by Shah Rokh, at Baudgheiss; and it was then finally determined, as soon as the necessary arrangements should have been completed, to carry into execution the designs against Kâra Yûssuf and the Tûrkomaun government of Azerbâijaun: which had been so long procrastinated, in consequence alone of the domestic troubles hitherto prevailing, throughout the possessions of the house of Teymûr.

From the period at which the unfortunate Meiran Shah perished, in the conflict with the troops of Kâra Yûssuf, the project of avenging the death of his brother had, indeed, never been totally laid aside by Shah Rokh. But, in the eight hundred and twenty third of the hidjerah, when the whole of the territory of Khorassaun, with Mazanderaun, Mawer-un-neher, Buddukhshaun, Kabûl, Gheznein, Seiestaun, Kermaun, Farss, and Irâk Ajem, had been entirely subjugated, and relieved from the mischiefs of internal hostility, the Shah conceived that the moment was arrived when he should retaliate the injuries of his family: and accordingly, having already assembled a part of his troops, he proceeded, on the fifteenth of the month of Shabaun of the year just mentioned,‡ from Herât, on his march for Azerbâijaun.

Rouzut-us-suffa.

On the 12th of the following month of Ramzaun,§ he had not yet advanced beyond the precincts of the town of Jaum. On the 18th he passed by the city of Neyshapûr; on the 29th he arrived at Baharabad, where he remained to celebrate the festival at the conclusion of Ramzaun; and on the 6th of Shavaul,‖ he encamped among the meadows of Kherkan. On the 10th of the same month he reached Damaghaun,

* 10th of October 1419. † Of 1420. ‡ 24th of August 1420.
§ 19th of September. ‖ 13th of October.

in the neighborhood of which town, several elephants were conveyed to his camp from the province of Mazanderaun, where it would appear that they had been kept for the convenience of subsistance. On the 14th he had continued his march to Semnaun ; and on the 20th* he arrived, through the defiles of Derrah-nimmek, [the salt pass,] in the territory of Veraumin. In the mean time he had, at successive stages, been joined by the several contingents from the different provinces under his authority; so that at this period, according to a regular list of enrolments presented by the Towatcheis, or commissaries of array, his army, in cavalry alone, amounted to no less than two hundred thousand men.

A. H. 823-824. A. D. 1420-1421. Rouzut-us-suffa.

The preparations of Kâra Yûssuf on the other hand, were on a scale not less formidable and extensive; and he had already encamped, at the head of a very numerous and well appointed force, in the neighborhood of Oujaun. Such indeed was the degree of awe, with which the nobles of the court of Shah Rokh had been generally inspired, by the known courage and martial skill of the warlike Tûrkoman, that many of them began to sink under discouraging speculations. Among other reflections it did not fail to occur to them, that while the horses of the Tûrkomaunian army were fresh and full of vigor, those of their antagonists were fatigued, and exhausted, by their long and wearisome marches from various distant quarters; and it was moreover observed, that the winter was now close at hand. But on those who had witnessed so many obstacles surmounted, and perplexities dispelled, through the unvarying ascendancy of Shah Rokh's fortune, these considerations produced but little impression. Ameir Shah Melek had, it would appear, some time since already dispatched one of his officers to Kàra Yûssuf, to remind him in a sort of friendly way, how carefully it behoved the prudent man to avoid every circumstance that had a tendency to bring reproach on, or to tarnish a well earned fame ; but if it had already unfortunately happened that something of the kind should have occurred on his part, it was not yet impossible, by seasonable concessions, to secure the indulgence of Shah Rokh; neither could it by any one be ascribed to him as a reproach, that he should have availed himself of the earliest convenient oppor-

* 27th of October.

A. H. 823-824.
A. D. 1420-1421.
Rouzut-us-sufa.

tunity to accommodate his differences with so august, and magnanimous a monarch, as the sovereign of Khorassaun. As some reparation for past injuries it was, however, an indispensable preliminary, that the Tûrkomaun should relinquish his possession of both Sûltauniah and Kazvein, which he now held in direct defiance of the authority of the Shah.

Confident in the immensity of his resources, and in the attachment of the neighboring powers, Kâra Yûssuf received this overture with the highest disdain; shutting up the messenger by whom it was conveyed in the prisons of Tebreiz, and immediately assembling the troops from every part of the territory subject to his authority—with the determination to contend, to the utmost extremity, in support of his usurpations. Apprized of this resolution, Shah Rokh, rejecting from his mind all further earthly expedients, betook himself in humble supplication to him, whose attention is never withheld from the prayers of the faithful, the sure hope of the distressed, earnestly imploring his aid to bear him triumphant, through the enterprize in which he was engaged. Through the agency of some invisible and mysterious power, it is said to have been announced to him, that his prayers were heard; and the reciters of the Korân, of whom there were numbers in constant attendance, were in consequence immediately directed to repeat the Sourut-ul-Fateha, or chapter of victory at the commencement of the Korân, twelve thousand times over. Thus armed at all points, Shah Rokh dispatched Ameir Yûssuf Khaujah, with one thousand horse towards Kazvein, which was taken possession of without difficulty; the governor abandoning the place at the approach of that officer, and retiring to Sûltauniah. Ameir Jahaun Shah, one of the sons of Kâra Yûssuf, was at this crisis, in charge of the government of Sûltauniah; and no circumstance was omitted, on his part, to provide for the resolute and effectual defence of the city entrusted to his care, the moment he became apprized, by the fugitives from Kazvein, that the troops of Shah Rokh were advancing in that direction.

But at the very moment that the armies of Shah Rokh were entering Irâk Ajem, and Ameir Jahaun Shah had completed his arrangements for the defence of Sûltauniah, an express from Tebreiz arrived to an-

nounce to the latter the death of his father, at Oujaun, on thursday the 7th of Zilkaudah, of the eight hundred and twenty-third of the hidjerah ;* and a messenger from Kazvein immediately afterwards conveyed the intelligence to Shah Rokh, now encamped in the neighborhood of Rey. Such is described, at the same time, to have been the consternation into which the Tûrkomans were thrown by this event, that, although none of the Khorassaunian troops had yet shewn themselves further to the westward than Rey, which appears to be at least twenty leagues from Oujaun, they instantly dispersed in every direction; leaving, in the encampment, of the whole of that immense army, not a single individual of the numerous train of their late puissant chief. The tents of the departed monarch were rifled by a lawless banditti; his lifeless corse was stripped of its apparel; and the very ears cut off, for the gold rings which were suspended to them. The body was, nevertheless, subsequently conveyed to Arjeis, or Arjish, on the lake of Van, and there quietly deposited in the sepulchre of the family.

A. H. 823-824. A. D. 1420-1421. Rouzut-us-suffa.

In consequence of these events, Mirza Baysungur was detached immediately towards Tebreiz; while Shah Rokh in person, proposing to take up his quarters for the winter at Kârabaugh, directed his march to the northward, by Sûltauniah, Ardebeil, and Moghaun, and crossing the Araxes on the 8th of Zilhudje, encamped at Karabaugh on the following day.†

Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

In the mean time, Mirza Baysungur had entered the metropolis of Tebreiz towards the middle of the month of Zilkaudah,‡ and proceeded, without delay, to exert his authority for the establishment of a just and equitable government; after which, and when he had secured the submission of Ameir Bâbajee Gâoroudy, who had hitherto stood on his defence, from an apprehension of punishment for his treatment of Ameir Jahaun Shah Jaukou, whom, under the authority of Mirza Omar the son of Meiran Shah, he had cut off in retaliation for the death of his father, the young prince hastened also to the general winter quarters at Kârabaugh.

We cannot omit to remark in this place, from the Rouzut-us-suffâ, the circumstance of a fourth embassy from Dâeyming Khaun re-

* 12th November 1420. † 14th December. ‡ About 19th November.

A. H. 824. A. D. 1421. Rouzut-us-sutfa.

ceived, towards the commencement of the eight hundred and twenty fourth of the hidjerah, by Olûgh beg at Samarkand, on its return from the presence of Shah Rokh.* This mission left Samarkand on its way to China, on the first day of Suffur ;† and it was accompanied on the present occasion, by the following individuals deputed by the Tcheghatâian princes, and their dependents. Ameir Shaudy Khoujah, on the part of Shah Rokh ; Sûltan Ahmed, and Khaujah Gheyauth-ud-dein Nekaush, [a painter], on that of Mirza Baysungur; Ameir Hussun, and Pehlewaun Jummaul, on the part of Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan, from Shirauz ; Ameir Erkedauk, on the part of Mirza Seyûrghetmesh, from Gheznein ; Ardowaun from Ameir Shah Melek, as prince of Khaurezm ; and lastly Khaujah Tauje-ud-dein, from the tributary princes of Buddukhshaun. Besides these they were attended, moreover, by a number of merchants, and other adventurers, from different parts of the Persian territory, desirous of embracing the opportunity of the journey to China. Neither is it uninteresting to notice the construction, about the same period, of an observatory at Samarkand, by Mirza Olûgh Beg, the most important result of which was the formation of the Zeytch-e-jedeid-e-Gourekauni, or new astronomical tables of Olûgh Beg; subsequently in general use for their calculations, among the Oriental astronomers.

Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

Early in the spring of the year eight hundred and twenty-four, the Shah broke up from his winter quarters at Kârabaugh ; and having recrossed the Araxes, on the 3d of the former Jummaudy,‡ he was prevailed upon by the reports of the country, shortly afterwards, to attack the fortress of Bayezzid, then in the hands of the officers of Ameir Aspend the son of Kâra Yûssuf. The place, nothwitstanding it was furnished with every species of supply, and with stores of every discription, in the utmost abundance, was, however, taken possession of, on the very day of its investiture, the 23d of the month of Jummaudy. On the 16th of the latter month of that name,§ Shah Rokh encamped in the neighborhood of Arjeis, near the northern angle of the lake of Van ; and on the following day his standard was displayed in the territory of Aukbulauk. From hence he permitted

* This on retrospection however, must have been that which visited Shah Rokh in the month of Ramzaun, of the preceding year.

† 4th February 1421. ‡ 5th of May 1421. § 17th of June.

the governors of the surrounding provinces, who hastened to his presence in great numbers, during his progress through the country, to return, loaded with favors, to their respective places of abode; after which, he appears to have changed the direction of his march, and proceeded towards Tebreiz.

A. H. 824. A. D. 1421. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

In the course of this march, intelligence was, however, conveyed to him, that Eskunder and Aspend, the sons of Kâra Yûssuf, had contrived to reassemble a powerful body of troops; with which they evinced a determined design, at the first opportunity, to repossess themselves of the metropolis of Tebreiz. In consequence of such information, Shah Rokh conceived it expedient to return towards Adeljouz and Ekhlaut, both on the lake of Van, in quest of the enemy, who were encamped in a position between those two places. The Tûrkoman chiefs do not appear to have declined the conflict, to which they were brought in the latter end of the month of Rudjub.* On this occasion, apprehensive of the impression which the elephants with the army of the Shah might produce upon their horses, the Tûrkomans are described to have formed models of clay in the shape of that stupendous animal, cased in iron harness, before which, they had for some time previously exercised their cavalry, in order to accustom them to the sight. Be this, however, as it may, the contending armies engaged for the whole of the first day, without decisive advantage on either side. The conflict of the second day terminated in the same manner. But on the third day, which is stated to have been the first of Shabaun,† although the left wing of the army of Shah Rokh is acknowledged to have been defeated by the impetuosity of the Tûrkomans, the victory was finally decided in favor of the Shah; principally through the address of his general the veteran Shah Melek, who caused it to be suddenly proclaimed from the centre, that Ameir Aspend the son of Kâra Yûssuf was his prisoner. Panic-stricken by the report of his brother's misfortune, Eskunder and his troops almost immediately quitted the field of battle, and were pursued with considerable slaughter by the now victorious Shahrokhians.

On the day subsequent to that of his victory, which is represented to have been gained at a place called Ateshguerd, Shah Rokh resum-

* End of July. † 31st of July.

A. H. 824-830.
A. D. 1421-1427.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

ed his march, by the way of Khoui, for Tebreiz; where he appears to have arrived, without further obstacle, about the middle of the same month of Shabaun. From Tebreiz, he proceeded some time afterwards to Kazvein, whence the Mirzas Ibrauhim Sûltan, and Rûstum, were permitted to take their departure, the one for Shirâûz, and the other for his government of Isfahaun. On entering the frontiers of Khorassaun, towards the beginning of Ramzaun, Shah Melek was also permitted to take his departure, by the way of Asterabad, for his government of Khaurezm; and on the 19th of the succeeding month of Shavaul, of the eight hundred and twenty-fourth of the hidjerah,* Shah Rokh returned once more in triumph to his capital of Herât. Shortly afterwards, the ambassadors of Khuzzer Khaun, monarch of Dehly, made their appearance at Herât, with some curious and valuable presents from their master; among these, not the least curious esteemed, was a Gûrgdenn, or Rhinoceros, which excited extraordinary admiration by its prodigious strength, and the impenetrability of its hide.

The succeeding years 825, 826, and 827, appear to have passed away, without the occurrence of any thing of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the historian; Shah Rokh being employed, during the whole of this period, within his province of Khorassaun, in the tranquil pursuits of peace, and in promoting the happiness of his people, by an impartial administration of justice, and by the removal of every species of oppression, and violence, from the face of the land.

During the eight hundred and twenty-eighth of the hidjerah,† Mirza Olûgh Beg, with a great army formed of the troops of his province, was engaged in an expedition into Jettah, and Moghulstaun; in the course of which, he is said to have signally defeated Sheir Mahommed Oghlan, the monarch of those countries. He then returned to Samarkand, the metropolis of his government, from whence he repaired shortly afterwards on a visit to Herât; where, on the 15th of Zilhudje of the same year,‡ he was affectionately received by his father, and such of his brothers as were on the spot. After the resi-

* 16th of October, 1421. † November 1424 to November 1425.
‡ 28th of October, 1425.

dence of a few days, he was accompanied on his return to Samarkand, by his brother Mahommed Jouky. In the former month of Rebbeia, of the year eight hundred and twenty-nine,* the able, just, and warlike Ameir Shah Melek, so often mentioned in these pages, is stated to have withdrawn from this abode of trouble, to receive the reward of his virtues in the mansions of eternal bliss. He died in the government of Khaurezm, in which he was succeeded, under the authority of Shah Rokh, who is described to have received the intelligence of his dissolution with the utmost concern and regret, by his son Ameir Ibrauhim. The remains of the departed chief were conveyed to Mush-hed, and there deposited in the earth close by the side of the mausoleum of Ally Ruzza. On the 16th of Mohurrem, of the following year [830],† occurred also, at Gheznein, the death of Mirza Seyûrghetmesh, the fourth son of Shah Rokh, when he had scarcely attained to his nine and twentieth year. His governments, including those of Kandahaur, Kabûl, and Gheznein, were immediately conferred upon his son, Mirza Sûltan Mûssâoud.

A. H. 824-830.
A. D. 1421-1427.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

In the course of the same year [830], an unfavorable turn appears to have taken place in the affairs of Olûgh Beg, from the hostilities which broke out between him and Borauk Oghlan, monarch of the Ouzbeks; who had, in a great measure, been brought up under his protection, and who now evinced his ingratitude, by an unprovoked invasion of the territory in the neighborhood of Soghnauk, or Saganac. Olûgh Beg prepared without delay to repel the aggression, dispatching, at the same time, to advise his father of the unexpected contest in which he was about to be engaged. Shah Rokh, with that moderation which appears to have been a distinguished feature in his character, endeavoured to dissuade him from proceeding to extremity; nevertheless, he did not fail to send his brother Mahommed Jouky, recently returned from Samarkand, at the head of a powerful reinforcement, immediately to his assistance. When that prince had crossed the Jeyhûn, he found that his brother had already proceeded with what troops he could collect, towards Soghnauk, with the determination, at all hazards, of giving battle to his adversary; and he therefore hastened, with all the expedition in his power, to join him

* January 1426. † 16th of November, 1426.

A. H. 824-830.
A. D. 1421-1427.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur,

before he should have finally committed himself. In this he happily succeeded without obstacle shortly afterwards; and the brothers now proceeded together with united force to give battle to the Ouzbek. But the issue was by no means such as might have been calculated upon, from these favorable beginnings. The Ouzbek prince did not decline the conflict, which terminated in a decisive and signal victory over the two brothers; who were compelled to abandon the field of battle in the utmost consternation.

But, among the events which distinguished the year 830, that which appears to have excited the greatest astonishment and alarm, was the attempt made against the life of Shah Rokh, by an obscure and desperate assassin; which is briefly described in the following terms. On friday the 23d of the latter month of Rebbeia,* just as the Shah was about to quit the principal mosque of Herât, after the performance of his devotions, a person of the name of Ahmed Lorr, afterwards discovered to have deen the disciple of a certain Moulana Fuzzul-ullah of Asterabad, clad in a coarse blanket, or hair-cloth, hastily ran up with a paper in one hand, as if in the act of demanding justice, and at the same instant plunged his knife into the belly of the unsuspecting monarch. The assassin was instantly put to death by Ally Sûltan Koutchin, having first obtained the concurrence of his bleeding master; although the ends of justice would have been better attained, if he had been suffered to survive for examination. The Ameirs Alleikah Koukeltaush, and Feyrouz Shah, were attending on horseback at the entrance of the mosque; and the latter being immediately called to by Shah Rokh, and hastening to the spot without dismounting, was sufficiently astonished when he perceived what had just taken place. Observing, however, that the wounded monarch was about to place himself in a litter, in order to return to his palace, he ventured to suggest that if he could possibly support the effort, he should proceed on horseback; as the only expedient to obviate the dangers that might otherwise arise, from the circulation of uncertain and contradictory reports relative to his personal safety. In compliance with this suggestion, weak as he found himself from loss of blood, Shah Rokh immediately mounted on horseback, and

* 20th of February, 1427.

proceeded through the public market places of the city, to his palace in the Baugh-e-zaughan, or raven gardens; the kettle-drums, and other imperial music, being directed to strike up with the usual majesty of effect. Fortunately, the Shah's wound was not of a nature to produce any serious injury, and was soon cured through the professional skill and exertions of his medical attendants; neither was the mischievous attempt followed by any other inconvenience than the alarm of the moment, which subsided as soon as the extent of the danger became properly understood.

A. H. 830-831. A. D. 1427. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Mirza Baysungur, and the Ameirs of the court, however, regretting, when too late, the prompt but premature justice executed upon the assassin, proceeded to investigate the circumstances connected with this nefarious attempt; and as Moula Maurrouf, a celebrated copyer of manuscripts once in the service of Mirza Eskunder, the son of Omar Sheikh, and a certain Khaujah Ezzed-ud-dein, had both incurred the suspicion of having been on terms of intimacy with the miscreant Ahmed Lorr, the former, after having been exposed to severe torture, was imprisoned in the castle of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein; and the latter was dispatched to that prison, where all things are forgotten. Public rumour having, moreover, circulated a report that the assassin had been, on frequent occasions, favorably received by Ameir Seyud Kaussem the Tebrizian, and Mirza Baysungur being, from some conceived offence, already inimically disposed towards this otherwise respectable Seyud, he also became implicated, as in some way or other accessary to the plot; and being banished from Herât through the influence of that prince, was compelled to retire into Transoxiana. He experienced, however, from Olûgh Beg the most kind and distinguished reception, on his arrival at Samarkand. We cannot, at the same time, omit to observe, that in the punishment of Moulana Maurouf, also, Mirza Baysungur did not escape the charge of having been actuated by an improper motive, of resentment for private offence; the Moulana having neglected, either from accident or design, to execute some piece of penmanship, in which he had been employed for the prince's collection.

As soon as he was well recovered from the effects of his wound, Shah Rokh, on the first of Shabaun,* proceeded from Herât, on his

* 27th of May, 1427.

A. H. 830-831. A. D. 1427. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

march into Mawur-un-neher, in order to vindicate the reputation of his arms from the recent discomfiture, by Borauk Oghlan and the Ouzbeks; who had, by this time, overspread the greater part of Transoxiana with pillage and desolation. He was followed, at a short interval, by Mirza Baysungur; but on his arrival at Balkh, that prince was prevailed upon, in compliance with the advice of Olûgh Beg, and his father's commands, to return to Herât; in order to secure the tranquillity of that metropolis during the absence of the sovereign. On the other hand, Shah Rokh, on his arrival at Samarkand a short time afterwards, delayed not to institute a severe investigation into the causes which produced the late disgraceful failure, in the battle with Borauk Oghlan; in consequence of which, several Ameirs of the highest rank were found guilty of misconduct, and condemned to the discipline of the club, or bastinado; Olûgh Beg himself being, for some time, excluded from his father's presence and favor, and deprived of his government of Samarkand, although finally restored through the impulse of paternal affection. In the mean time, intimidated by the arrival of Shah Rokh and the royal armies at Samarkand, Borauk Oghlan appears to have suddenly withdrawn his claims to the territory of Soghnauk; and soon afterwards, entirely quitting the province of Mawur-un-neher, to have betaken himself to the trackless solitudes of his own country, north of the Caspian and the sea of Aral. In consequence of this favorable turn in affairs, Shah Rokh, after continuing a short time longer at Samarkand, set out on his return into Khorassaun; and by the 15th of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and thirty first of the hidjerah,* he had again reached his palace in the Baugh-e-zaughan, or Zoughoun, in the neighborhood of Herât.

Another year appears to have now passed without the occurrence of any very remarkable event, since the author brings us at once to the eight hundred and thirty second of the hidjerah; in the course of which, by the reports which were conveyed to him, of the renewed encroachments of Ameir Eskunder the son of Kâra Yûssuf, who had recovered possession of Sûltauniah, Shah Rokh was, in a manner, constrained to undertake another expedition into Azerbâijaun. On the 5th day of Rudjub, of the year just mentioned,† we accordingly

* 4th of November 1427. † 9th of April 1429.

find that he quitted Herât, at the head of his army, on his march towards that province. In the territory of Rey he was joined, as formerly, by his son Ibrauhim Sûltan from Shirauz, and by Mirza Rûstum from Isfahaun, each with the troops of his government respectively; as well as by the several chiefs of the adjoining provinces of Irâk Ajem and Azerbâijaun, who still adhered to their allegiance. From Rey he proceeded now to Sûltauniah, under the walls of which he appeared on the 21st of the month of Ramzaun;* the officer in command on the part of Ameir Eskunder having, however, thought it prudent to abandon the place on his approach. A. H. 831-833. A. D. 1429-1430. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Having remained at Sûltauniah to celebrate the festival of the new moon of Shavaul,† Shah Rokh proceeded next by the tomb of Abû Ayûb the Ansaur, and Shumb-e-Ghazan, to Khoui, or Khoi, and finally to Selmauss; where, after a tremendous conflict of two days, and notwithstanding the most heroic exertions acknowledged on all hands to have been displayed on the part of Ameir Eskunder, he succeeded, at last, in totally defeating the Tûrkomauns with immense slaughter. Such indeed, according to the report of Moulana Sherf-ud-dein Ally of Yezd, the well known author of the Zuffur-namah, who was present in the battle in the train of Ibrauhim Sûltan from Shirauz, whose distinguished valour had in an eminent degree contributed to the victory—such, we say, are described to have been the extraordinary proofs of courage, intrepidity, and perseverance, exhibited by the Tûrkomaun chiefs and their followers, on this sanguinary occasion, that he should not have believed the fact but from the evidence of his own senses. Rouzut-us-suffa.

When, at all events, this splendid and hard-earned victory had been effectually secured to the arms of Shah Rokh, his son Mâhommed Jouky was dispatched in pursuit of the flying Tûrkomauns; but although that prince is described to have followed them all the way to the plains of Moush, and the neighborhood of Erzeroum, such was the rapidity of their flight, that all exertions to overtake the enemy proved unavailing. The prince therefore returned to join his father; who, on the 6th of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and thirty third of the hidjerah,‡ broke up from his camp near Selmauss, and proceeded from thence towards the celebrated fortress of Alanjek. Instead of Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

* 23d of June. † 3d of July. ‡ 4th of October 1429.

A. H. 833-34.
A. D. 1429 1430.
Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

setting him at defiance, the officers of Eskunder the Tûrkoman in possession of the place, embraced the more prudent expedient of purchasing his forbearance by a suitable present; which, immediately on his arrival, with many protestations of humble respect, they took care to offer to the acceptance of the Shah. Satisfied with these concessions, Shah Rokh, without further molestation, drew off from before Alanjek, and continued his march towards the winter quarters of Kârabaugh; which he appears to have reached on the 19th of the following month of Suffur.* Shortly afterwards, Ameir Abû Sâeid, another of the sons of Kâra Yûssuf, who appears to have left a most numerous progeny, hastened to the presence of Shah Rokh; by whom he was most favorably received, and finally invested with the noble government of Azerbâijaun and all its dependencies. For this distinction, he was evidently more indebted to the singular prowess of his tribe exhibited in the battle of Selmauss, and to the policy of placing him in opposition to his warlike brothers, than to any particular inclination to encourage his pretensions to power.

Shah Rokh continued at Kârabaugh, on this occasion, for the whole of the winter, and part of the following spring. On the 11th of the month of Shabaun,† however, he put his troops again in motion from that place, and, crossing the Araxes on the day following, proceeded on his return into Khorassaun. On the 17th of Ramzaun,‡ he encamped at Sûltauniah; where he remained to the conclusion of that month of mortification and abstinence. During the succeeding month of Shavaul, the Mirzas Ibrauhim Sûltan, and Rûstum, together with the subordinate chiefs of Irák Ajem, who had accompanied the royal armies on the recent service, were again permitted to return to their respective governments: after which, Shah Rokh resumed his march, and finally reached one of his gardens in the neighborhood of the capital of Herât, on the 8th of Mohurrem of the eight hundred and thirty-fourth of the hidjerah.§

It appears that during the absence of Shah Rokh in Azerbàijaun on this occasion, the Ouzbeks had availed themselves of the opportunity to enter the province of Khaurezm; where they obtained con-

* 16th of November. † 4th of May 1430. ‡ 8th of June.
§ 25th of September 1430.

siderable advantages over the troops of Ameir Ibrauhim, the son of Shah Melek. Having completely over-run and plundered it, they however, shortly afterwards, evacuated the province; those who remained behind being either dispersed, or cut to pieces, by the reinforcements dispatched from Khorassaun to the assistance of the government. Among the occurrences of the year eight hundred and thirty-three, it may not be impertinent to record, from the Rouzut-us-suffâ, the death at Neyshapûr, of the princess Sûltan Bukht Begum, the daughter of Teymûr.

A. H. 833 837. A. D. 1430-1433. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur-

The year eight hundred and thirty-four* does not seem to have produced any event, of sufficient importance to arrest the attention of the historian; and he accordingly transfers us, without ceremony, to the eight hundred and thirty-fifth of the hidjerah. In the month of Suffur of the latter year† we find Mirza Baysungur, accompanied by some of the most respectable Nobles, and a numerous escort, proceeding by direction of his father to pass the winter at Asterabad. In the mean time, it was announced that Eskunder the Tûrkomaun had again led his troops into Azerbâijaun, where he had put to death his brother Abû Sàeid; at the conclusion of the winter, however, Mirza Baysungur returned to Herât. In the course of the eight hundred and thirty-sixth of the hidjerah, Yaur Ally, the son of Ameir Eskunder the Tûrkomaun, thought fit to withdraw from the court of his father, and to claim the protection of Ameir Khaleilullah, the reigning prince of Shirvaun, who had succeeded to his father Sheikh Ibrauhim, under the sanction of Shah Rokh. The prince of Shirvaun conceived it, however, advisable to transfer the fugitive, in bonds, to the court of Herât; from whence, although for some time treated with kindness and hospitality by Shah Rokh, he was finally removed under close restraint to Samarkand.

On the 7th of the former Jummaudy of the eight hundred and thirty-seventh of the hidjerah,‡ it becomes necessary to record the death of Mirza Baysungur, the son of Shah Rokh, at the age of seven and thirty years and four months. He was buried with extraordinary funeral pomp in the college of the princess Gouhershaud

* Commencing 18th September 1430. † October 1431.
‡ 19th of December 1433.

A. H. 837-838.
A. D. 1433 1434.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Aga; and the concourse of the people of Herat, who attended on the occasion, is described to have been so great, that the whole of the road from the Baugh-e-seffeid, or white garden, where he died, to the place of interment in the city, was on both sides entirely lined by the multitude. He perished thus in the prime of life, although in other respects a prince of singular merit and endowments, from habits of excessive drinking; in which he appears to have been confirmed by a prediction of his astrologers, that he was not destined, at all events, to out-live the age of forty. The Persian characters of the sentence, "*Bauda be jahaun omar drauz e pudderum*—" in English, long on this earth be the life of my father—numerically applied, exhibit exactly the year of his death, 837. He left three sons, Mirza Rokken-ud-dein Allâ-ud-doulah, Mirza Sûltan Mahommed, and Mirza Abûl Kaussem Bauber, each of whom, at subsequent periods, attained to sovereign power. In the mean time, the dignities and appointments of the father were bestowed, by Shah Rokh, upon Allâ-ud-doulah, the eldest of the three; the two younger brothers being otherwise liberally provided for by the royal bounty.

In the early part of the following year, intelligence reached Herât that, having succeeded in establishing his authority over Azerbâijaun and Arran, [the territory between the Kûrr and Araxes], Eskunder the Tûrkomaun was now preparing to extend his usurpations over the neighboring province of Shirvaun. On the 2nd of the latter Rebbeia, of the eight hundred and thirty eighth of the hidjerah,* therefore, Shah Rokh, at the head of a numerous army, was again constrained to bend his course in that direction. By the time, however, that he had conducted his troops to Rey, the season was so far advanced, that he found it necessary to take up his quarters in that neighborhood for the winter. Ameir Eskunder, on the other hand, receiving intelligence of the approach of his imperial antagonist, thought it prudent, once more, to retire from the province; while his brother Ameir Jahaun Shah, another still of the sons of Kâra Yûssuf, repaired to the presence of Shah Rokh, by whom he was received with very distinguished kindness. During the period in which he was, on this occasion, detained in the neighborhood of Rey, Shah Rokh was destined

* 4th of November 1434.

to experience another severe stroke of domestic affliction, in the loss of his son Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan, who died at Shirauz, on the fourth of Shavaul, of the year 838.* The vice-royalty of Farss and Shirauz was immediately conferred, by his grandfather, upon Mirza Abdullah, the eldest son of the departed prince, as yet in his childhood; and the executive government was for the present, therefore, entrusted to the management of Sheikh Moheb-ud-dein Abûlkheyr. The memory of Mirza Ibrauhim is also consecrated in the esteem of the orientals, for the general benevolence of his disposition, as well as for his liberal patronage of genius and science; and it is, perhaps, of some importance to record, that it was under the auspicious encouragement of this enlightened prince, that Moulana Sherf-ud-dein Ally the Yezdian, was enabled to complete his elaborate work, the Zuffur-nâmah—a performance which is extolled, by the author of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, as infinitely surpassing any thing that had then appeared in the world in the department of history.

A. H. 838-840.
A. D. 1434-1436.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

In the course of the year eight hundred and thirty eight, the city of Herât was afflicted by a dreadful epidemical, or pestilential disorder, which swept off the inhabitants in the most alarming numbers. The disorder appears to have commenced with fever and ague, was accompanied by an eruption on the limbs, about the size of a small pea, and generally proved fatal to the patient in two days.† The mortality was so great, that in the town and neighborhood, not less than ten thousand persons were calculated to have perished in a day; and an officer, stationed at one of the gates of the city, is said to have counted four thousand biers carried through in the course of the day, exclusive of the bodies that were simply borne on men's backs, without any other funeral habiliments than the garb in which they expired. This distemper continued to rage for part of three months; since it is said to have broke out when the sun was in the middle of Pisces, and continued for some time after it had entered Taurus.‡

Towards the conclusion of spring, Shah Rokh broke up from his winter quarters at Rey, proceeding by the route of Kazvein, Sûltauniah, Zenjaun, and Oujaun, to Tebreiz; where he passed the hot season

* 2d of May 1435. † If this was not the small pox, it was something very like it.
‡ Part of February, March, and April, 1435.

A. H. 839-840. A. D. 1436 Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

and the month of June. On the approach of the following winter, however, he crossed the Araxes, and put his troops into quarters at Kârabaugh. In the mean time, shahzâdah Mahommed Jouky was employed, in conformity with his father's instructions, in tracing the flight of Eskunder, the Tûrkoman chief; but, having followed the enemy as far as Erzenjaun, without obtaining any material intelligence of the direction of his retreat, it was thought advisable to abandon the pursuit; and the prince accordingly rejoined the main body of the army at Kârabaugh. Another winter was now brought to a conclusion, and Shah Rokh, on the 11th of Shavaul of the eight hundred and thirty ninth of the hidjerah,* again quitted his cantonments at Kârabaugh, and proceeded to Oujaun; where he invested Ameir Jahaun Shah the son of Kâra Yûssuf, with the important government of Azerbâijaun, for which he had contended at the risk of so many tremendous conflicts. He then continued his march for Khôrassaun, and arrived in his capital of Herât, on the 2d of the latter Rebbeia of the eight hundred and fortieth of the hidjerah;† having been absent, on this occasion, for the period of two lunar years precisely.

For several years subsequent to the period just mentioned, the attention of this prudent and respectable monarch was studiously devoted to cultivate the arts of peace; and to consolidate the welfare and prosperity of his people, without quitting the boundaries of his favorite province of Khorassaun. In the mean time, to diversify in some degree, perhaps, the tedious uniformity of the narration, the historian digresses for a moment to relate, on what he alleges to be the authority of some most intimate friends, that Ameir Eskunder the son of Kâra Yûssuf, had a son of the name of Kobaud, and a favorite concubine on whom he doted, whose name was Leyli. With this lady, in defiance of the ties of nature and of filial duty, and led by the impulse of a blind and impetuous passion, the son suffered himself to engage in a libidinous, and unwarrantable clandestine intercourse. The moment, however, it was ascertained that Shah Rokh was actually on his return into Khorassaun from his last expedition, Eskunder hastened to Alanjek, where it appears that his family had been lodged for security during his recent retreat from the province; and, finding

* 27th of April 1436. † 13th of October 1436.

A. H. 840-843.
A. D. 1436-1439.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

that Kobaud and Leyli had both concurred with others, in sending out the presents which had been laid before the Shah, when, on the occasion recently noticed, he appeared in that vicinity, he could not forbear betraying some symptoms of ill humour, and even to menace the lives of those who had thus, unintentionally, provoked his displeasure. All this was immediately ascribed, by the misgivings of conscious guilt, to some intelligence obtained of the improper intercourse which subsisted between the lovers; and they determined, without delay, on a plan to destroy the object of their apprehensions. Accordingly one night, when Eskunder, in a state of intoxication, had retired to sleep on the terrace, or flat roof of his palace, Leyli, contrary to the usual precaution, designedly omitted to draw up the stair-ladder, and her guilty paramour was thus enabled to ascend without alarm or obstacle. Making directly for his father's couch, the villain struck at him with his drawn dagger; when, starting from his sleep, and little suspecting the hand by which he was assailed, the unhappy prince called out upon Kobaud, by name, for assistance. The atrocious parricide instantly plunged his murderous knife into the bosom of the immediate author of his being, and thus attained the climax of human guilt. And this was the fate of the intrepid Eskunder; who had escaped the obvious perils of many a sanguinary conflict, in the field of battle, to perish at last, like too many others, by the foul and detestable malice of domestic treason.

The narrative now proceeds to state, that Melek Ashruf, the Sûltan of Egypt and Syria, dying much about the same period, the principal officers of his court placed the diadem of that monarchy, with the title of Melek-uz-zauher, [the victorious], on the brows of Tchekmauk Beg, or Bey, who had previously discharged the functions of Meir Aukhour, or master of the horse, to the deceased monarch. When yet a subordinate officer, this Tchekmauk Beg* had, it seems, fancied in a dream, that Shah Rokh had taken him by the waist, and seated him on the throne of sovereign power; and he had, from that moment, determined within himself, whenever the golden hopes thus awakened should be realized, to establish an intercourse of friendship with that

* This might be literally translated "Captain Flint."

A. H. 840-843
A. D. 1436 1439.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

illustrious prince. Accordingly, as soon as his dream of glory had been substantially fulfilled through the exertions of his fellow chiefs, he dispatched his ambassador Tchetchek Bouka, to announce the desire which he cherished, to enter into the most friendly correspondence with the court of Shah Rokh; and the envoy, thus accredited, appeared at Herât, some time in the course of the eight hundred and forty third of the hidjerah.* His reception was in every respect favorable and distinguished; being, under the particular instructions of the monarch, most splendidly entertained, in their turn, by the whole of the shahzâdahs and principal courtiers. Five manuscript works beautifully executed for the purpose, and which had been applied for by Sûltan Tchekmauk, were among the presents prepared to be conveyed by the Ambassador for his master: and in the Rouzut-us-suffâ we find them mentioned in detail as follows: 1. Taweilaut-e-hûdjut, e-ahul-e-sûnnut-wo-jammayet, or explanations of the arguments, or doctrines of the orthodox, and congregational sect, by Sheikh Abû Munsour. 2. Tefseir-e-kabeir, or greater commentary, on the Korân, by Imaum Fakher-ud-dein Rauzy. 3. Sherreh Telkheiss-e-jammia, or paraphrase on the abstract of the collection, of traditional doctrines possibly, by Khoujah Mûssâoud of Bokhâra. 4. Sherreh Keshauf, or clear explanation, by Moulana Allâ-ud-doulah Pehelewaun, [athletes]. 5. Rouzah-der Mûzhebb-e-Shaffâi, or flowery treatise on the tenets of the sect of Shaffâi. These were, as it would be further unnecessary to explain, all devoted to Theological subjects, on which the Sûltan of Egypt was probably anxious to obtain instruction.

The Ambassador of Egypt was conducted to his audience of leave, on the 18th of the month of Rudjub; † and received on his dismission, for himself, a present of fifty thousand dinaurs in specie, ‡ and one thousand dinaurs for each of his fifty attendants. § He was accompanied by Moulana Hussaum-ud-dein Mûbaurek Shah, Purwântchi, or clerk of the patent office, as ambassador on the part of Shah Rokh; and he requested on his departure, as he alleged in obedience to the instructions of his master, that he might be permitted on his journey homewards, to visit the four fine cities of Shirauz, Isfahaun, Yezd,

* Commencing 13th of June A. D. 1439.
† 24th December 1439.
‡ About £23000 at the lowest computation.
§ £458. 6s. 8d.

A. H. 843-845.
A. D. 1439 1442.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

and Kashaun ; a request in which he was very readily indulged, the governors of those cities being charged to decorate them in the most splendid manner for his reception, and to furnish between them the further sum of one hundred thousand dinaurs, to defray his expences. The five manuscripts were, however, as we gather from the Rouzut-us-suffâ, particularly entrusted to the care of the ambassador of Persia ; and as he happened to die previous to his arrival in Egypt, the charge devolved to his son, by whom they were finally delivered to the Sûltan.

The evening of the third day of Shabaun,* gave birth to Mirza Sûltan Ibrauhim the son of Shahzâdah Allâ-ud-doulah, and it is something curious that the letters of the sentence, " Shub-e-seium-uz-Shabaun," *the evening of the third of Shabaun*, should furnish exactly the date 843. In the course of the same year, Shah Rokh found it expedient to divest Mirza Sûltan Mûssâoud the son of Seyûrghetmesh, of the government of Kabûl, transferring it, however, to the brother of the degraded prince, Mirza Kâratchaur. Under the eight hundred and forty-fourth of the hidjerah, is recorded the death of Ameir Allâ-ud-dein Alleikah Koukeltaush, after having surpassed the advanced age of ninety years. Under the same year, we also find included the death of the princess Melket Aga, the widow of Omar Sheikh, but subsequently the wife of Shah Rokh, and by him the mother of Seyûrghetmesh. She was buried under the great dome of the college of Balkh, founded at her expence. Towards the commencement of the following year, the eight hundred and forty-fifth of the hidjerah,† Mirza Abdullûtteif the son of Olûgh Beg, who, from earliest infancy, had been brought up under the eye of his indulgent grandfather, taking offence at the partiality shewn for Mirza Allâ-ud-doulah, the son of Baysungur, by the queen consort Gouhershaud Aga, withdrew, in displeasure, to his father's court at Samarkand. But, as Shah Rokh betrayed the utmost disquietude and vexation of mind at the absence of his grandson, Gouhershaud herself, in order to remove his uneasiness, determined to undertake the journey into Transoxiana in person, in order to bring back the truant prince. She was met at some distance from Samarkand, and conducted

* 8th of January 1440. † Commencing 21st of May 1441.

A. H. 845-46. A. D 1442. Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

into that metropolis, with every mark of filial respect and tenderness, by Olûgh Beg. When she had remained for some days at Samarkand, to partake in the attentions of filial affection, Abdullûtteif consented at last, to accompany his grandmother on her return into Khorassaun; and they accordingly arrived together at Herât, on the 4th of Shavaul, of the year eight hundred and forty-five.*

Early in the followibg year, the eight hundred and forty-sixth of the hidjerah,† on intelligence that Melek Keyomarss, the chief of Rûstumdaur, had withdrawn from his allegiance, and even commenced hostilities, by dispatching a force to attempt the reduction of Rey and its dependencies, Shah Rokh, at the head of his troops, proceeded immediately to that quarter. When he had, however, prosecuted his march to the westward of Neyshapûr, messenger upon messenger, from Keyomarss, arrived to deprecate the wrath of the offended monarch, and to propose the most abject terms of submission; which were, in short, finally accepted on the part of Shah Rokh. In the mean time, a question had been agitated, in a council of his ministers and principal officers, by Shah Rokh, as to the arrangement best calculated to promote the permanent security of his possessions in Irâk Ajem; and it had been determined that one of the princes of the blood royal, should be selected to take charge of that troublesome and important government. Ameir Jullaul-ud-dein Feyrouz Shah, who had, at this crisis, established an almost unbounded influence over the affairs of the monarchy, embraced the opportunity to communicate that, a short time before, a certain Sheikh Behâ-ud-dein Omar, on his return from Hejauz, happening to sleep near the sepulchre of Sheikh Ahmed Ghazauly, at Kazvein, that venerated personage had appeared to him in a dream, and announced that the saints, or spirits in the abodes of the blessed, had nominated Mirza Sûltan Ahmed, or rather Mahommed, the son of Mirza Baysungur, to the government of Irâk. To this intimation, on the part of his sagacious minister, Shah Rokh yielded an attentive ear; and Mirza Sûltan Mahommed was accordingly dismissed with a competent force, and the usual insignia of authority, to possess himself of the government of Sûltauniah, Kazvein, and Rey. The Shahzâdah hastened without delay, to

* 14th of February 1442. † Commencing 11th of May 1442.

carry into execution the objects of his appointment; and in the course of a short time, he succeeded in reducing to their obedience the refractory chiefs of the surrounding territory, who had possibly availed themselves, as usual, of the relaxation of the regular authority, to indulge in speculations of ambition and independence. Nevertheless, before he had been for a period of any duration in possession of his power, Mirza Sûltan Mahommed, as it is alleged, in direct defiance of his instructions, proceeded to appropriate to himself the revenues of several of the adjoining districts, and to betray similar designs of independent authority. In consequence of this, his government was, some time afterwards, abridged to that of Kazvein and Sûltauniah alone, with an interdiction from extending his interference any further. Having, however, brought the dispute with Keyomarss, to a satisfactory termination, Shah Rokh returned without further contingency to his capital of Herât.

A. H. 846. A. D. 1442. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

The infirmities of age had, probably by this time, produced their ordinary effect in diminishing the activity, and impairing the mental energies of Shah Rokh; since we find it here remarked, that the predominance of the minister Feyrouz Shah, and his intrusive interference in every branch of government, had now surpassed all bounds of moderation—no officer or agent of any description, of his appointment, being removable by any other authority than his own. And although the usurpation was not less obvious, than obnoxious to his sovereign, yet no other individual of the first class of nobility, being equally habituated, or indeed qualified, to direct the complicated movements of the machine of government, he conceived it expedient to dissemble his displeasure, and to connive at the presumption of his minister. Under these circumstances, it happened that Seyud Emmaud-ud-dein Mahmoud, a man adorned by every virtuous and every polite accomplishment, and whose father, Zeyne-ul-aubbedein, had, for many years, discharged the duties of the Vizzaurut, under the authority of the invincible Teymûr, should have advanced, in the course of the eight hundred and forty-sixth of the hidjerah, so considerably in the favor of Shah Rokh, as to awaken the utmost degree of jealousy among the members of the court. It was by this ignoble motive actuated that Feyrouz Shah, in order to remove this respect-

Rouzut-us-suffa.

A. H. 846. A. D. 1442. Rouzut-us-sufa.

Seyud out of the way, invested him with a commission to adjust some affairs in the province of Balkh; of which, in spite of all he could urge to decline it, and of his sovereign's acknowledged wish that he should be promoted to some appointment of superior trust and dignity, he was constrained to accept.

Seyud Emmaud-ud-dein proceeded accordingly to Balkh; and it happened, moreover, in the course of the same year, that Mirza Mahommed Jouky should also have taken up his winter quarters in that city. From his communication with the inhabitants, however, it soon became known to that prince, that the agents of Feyrouz Shah had established so uncontrolable an ascendancy over the whole province, that a just proportion of the revenues could seldom, if ever, be conveyed to the treasury of the state; and that the individual exertions of Emmaud-ud-dein could, therefore, but little avail to rectify the evil. A royal mandate was, by some means or other, accordingly procured, directing the Seyud, under the superintendance of Mahommed Jouky, immediately to make up a full account of the revenues of the province for the last three years; it being, at the same time, notorious that the prince was already grievously offended with the conduct of Ameir Feyrouz Shah. In the mean time, information was received from Irâk, that Mirza Sûltan Mahommed had levied the most oppressive exactions upon the districts of his tenure, and that the inhabitants were grievously persecuted by his lieutenants, and their subordinate agents. As a mark of his displeasure, a mandate was therefore issued, by Shah Rokh, to declare that the governments of Sûltauniah, and Kazvein, were of themselves more than amply sufficient, to defray the expences of any establishment that could be necessary for the support of his station, whether in point of splendor or authority; and to caution him, very significantly, against interfering in any shape, with the districts beyond the limits of those particular governments Shums-ud-dein Mahommed, a Bokhârian, was dispatched, at the same time, to take charge of the districts thus withdrawn from the jurisdiction of Sûltan Mahommed. On the death of Khaujah Moazz-ud-dein Melek the Semnaunian at Shirauz, much about the same crisis, the government of that city, and of all Fars, was conferred by the authority of Shah Rokh, upon Sheikh

Mohebb-ud-dein Abûlkheyre, notwithstanding some recent heavy complaints against his conduct. A. H. 846-848. A. D. 1442-1444. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

The narrative now conveys us to the eight hundred and forty eighth of the hidjerah,* in the course of which Shah Rokh was destined to suffer under the attack of some severe and dangerous malady, which appeared, for some time, to baffle the skill of his physicians. While the danger of the monarch kept the hearts of all men in a state of suspense and alarm, Bahà-ud-dein Sheikh Omar, who had recently returned from a pilgrimage to Mekkah, one friday as he was coming from his devotions, proceeded to visit the suffering prince; who had not opened his lips for a period of three days and as many nights successively. He, however, saluted the pious Sheikh, the moment he was announced; and the latter in returning the salute, raised his hands to heaven to supplicate for his restoration to health. The monarch then besought the Sheikh, with his benediction, to bestow upon him some article from about his person; on which he immediately took the destaur, or turban, from his head, and laid it before the Shah. That same day the complaint took a favorable turn, and, shortly afterwards, was entirely removed. In consequence of this, a canopy, or pall, of the richest materials, and the most elaborate workmanship, was directed, by the Shah, to be prepared for the temple at Mekkah; and when finished, was conveyed, in charge of Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein Mahommed ul Mûrshedy, and Moulana Shums-ud-dein Mahommed of Ebher, by the route of Egypt, to that sacred sanctuary of their faith. The two agents were enabled to discharge their mission to the general satisfaction; and, having laid the canopy over the dome of the Kaaubah, at a subsequent period returned safe to Herât. During the same year occurred the death, under the displeasure of his sovereign, of the minister Feyrouz Shah; who, notwithstanding his unrestrainable ambition, is yet acknowledged to have been a just, benevolent, and virtuous nobleman, and a most liberal patron of genius and learning. The 848th of the hidjerah proved also fatal to Mirza Mahommed Jouky, the fifth son of Shah Rokh; who, pursued by the jealousy and uncourteous treatment of the queen-consort Gouhershaud Aga, whose influence was exclusively directed to promote the

* Commencing 19th of April A. D. 1444.

A. H. 848- 8.9.
A.D. 1444 1445.
Kholaussel-ul-akhbaur.

interests of his nephews, Allà-ud-doulah and Abdullûtteif, who had long passed his time in mortification and disappointment, and who terminated his earthly career about this period, at the town of Serkhess. His death occasioned the deepest concern to his now aged father, and his body was conveyed to Heràt; where it was committed to the grave, by the side of his brother Baysungur. According to the author of the Rouzut-us-suffà, Mirza Mahommed Jouky was a prince of the most exalted magnanimity, courage, and prudence, and in every respect eminently qualified to have shed, had he survived, the brightest lustre on the throne of Persia.

It appears, that soon after Mirza Sûltan Mahommed the son of Baysungur had been placed by his grandfather, at the suggestion of the minister Feyrouz Shah, as recently described, in the vice-royalty of part of the territory of Irák Ajem, a numerous concourse of adventurers from various parts of the empire resorted to his court; and they were entertained by the shahzâdah, with a liberality, that in a short time exhausted his means, and rendered his expenditure far beyond the receipts of his treasury. In these circumstances, reports were circulated, perhaps studiously, in Irák, of the illness and reduced state of Shah Rokh; many of the turbulent and disaffected persuading the prince, that his grandfather was no longer able to move from his capital. Hence, Mirza Sûltan Mahommed was easily led to conceive it a favorable opportunity, to possess himself of the rich and noble governments of Isfahaun, and Shirauz. Accordingly, some time during the eight hundred and forty ninth of the hidjerah,* he suddenly appeared before Isfahaun, of which he made himself master without great difficulty; seizing, and throwing into prison Ameir Saudut the son of Khâwend Shah, and nephew of the late minister Feyrouz Shah, who had succeeded to the government, on the death of Mirza Rûstum. Having taken the necessary precautions to provide for the security of this important acquisition, and by various methods made a prodigious accumulation of treasure, the shahzâdah proceeded towards Shirauz. That city had, however, been timely secured against him, by Mirza Abdullah, the son of the late Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan; who prepared to defend his post with resolution, and dispatched the earliest intelligence to Herât, to announce his danger.

* Commencing 8th of April 1445.

A. H. 849 850.
A. D. 1445-1446.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

In consequence of this information, some time during the eight hundred and fiftieth year of the hidjerah,* Shah Rokh, in spite of the accumulating infirmities of age and declining health, felt himself equally impelled, by the desire of vindicating his authority, and by the importunities of his consort Gouher-shaud Begum, to march once more into Irâk Ajem, confiding the government of his capital to his grandson Allâ-ud-doulah, the eldest son of Mirza Baysungur. When, by the usual route of Neyshapûr and Semnaun, he had conducted his troops again to the neighborhood of Rey, it was found advisable to dispatch the Ameirs Sûltan Shah Berlas, Sheikh Abûlfuzzul the son of Alleikah Koukeltaush, and Mahommed the son of Feyrouz Shah, in advance of the main body of the army. On the other hand it appears, that as soon as he became apprized of the approach of his grandfather, Mirza Sûltan Mahommed abandoned, without hesitation, his projects of independent power; and with a few of his followers retired in haste, from before Shirauz, into the province of Lurrestaun. The retreat of his grandson seems to have rendered the presence of Shah Rokh no longer necessary in that quarter; and, accordingly, after having proceeded great part of the way towards Shirauz, he returned to take up his abode for a short time at Isfahaun. While he remained in that city, he gave orders for the arrest of many of the Seyuds and native chiefs of the province; who had imprudently espoused the cause of Sûltan Mahommed, and were many of them now made to expiate their offence, under the arm of the executioner. This was about the middle of the month of Ramzaun.† Among those implicated in the charge of embracing the interests of Mirza Sûltan Mahommed, on this occasion, we find the name of Moulana Shurf-ud-dein Ally the Yezdian, the eloquent, and, as he is here termed, the veracious author of the Zuffur-nâmah. He was, however, preserved from the punishment inflicted on the associates of his indiscretion, by the interference and address of Mirza Abdullûtteif; through whose contrivance he was removed to Herât.

In the mean time, Shah Rokh returned to the neghborhood of Rey, where he proposed to pass the winter. Towards the conclusion of that season, he dispatched the Ameirs Sûltan Shah Berlas, Sheikh

* Commencing 28th of March 1446. † Beginning of December 1446.

A. H. 849 850.
A. D. 1447.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Abûlfuzzul, and Ahmed the son of Feyrouz Shah, again, either by fair means, or by compulsion, to bring the refractory Mirza Sûltan Mahommed to his presence. Of these, by some happier effort, the Ameir Sheikh Abûlfuzzul obtained the start, in conveying himself to the residence of the shahzádah; whom, by wholesome counsels, and arguments convincing to the understanding, he finally reconciled to the prudent alternative of returning to his allegiance, and, by his future dutiful behavior, to make every reparation for the past. But, in the midst of these conciliatory arrangements, an event occurred, which, however naturally to be expected, does not yet appear to have seriously entered the contemplation of the numerous individuals so deeply interested in the result.

During the period in which he continued encamped in the neighborhood of Rey, Shah Rokh had occasionally complained of a disorder in his bowels, and of a general debility of constitution. But, on sunday morning the 25th of Zilhudje, of the eight hundred and fiftieth of the hidjerah,* having taken a laxative medicine, and mounting his mule to go on a visit of devotion, to the tombs of some of the departed Sheikhs in the fortress of Teberrek, or Tebarek, some distance to the north-east of Rey, he had not proceeded far on his way, when the animal on which he rode became restive, and he found himself constrained, from excess of weakness, to take to his litter. At the same time, the complaint in his bowels increasing to a violent degree, the Shah and his attendants were compelled to return without delay; but, before he could again reach the imperial pavilion, this respectable and august monarch had resigned his soul to the mercy of his Creator. He had attained to the age of sixty-nine years, four months, and twenty-four days, and had governed with paramount sway over the dominions of the Persian empire, reckoning from the death of his father, for a period of forty-two years, and twenty-four days; not including the period of seven years, during which he had previously presided over the province of Khorassaun, as his father's lieutenant. He appears, from the events of his reign, to have been a monarch of singular good sense and moderation, and his government, if we set aside the circumstances under which he was, on some occasions, compelled

* 13th of March 1447.

to draw the sword against the ambitious projects of his own relatives, must be acknowledged to exhibit a period of enviable prosperity and substantial glory. Extending over the greater part of the ancient Persian monarchy, his authority was obeyed, either immediately, or through the agency of his sons, nephews, or grandsons, through the vast territory included between the mountains of Irák Ajem, and the Indus, east and west, the Kûrr, the Caspian, and the Seyhûn, north, and the province of Mekraun, and the Arabian sea, or sea of Omman, on the south. A glance at the map of Asia will at once convey to the eye of the reader the extensive outline of this spacious domain; but almost immediately on his demise, as must generally be the case where the will of the monarch is the law of the land, this noble fabric fell to pieces, at the baneful touch of domestic dissention, and the rival ambition of contending fathers, sons, and brothers—the blessed and uniform result of the absurd system of polygamy.*

A. H. 850.
A. D. 1447.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

* Of the fortuitous policy which has for ages governed, and still continues to weigh down the destiny of the Persian Empire, so eminently calculated, by the advantages of an auspicious climate, and by the genius and manly spirit of the natives, to rank with the most powerful and illustrious countries on earth, the reader will find ample testimony in "*The History of Persia*," recently published by Sir John Malcolm; a work which reflects no less credit on the ability and practical attainments of the author, than on the application which, amidst the official duties of many very troublesome and arduous missions, could command sufficient leisure for the prosecution of so elaborate a performance.

## CHAP. XI.

A. H. 850.
A. D. 1447.
Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

WHEN the death of Shah Rokh became, on the day following, generally known in the encampment, the greatest disorder and consternation immediately ensued. At the desire of the princess Gouhershaud, however, Mirza Abdullûtteif the son of Olûgh Beg, hastened without delay, from his station in the right wing, in order to provide, as far as possible, for the general security, but, more particularly, to preserve subordination in the army. Mirza Bâber, on the other hand, the son of Mirza Baysungur, accompanied by Khaleil Sûltan, the son of Mahommed, son of Jahangueir, who was the grandson of Shah Rokh, by one of his daughters, took the road towards Khorassaun ; the troops under the orders of these two princes, at the same time, plundering the Bazars of the encampment, and seizing for themselves every thing they could lay hands on. Three days subsequent to his dissolution, the remains of the departed monarch were placed on a litter, and conducted, together with the main body of the army, on the way to Heiât. But, in the course of the march, a seditious faction among the Ameirs having persuaded Mirza Abdullûtteif, that Gouhershaud, and the Terkhaunian chiefs, were hatching some treacherous design, the Shahzàdah, being already aware of the partiality of that princess towards Allà-ud-doulah, was easily led to give way to the impression. In some of the districts between Rey and Semnaun, he proceeded therefore to plunder the baggage of his widowed grandmother, and of her suspected accomplices the Terkhaunian Ameirs ; at the same time, seizing the person of every individual, of whose intentions he did not feel himself perfectly secure.

This obnoxious measure was carried into execution on the last day of Zilhudje ;* but what created universal surprise, was the ex-

* 17th of March, 1447.

treme barbarity exhibited, on this occasion, on the part of Abdullûtteif, towards the widowed Gouher-shaud; whom he so entirely bereaved of her property, that he left her not the meanest quadruped, to convey her on her melancholy journey to Herât. In consequence of this unmanly treatment, she was constrained, when the army resumed its march, to accompany the army on foot, with an ordinary linnen scarf thrown over her head, and a staff in her hand; until a servant of one of the Ameirs of the hostile tribe of Berlas, taking compassion on her forlorn and hapless destiny, who but four days before had commanded millions, seated her on his own horse, and thus enabled her to proceed.

A. H. 850-851. A. D 1447. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Abdullûtteif appeared shortly afterwards before the gates of Damaghaun, which had been closed against him by the person in command. The place was, however, immediately attacked and carried by assault, and given up to be plundered by the soldiery. From thence he hastened to Bostaum; and there he first received intelligence that his kinsman Mirza Bâber, on the invitation of Ameir Hindûkah Koukeltaush, the governor of Jûrjaun, had proceeded to that place, and already assumed the sceptre of royalty. Continuing his march to Subbuzwaur, Mirza Abdullûtteif was next informed that Ameir Sûltan Shah Berlaus, and his associates employed to bring Mirza Sûltan Mahommed to a sene of his duty, were on their return; but that one of them, Nizam-ud dein Ahmed the son of Feyrouz Shah, had proceeded by the route of Tersheiz, directly for Herât. From Subbuzwaur, Abdullûtteif now made the best of his way to Neyshapûr; where he became finally apprized that his other kinsman Allâ-ud-doulah, the son of Baysungur, had thrown open the gates of the royal treasury at Herât, and that a division of the troops, among whom he had distributed its contents, were already at Mûsh-hed, prepared to oppose the attempts of all those who were hostile to his claims on the sovereign power.

In fact, it appears that having received early intelligence of the death of his grandfather, Allâ-ud-doulah had ascended the throne of Khorassaun at Herât, towards the commencement of the month of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and fifty-first of the hidjerah;* reckoning upon the unresisting submission of the brothers, and propos-

* Latter end of March, 1447.

A. D. 850-851. A. D. 1447. Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

ing to dispatch some splendid present to purchase the forbearance of his uncle Olûgh Beg, the legitimate heir to his father's power, at Samarkand. But, he no sooner became apprized of the barbarous treatment to which the dowager Gouhershaud had been exposed, on the part of Abdullûtteif, than he determined on immediate hostilities against that prince: and Mirza Salah the son of Mirza Peir Mahommed, the Shirauzian, together with the Ameirs Weiss and Ahmed Terkhaunians, at the head of a chosen body of troops, was in consequence dispatched to Mûsh-hed, to obstruct the designs in that quarter. Receiving, on their arrival at that place, intelligence of the remissness and unprovided posture of the troops of Abdullûtteif, these chiefs immediately determined on an attempt to surprise his camp; and making a forced march, on the night of sunday the 13th of Sûffur,* completely succeeded in their design. The princess Gouhershaud was instantly set at liberty, by the Terkhaunian Ameirs of her party, by whom she was securely conducted to the outskirts of the encampment; where they drew up their followers without delay, and struck up their music to redouble the alarm. Mirza Abdullûtteif, who, to this moment, had remained immersed in sleep, and unconcern, was at last awakened by the unusual uproar, and hastened, as far as possible under such circumstances of confusion, to rally his troops for battle; but, his horse dropping down dead in the conflict which ensued, he became a prisoner in the hands of the assailants, who proceeded to pillage his camp without further resistance.

Thus far successful, Mirza Salah, and the Terkhaunian Ameirs, escorting the litter of Gouhershaud, and the remains of the departed Shah Rokh, returned towards Herât. At the town of Jaum, they were met by Allâ-ud-doulah; who had proceeded so far to do honor to the widow of his grandfather, whose body he thence conducted in solemn state to the metropolis of his dominions. The remains of the departed monarch were soon afterwards deposited, with all the customary solemnities, in the Gûmbez, or mausoleum, of Gouhershaud at Herât, already dedicated to the repose of his son the late Mirza Baysungur; although at a subsequent period, the body of the

* 29th of April 1447.

Shah was again removed by Olûgh Beg, and buried by the side of Teymûr, at Samarkand. In the mean time, Mirza Abdullûtteif was imprisoned in the citadel of Ekhtiaur-ud dein; from whence, however, he was not long afterwards released, in consequence of a treaty concluded between his father Olûgh Beg, and Allâ-ud-doulah, the former prince having crossed the Oxus and advanced to Balkh, with the design, if it had not been otherwise ordained, of taking possession of Khorassaun. By this treaty, the government of that great province appears, however, to have been formally ceded to Allâ-ud-doulah, in consideratson of the immediate enlargement of Abdullûtteif, who was invested with that of Balkh the moment he joined his father.

A. H. 850-851. A. D. 1447 Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Nevertheless, in consequence of a refusal, on his part, to discharge some of the followers of Abdullûtteif, who had been taken during the disgraceful rout near Neyshapûr, the unwarrantable detention of a stipulated share of the treasures of Shah Rokh, which he had faithfully promised to convey to his uncle, and, more immediately, to chastise the enormities committing by his troops at Sheberghaun and Endekhoud, hostilities soon broke out afresh with Allâ-ud-doulah; in the course of which the latter was totally defeated, in a battle* near the river Mûrghaub, by Olûgh Beg in person, and compelled to withdraw from Khorassaun, the capital of which, shortly afterwards, submitted to the conqueror. But Olûgh Beg had no sooner returned to the provinces beyond the Jeyhûn, than the metropolis of Herât fell into the hands of the younger brother, Mirza Abûlkaussem Bâber, who bestowed the district of Toun, by way of perpetual jagueir, for the maintenance of the extruded Allâ-ud-doulah; although, at the suggestion of the evil-disposed, he was not long afterwards induced to withdraw this bounty, and to place the person of his brother under restraint. Allâ-ud-doulah contrived yet, notwithstanding, to effect his escape from confinement into the province of Ghour, and pro-

* We cannot omit to remark, that the father of Meirkhond, the author of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, was in the train of Sheikh Omar, a devout personage of Khorassaun employed on this occasion, by Allâ ud-doulah, to intercede for an accommodation with Olûgh Beg; but the battle had taken place before the mission could reach the camp of that monarch, between Senjaub, and a small station called Tertaub, or Ternaub.

A. D. 850-851. A. D. 1447. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

ceeding thence through Seiestaun, finally conveyed himself into Irâk Ajem; from whence, at a remoter period, he accompanied his other brother Mirza Sûltan Mahommed, on his successful expedition into Khorassaun.

But it would indeed be an endless task, were we to pursue the almost interminable detail of those distractions, with which the frantic ambition of the rival branches of the family of Teymûr continued long to agitate, and harass, these beautiful but devoted regions. We shall therefore hastily pass to the concluding events of the government of Olûgh Beg; whose name will always claim the attention of the oriental reader, from his reputed eminent attainments in science, and more particularly in that of astronomy.

Unfortunately, these latter were deeply tainted with the absurd speculations of judicial astrology, in the course of which, in casting the nativity of his son Abdullûtteif, he had, it seems, discovered that he was destined to experience some fatal injury from tne hands of that prince; and he had been confirmed in this notion by the repeated declaration of Moulana Mahommed Ardestauny, the very wonder of the age in the mysteries of that occult art. Hence the conduct of Olûgh Beg, towards Abdullûtteif, was distinguished ever afterwards by an unchanging course of unkindness and discouragement; and all his favors were reserved for the younger brother, Abdulazziz. On the other hand, Abdullûtteif was sufficiently sensible to the effects of this partiality, although probably not aware of the source; and the seeds of disgust thus mutually implanted were forced to early maturity, in the bosom of Abdullûtteif, by some recent instances of injustice, on the part of the father, subsequent to the battle of Tertaub, the glory of which he seemed disposed to ascribe to the exertions of Abdulazziz. Having found it expedient to abandon Herât, at the approach of his kinsman Bâber, Abdullûtteif ventured to suspend his retreat at Balkh, and there he finally determined on hostilities against his father; to which he was more immediately impelled by the discovery, among the papers of Meiran Shah, another of the race of Teymûr who had just fallen in conflict with him, a letter from Olûgh Beg, urging him to attack the government of his son. On this, the first step of Abdullûtteif was to destroy the chests of Tum-

ghâis, or charters, issued by his father, to the different retainers possibly; after which he assembled his troops, resolving, sword in hand, to justify his unnatural revolt at the hazard of existence.

A. H. 851-853. A. D. 1447 1449. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

At a piece of intelligence calculated, in ordinary circumstances, to awaken considerable alarm, Olûgh Beg on his part exhibited some symptoms of impatience and agitation; and, having left Abdulazziz to take care of Samarkand, he hastened without delay at the head of a numerous army, to the banks of the Jeyhûn, Abdullûtteif being already on the spot to oppose his passage over that river. And in this attitude, the father and son continued opposed to each other for some time; while their troops occasionally crossed above and below, and engaged in frequent partial conflicts, in which the advantage is alleged to have been, invariably, on the side of Abdullûtteif. However, after many days had been consumed in these fruitless and unavailing hostilities, information was received from Samarkand that Abdulazziz had but ill executed the trust reposed in him; and that he had dared to stretch his sacrilegious hands against the families of the absent Ameirs, and other subjects of his father's government. In consequence of this, and in the hope of restraining him from these unsanctified violations, Olûgh Beg dispatched to admonish him against his unwarrantable conduct, without, however, producing the slightest effect. The nobles of his court, therefore, driven to extremity by such uncontrolable insolence, on the part of the son, prepared, without further ceremony, to seize the person of the father, in order to deliver him up to Abdullûtteif; when, at this very crisis, an event occurred which, fertile as the period was in examples of treason and ingratitude, does not yet seem to have been contemplated without considerable surprise.

Mirza Sûltan Abû Sâeid,* the son of Sûltan Mahommed, son of Meiran Shah, although he had passed the greater part of his life in subordinate attendance on the court of Olûgh Beg, had, however, not the less continued to cherish in his bosom the hope of independent power, whenever an opportunity should offer to gratify his ambition; and the moment in which the father and son were thus opposed to each

* We are to bear in mind that this was the lineal ancestor of the Hindustauny branch of the house of Teymûr.

A. H. 851-853.
A. D. 1447-1449.
Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

other in mortal hostility, was that which he considered favorable to the attainment of his object. Having, therefore, prevailed upon the tribe of Arghûn to support him, he boldly unmasked his designs, and marched immediately to Samarkand. As the greater part of the troops of the province had proceeded to the scene of operations on the banks of the Jeyhûn, Abdulazziz was destitute of the means of opposing him in the field, and was necessarily constrained to shut himself up behind the walls of the metropolis. Information of the danger was, however, instantly conveyed to Olûgh Beg; who, in the midst of his astonishment at an attack so little expected, returned without a moment's delay to the relief of his capital—Sûltan Abû Sâeid withdrawing at his approach for the present, and retiring to the territory of his allies of the Moghûl tribe of Arghûn. But the absence of Olûgh Beg on this occasion afforded, on the other hand, to Abdullûtteif, the opportunity, of which he immediately availed himself, to cross the Oxus with his whole force, which he now led on the direct road to Samarkand.

At the village of Dameshk, on the way to that metropolis from the Oxus, he was opposed by his father, but with a pusillanimity which little corresponds with what we may have been hitherto disposed to conceive of the character of Olûgh Beg; since, in the conflict which took place on this occasion, although posted on a hill which overlooked the field of battle, and doubtless beyond the reach of danger, he prematurely turned his back on the combatants, and ignominiously fled towards Samarkand, before any decision could have been yet formed of the issue of the day. At that place, he was destined to experience a further act of treacherous ingratitude as little expected as any former one; for Meiran Shah Koutchein, whom, from the dust, he had raised to the government of his capital, now perfidiously closed the gates against him, and denied admission on any terms. The unhappy monarch was, therefore, constrained to direct his flight, in the utmost incertitude, towards Shahrokhiah on the Seyhûn. Here also, receiving intimation that Ibrauhim, the governor of the place, entertained disloyal designs against his person, his residence became unsafe; and he returned again, for the last time, to Samarkand. Arrived in his capital, now in possession of Abdullûtteif,

he obtained an interview with that rebellious son; at which some circumstances occurred, of a nature so strange and unprecedented, that the authors from whom we derive the information declare themselves, from shame and indignation, utterly incapable of putting them upon record. In conclusion, a person of the name of Abbas, whose father had been on some former occasion put to death by an order from Olûgh Beg, and known to be suborned by Abdullûtteif, now presented himself to the pageant whom, in conformity with the policy of Teymûr, they had raised to the titular dignity of Khaun, and on his knees demanded retribution on the destroyer of his father. Under such circumstances a mandate was issued, in the name of this titular Khaun, directing that the charge should be submitted to the usual course of investigation; and a Fetwa, or judicial decree, was accordingly drawn up under the authority of all the ulema of Samarkand, declaring that Olûgh Beg was clearly obnoxious to the law of retaliation. On the basis of this harsh and arbitrary sentence, Abdullûtteif committed his unhappy father to the disposal of Ameir Hadjy Mahommed Khossrou, for the purpose, as he effected to allege, of conducting him to Mekkah; and he accordingly quitted Samarkand the same day, about the hour of evening prayer.

A. H. 853. A. D. 1449. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

The author of the Rouzut-us-suffâ enables us further to state, that he heard the same Hadjy Manommed with his own lips describe the sequel of this foul transaction, in the following terms. On the evening on which he quitted Samarkand as the conductor of Olûgh Beg, the latter appeared to urge the course of his horse, in a manner that bespoke extraordinary satisfaction at his deliverance, conversing as he went along, with an air of perfect indifference, with the companion of his journey. When, however, they had proceeded but a short distance from the city, a person from behind suddenly pulled the narrator by the sleeve; on which looking back, he observed that it was a man of the tribe of Seldûz, whom he recollected as having familiar access to the presence of Abdullûtteif, and he demanded with some surprise, if all was well! The man replied, that by an order from the Khaun, it was intimated that Olûgh Beg should suspend his journey on some convenient and habitable spot, until such an equipage, and such requisites for his journey, should be provided as were

Rouzut-us-suffa.

A. H. 853. A. D 1449. Rouzut-us-suffa.

not only suitable to his rank, but satisfactory in the eyes of the world. The Hadjy briefly rejoined, that to hear, was sufficient to command obedience. Olûgh Beg then ventured to enquire what was the subject of this man's communication; and being apprized, said not a word more, but appeared to sink at once under the weight of his apprehensions. At no great distance from the spot, there stood a small village, at which they dismounted from their horses, and prepared to pass the night; and, as the evening proved rather cold, Olûgh Beg desired the attendants to make up a fire before him, at which they might, at the same time, proceed to cook their frugal meal. While they were thus employed, a spark entered the mantle which the prince had thrown round his shoulders, and set it on fire; which, however, he easily extinguished with his own hands, only exclaiming, with some degree of vexation, that even the elements seemed aware of the wretchedness to which he was reduced.

In this state of alarming suspense, Hadjy Mahommed further alleged that Olûgh Beg no longer attempted to conceal the strong feelings of perturbation, by which his mind was disquieted; one while intreating to be informed of the fate of Abdullazziz, and another piteously demanding whether any orders had yet been received as to his own execution. Under such circumstances, the minister of vengeance suddenly entered, in the person of Abbas above described, accompanied by another individual. The moment his eye fell upon Abbas, the unhappy prince started from his seat, and with his fist struck him a violent blow on the breast; on which the attendant instantly tore off the leathern doublet in which his victim was clad, while Abbas withdrew to bring a cord. In the mean time, Hadjy Mahommed bolted the door of the apartment; the wretched object of all this violence raising loud and lamentable cries for assistance. Abbas soon returned, and leading the poor prince out of the chamber, seated him down on a spot near which they had planted a blasing torch, or flambeau. Hadjy Mahommed and his companions seized the opportunity to slip off, while the villain Abbas, with a single stroke of his scimitar, bestowed the honors of martyrdom upon him, whom the author now ventures to designate, the just, the learned, the munificent, and the virtuous Olûgh Beg. Hadjy Mahommed then returned to

Samarkand, where Abdullûtteif had already put his brother Abdulazziz to death, three days previous to the assasination of his unhappy father. The date of this latter event is precisely exhibited in the phrase, Abbas kosht—Abbas killed; the Persian characters of which, numerically applied, form together the total 853, being the year of the hidjerah in which the murder was perpetrated, corresponding with the year of Christ 1449, some time in the month of November.

A.H. 853-54. A. D. 1449-50. Rouzut-us-suffa.

The unfeeling paricide was, however, not permitted long to enjoy his ill-acquired power: for although possessed of many generous qualities, and of considerable acuteness of understanding, yet an inflexible severity of temper, and an extraordinary quick-sightedness in the detection of guilt, led him in all his proceedings to award his punishments, in a proportion far beyond the magnitude of the offence. Hence, it is alleged, that a conspiracy was early formed against his life, by a combination among the servants of Olûgh Beg, and of his murdered brother, Abdulazziz. From the period of his father's assassination, he is also said to have had perpetually in his mouth, the couplet ascribed, by Nizammi, to Sheirûiah, the murderer of Khossrou Parveiz; "the parricide is unworthy of the throne—Yet should he be permitted to attain it, let not his power exceed the period of six months." Accordingly, on the evening of the 26th of the former Rebbeia of the eight hundred and fifty fourth of the hidjerah,* just six months after the consummation of his crime, as this tyrant polluted with a father's blood was returning, heedless of his destiny, from the Baugh-e-chunaur into Samarkand, one of the conspirators, from the post where they had lodged themselves for the execution of their design, discharged an arrow, which transfixed him through the body; and his attendants immediately dispersing in dismay, the whole approached without obstacle, and striking off his head, proceeded to suspend it from the principal arch, in the front of the college of Olûgh Beg. The name of the conspirator, by whose hand this act of retributive justice was inflicted on Abdullûtteif, happened to be Bâba Hûsseyne; and it is further singular, that the characters in the sentence, "Bâba Hûsseyne kosht," Bâba Hûsseyne killed him, "comprehend also the date of this catastrophe—854.

* 8th of May 1450.

A. H. 854-855.
A.D. 1450-1451.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Immediately on the death of Abdullâtteif, the nobles, and higher classes of inhabitants at Samarkand, concurred in raising Mirza Abdullah the Shirauzian, the son of Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan, to the specious honors of an unsubstantial sovereignty. Mirza Sûltan Abû Sâeid, however, who had effected his escape from imprisonment and fled to Bokhâra, towards the close of the ephemeral reign of Abdullâtteif, no sooner became apprized of the recent events, than he secured Bokhâra for himself, and marched directly for Samarkand. Mirza Abdullah, at the head of his adherents, hastened to give him battle; and victory declaring for the troops of Samarkand, Sûltan Abû Sâeid was once more compelled to retire into the countries beyond the Seyhûn: where he continued, for some time, to wander from place to place without any settled habitation, until, towards the commencement of the eight hundred and fifty fifth of the hidjerah,* he contrived to possess himself of the fortress of Yassy. Without the smallest delay, a body of troops was dispatched by Mirza Abdullah, in order to reduce that place; but it proved so well prepared for defence, that they returned, soon afterwards, ignominiously repulsed to Samarkand. Abdullah now threw open the gates of his treasury, and proceeded, by a lavish distribution of its contents, to lure to his standard a more numerous force, and to set on foot the most formidable equipments; in order effectually to crush the ambitious designs of Mirza Sûltan Abû Sâeid. The latter, whom our authorities concur in distinguishing, henceforth, by the title of Sûltan Sâeid, the august Sûltan, apprized of these alarming preparations, immediately dispatched, in conformity with the advice of the Ameirs of his party, to solicit the aid of Abûlkheyre Khaun, monarch of the Ouzbeks; who very cheerfully complied with the request, marching without hesitation, in person, to his support. Forming a junction soon afterwards, the two princes proceeded with united force immediately towards Samarkand; and it is gravely alleged that the Khaun of the Ouzbeks, on this occasion, finding that his people suffered grievously from the excessive drought and heat of the weather, had recourse to the mysterious virtues of the Juddah-taush, in consequence of which, an abundant fall of rain was immediately obtained, together with a milder temperature of sky.

* Commencing 2d of February A. D. 1451.

A.H. 855.
A. D. 1451.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Receiving information of the approach of the allied monarchs, Mirza Abdullah on his part, at the head of a powerful army, advanced with becoming resolution to oppose them; and towards the latter part of the former Jumnaudy, of the eight hundred and fifty fifth of the hidjerah,* at a village called Shirauz, at the distance of four farsangs, or about fourteen miles, from Samarkand, the hostile armies came to a conflict. In this, the troops of Mirza Abdullah were totally defeated; and that prince, having been overtaken in his flight from the field of battle, was immediately dispatched to pursue his course of ambition in another world. In the mean time, well knowing the enormities to which the inhabitants would be exposed, were the Ouzbeks once to obtain possession of Samarkand, Sûltan Abû Sâeid, resolved, if possible, to avert that worst of mischiefs; and having, by some means or other, contrived, accordingly, to amuse the Ouzbek chiefs, he rode alone to the gates of the city, and announcing himself to the guards, called upon them to give him instant admission, if they desired to preserve the town from the outrages of the Ouzbeks. The people immediately threw open the gate, and the Sûltan entering, proceeded without delay, to secure the walls and towers against attack. Persuasive and conciliatory messages were then employed, to soothe the disappointment of Abûlkheyre, who, to his no small surprise, found the entrance into the city thus barred against him. He was, however, by suitable presents to himself and to his subordinate chiefs, at last prevailed upon to withdraw into his own country; thus happily relieving the people of Samarkand from the rapacious volence, to which they would otherwise have been exposed, from these ferocious and sanguinary tribes.

In a former part of his summary the author has noticed, that Mirza Allâ-ud-doulah, after having once more obtained possession of Herât, learning, however, that his brother, Abûlkaussem Bâber was approaching, again abandoned that city, and retired towards Balkh, where a considerable number of men immediately flocked to his standard. But Mirza Bâber also approaching to the same quarter at the head of his army, on intelligence of his proceedings, Allâ-ud-doulah conceived the force at his disposal, inadequate to any purpose of

* End of June 1451.

A. H. 855. A. D. 1451. Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

effectual resistance, and withdrew with some precipitation, into the mountains of Buddukhshaun. Thither, in spite of every obstacle of snowy weather, and the severity of a rigorous winter, he was pursued by his more fortunate brother, and his force entirely broken and dispersed. Upon this, returning to Balkh, Mirza Bâber bestowed the government of that province, together with Kûndez and Baklaun, upon Ameir Peir Derwaish Hazauraspy, and his brother Ameir Ally, each of them equally distinguished for integrity of mind, and liberality of disposition. From Balkh, Mirza Bâber now proceeded to Herât; where he was immediately destined to witness another of those examples of perfidy and ingratitude, which so frequently stain the pages of oriental history.

When he recently took his departure for Balkh, he had entrusted the government of the important castle of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, to one of his officers of the name of Aweiss Beg; who had, as it would appear, scarcely taken charge of his trust, before he determined to betray it. Easily impelled by the fumes of a distempered ambition to aim at independent power, without calculating the hazard of failure, this man rashly proceeded to fortify his post, and to maintain it against all attempts to reduce him to his duty; neither could he be prevailed upon to abandon his design, although well assured of the return of his prince, and that he was actually lodged in the Baugh-e-seffeid, or white gardens, in the neighborhood of Herât. At the same time, the defences of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein were of a description so formidable, as to occasion some embarrassment in determining on the plan of attack; but that which was not to be effected without extreme difficulty, through the application of mere force, was accomplished with perfect facility, through the exertions of a little ordinary address on the part of Mirza Bâber. A confidental person was employed by the latter to acquaint Aweiss, that without putting him to the inconvenience and hazard of quitting his post, the prince would himself repair to a particular spot within the range of the works, to hold a conference with him. Mirza Bâber accordingly entered the city one evening, and, having sent a band of music and singers to lead the way, directed a division of tried soldiers to follow towards the gate of the castle, at a convenient distance behind. Posting themselves before the principal

entrance, the party in advance, as they were instructed to do, proclaimed aloud, that the Mirza was arrived; on which Aweiss, without the smallest hesitation, passed the wicket, and presented himself, unattended, without the gate, in order, as he supposed, to receive the prince. He was, however, instantly attacked by one of the party; but him he killed with his dirk, and threw headlong into the ditch of the place. Nevertheless, before he could regain the gateway, the remainder of the party rushed forward and dispatched him on the spot; and a few days afterwards, the place was surrendered without further trouble, to Mirza Bâber, by the brother of the rebel.

A. H. 855. A. D. 1451. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Not long afterwards, one of the domestics of Allâ-ud-doulah came to apprize Bâber that his master was in the neighborhood, and that he actually lay concealed in the quarter of the washermen, a suburb of the city so called; on which a party was sent in search of him, and he was finally discovered and again conveyed to his prison.

Towards the conclusion of the eight hundred and fifty-fifth of the hidjerah, Mirza Sûltan Mahommed the son of Baysungur, quitted Shirauz, for the last time, on his march towards Khorassaun; his brother Bâber being at this period in winter quarters at Bostaum. On intelligence, however, of the hostile designs of Sûltan Mahommed, Mirza Bâber resolved to try the effect of an accommodation; and for that purpose, Khaujah Moulana, the Sheikh-ul-isslaum, or patriarch of the true faith, who had recently repaired to his court from Samarkand, was dispatched by him to the camp of his brother, now advanced to the neighborhood of Isfahaun. Through the zeal and exertion of this Sheikh, a treaty was at length concluded between the brothers; by which it was agreed upon that some inconsiderable districts of the province of Khorassaun should be definitively transferred to the government of Isâk Ajem, and that in all the countries subject to the authority of Mirza Bâber, the Khotbah and Sikkah, or regalities of the mosque and mint, should be regulated in the name of Sûltan Mahommed. Confiding in the validity of this treaty, Mirza Bâber quitted Bostaum on the return of the negociator; and he was proceeding into Mazanderaun, when overtaken on the road by repeated expresses with information that, in contempt of his recent engagements, Mirza Sûltan Mahommed had given him the

A. H. 855-857. A. D. 1451-1453. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

slip, and conducted his army, by Bostaum and Damaghaun, immediately to Esferâein, which appears to lay about midway between Asterabad and Mush hed. This piece of intelligence produced for a moment considerable surprise and uneasiness, on the part of Mirza Bâber; but recovering from his embarrassment, he finally determined, with such a force as he could immediately collect, to leave the forests of Mazanderaun, and hasten with all the expedition in his power, to give battle to his perfidious brother.

At the station of Tchunaweran, on the road from Asterabad to Esferâein, whither Sûltan Mahommed had hastened with an equal resolution to bring their claims to the decision of the sword, the rival brothers came to a conflict; in the course of which, betrayed by Abû Sâeid Meirum, one of his principal officers, who went over about the commencement of the action, to Mirza Bâber, and appriz-ed him that it was the intention of his brother to break through the centre of his army, Mirza Sûltan Mahommed was taken prisoner in leading his troops directly to the charge; the Khorassaunians opening systematically to receive him, and then closing their ranks again to cut him off from his followers. The captive Sûltan, at the early age of four and thirty, was immediately put to death by the direction of Bâber; and one brother having been thus effectually disposed of, it was determined to obviate all further attempts on the part of Allâ-ud-doulah, the other, now also a prisoner in the camp of the conqueror, by an order to deprive him of sight. Softened, however, by a sentiment of compassion, those entrusted with the performance of this operation, only passed the searing instrument across the eyelids, which their prisoner was, at the same time, instructed to close as firmly as possible; so that the pupil of the eye escaped without injury, and it is probable that we shall again hear of Allâ-ud-doulah.

Having obtained this decisive victory over his brother, Mirza Bâber, instead of proceeding into Iràk by the ordinary route of Rey, determined, with the advice of his council, to conduct his troops by that of Tersheiz and Toun, immediately to Shirauz. However this may have been, after experiencing considerable difficulty in obtaining supplies for his followers, he contrived to reach Yezd; where he was joined by the Ameirs Nizam-ud-dein Ahmed, and Sûltan

Hûsseyne the sons of Feyrouz Shah, by Gheyauth-ud-dein Peir Ahmed of Khowauf, and others of the principal officers of the late Mirza Sûltan Mahommed; and, soon afterwards, he proceeded to Shirauz. When he had continued at that metropolis for a period of four months, intelligence was conveyed to him that the troops of Ameir Jahaun Shah the Turkomaun, the son of Kàra Yûssuf, had captured Sàwah, which was considered as the key of Irâk Ajem on that side, and that they were now pressing the siege of Koumm. Leaving therefore Mirza Sunjur as his lieutenant in the government of Shirauz, Bâber took his departure for Iràk; but, finding on his march that his brother Allà-ud-doulah, after effecting his escape from Mûsh-hed to the country of Fariaub, had obtained the assistance of Ameir Yadgaur Shah, the chief of the tribe of Erlaut, to reduce the city of Balkh, and that he was at this moment spreading disaffection and disorder throughout Khorassaun, every other consideration was abandoned as of little importance, when the security of that great province was at stake. Accordingly, on the sixteenth of Rudjub, of the year eight hundred and fifty-six,* turning off from the Koushek-e-zerd, or yellow kiosk, Mirza Bàber proceeded immediately towards Yezd, where he arrived on the 22d of the same month. After consigning the government of that place to Mirza Khaleil Sûltan the son of Mahommed Jahangueir, he continued his march thence, and on the twelfth of the succeeding month of Shabaun,† reached the metropolis of Herât without obstacle; the exertions of Ameir Peir Derwaish Hazauraspy, and of the other Ameirs of Khorassaun, having been sufficient to repel the attempts of Allà-ud-doulah, previous to his arrival.

A. H. 855-857. A. D 1451-1453. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Mirza Bàber now resigned himself, without restraint, to his pleasures; to which he appears, on all occassions, to have been sufficiently devoted. In the midst of these, he was, however, some time in the eight hundred and fifty seventh of the hidjerah,‡ a little disturbed by the sudden arrival of Mirza Sunjur, and the other officers whom he had left for the security of Shirauz and the other governments of Fars; who had been expelled from the whole of that province, as well as from

* 2d of August 1452. † 28th of August.

‡ Commencing the 11th of January 1453.

A. H. 857-861. A.D. 1453-1457. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Irák, by the Tûrkomauns. On the 17th of the former Rebbeia, of the same year, we find recorded the death of the venerable Sheikh Bahà-ud-dein Omar, which is more particularly noticed here, because it is mentioned that Seyud Kháwend Shah, the father of the author of the Rouzut-us-suffà, by command of Mirza Bâber, presided at his funeral.

Towards the middle part of the year eight hundred and fifty seven, the summer of the christian era, 1453, ever memorable for the capture of Constantinople by Mahommed the IId, having completed his preparations, Mirza Bâber determined once more to attempt the subjugation of Irák Ajem, and avenge himself effectually upon Ameir Jahaun Shah, and the Kàrakûynlû, or black-wether Tûrkomauns. On the 21st of the month of Rudjub,* at the head of a powerful army, he accordingly quitted Heràt, on his march for Asterabad; but on his arrival at Ghuzzelniauje, a dependency on Jennoushaun, or Khabou-shaun, he became apprized, on the information of one the domestics of Mirza Khaleil Sûltan, whom he had entrusted with the government of Yezd, that his master with other evil disposed persons had entered into a conspiracy hostile to his authority, and an inquiry became immediately necessary to examine into the facts of the accusation. Enough was discovered to establish the guilt of the Shahzâdah, and he was without further ceremony dispatched to explore the regions of another world. Having passed the month of Ramzaun at Ghuzzulniauje, Mirza Baber then put his troops again in motion about the beginning of Shavaul,† and on the 15th of Zulkaudah,‡ his camp was formed in the neighborhood of Asterabad. He returned however, to pass the winter at Jûrjaun, where it will be remembered that he commenced his career of independence.

But, towards the close of winter, a dispatch from Balkh announced to him the more serious intelligence that Sûltan Sâeid had crossed the Jeyhûn; and, after having defeated and killed Ameir Peir Derwaish, and his brother Ally, in a battle which they had hazarded to oppose him, that he was now encamped before that ancient city. The expedition into Irâk Ajem was, therefore, unavoidably deferred to a more convenient opportunity; and Mirza Bàber, with the utmost celerity,

* 27th of July 1453. † October 1453. ‡ 16th of November.

now directed the whole of his force towards the territory on the Oxus. Having proceeded to the other side of the Mûrghaub, or river of Merû, further intelligence reached him from Balkh, that Sûltan Sàeid had recrossed the Jeyhûn at Termed, and returned to his capital of Samarkand. This did not, however, produce any change in the measures of Mirza Bàber, who continued his march without interruption towards Bakalaun; in order to cross by the five branches which, lower down, unite to compose the main stream of the Oxus, namely, those of Arhung, Sauly-serài, Kondez, Rokhesh, which is considered the largest, and Kauffernihaun. He appears to have effected the passage of the last, the heavy baggage being directed to cross still higher up, where the stream was fordable without boats, on the first day of Ramzaun, of the year eight hundred and fifty-eight,* continuing his march immediately to Hessaur, and from thence towards Nourdauk, or perhaps Nourdaug. In short, advancing progressively by the route of Koholgha, or Koluga, known also by the designation of the iron gate, he conducted his troops without the smallest opposition, to a station within one farsang of the gates of Samarkand; where he encamped on the fourteenth of the month of Shavaul,† or about six weeks after having crossed the northern branch of the Oxus.

A. H. 857-859. A. D. 1453-1457. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Previous to his arrival in the neighborhood, Mirza Sûltan Abû Sàeid, with the advice of the Seyud Khaujah Nausser-ud-dein Obaidullah, and the principal inhabitants, had determined to sustain the attack of his adversary behind the walls of the city; and for that purpose, he had taken the earliest precautions to place the fortifications in the best possible state of defence. The operations of the siege were therefore commenced on the part of Mirza Bâber without delay; but when it had, with mutual loss and inconvenience, been protracted for a period of nearly forty days, a negociation was opened through the medium of well disposed persons, which finally terminated in a treaty of peace—it being substantially agreed upon that the Oxus should continue to form the boundary between the two governments, and that the prisoners taken on either side should be reciprocally released. In consequence of this arrangement, Mirza

* 24th of August 1454. † 6th of October.

A. D. 858 61.
A. D. 1454-57.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Bàber quitted his works before Samarkand, some time in the month of Zilhudje, of the eight hundred and fifty-eighth of the hidjerah ;* and recrossing the Jeyhûn by the passage of Kerki, reached his capital of Heràt, on the 4th of Mohurrem of the year eight hundred and fifty nine.†

Early in that year, Ameir Khaleil Hindoukah was employed on the part of Bâber, in the reduction of the neighboring province of Seiestaun, which he effected without great difficulty ; Shah Hûsseyne the son of Melek Ally, the ruler of the country, being assassinated by one of his followers, and his head conveyed to Ameir Khaleil. In the course of the same year, from a principle of considerate liberality, Mirza Bâber conferred the government of Merû, with the adjoining territory of Makhan, upon Mirza Sunjur; who had, probably, been dispossessed, by some means or other, of his fair proportion in the inheritance of the Teymûrian family. In the mean time, a body of Mazanderanians confined in the fortress of Emmaud, an impregnable place somewhere between Mûsh-hed and Nessa, rose upon the garrison, and put the governor to death. Jullaul-ud-dein Mahmoud, however, who commanded at Mûsh-hed on the part of Bâber, hastening without loss of time to the spot, happily contrived, through the assistance of a smith, who perforated a part of the wall from within, to recapture the place, and restore it to the authority of his master.

From this period nothing material appears to have occurred in the reign of Mirza Bâber, until the eight hundred and sixty-first of the hidjerah; when having passed the winter at Mûsh-hed, as that prince was hunting or hawking in the neighborhood of Radegaun, a favorite Shonkaur, or white falcon, happening to break his claw, he immediately conceived it an omen to the last degree inauspicious to his power; and hastening back to Mûsh-hed, he proceeded without further restraint to indulge in his ruling propensity for wine, which he had, it seems, for some time previously forsworne. On the twenty-fifth of the same month,‡ after having passed great part of the morning in his litter, making a circuit of the gardens in the neighborhood, he had returned to his hall of audience, and presented himself

* November and December, 1454. † 24th of December, 1454.

‡ 21st of March, 1457.

as usual, to the Ameirs of the court, when suddenly rising from his seat, in apparent displeasure, he retired to the apartment of his women; the courtiers, as they withdrew from the presence chamber, sarcastically remarking, that his wine seemed to have produced more than its ordi- effect upon the prince—little suspecting that he had taken his last draught in this world, for about the hour of ten, that same forenoon, he was no more. Some of the most skilful physicians, however, shrewdly suspected that his death had been hastened by poison; and many devout and conscientious persons solemnly avowed their conviction of that belief, before the tomb of Ally Ruzza. In the mean time, the remains of the departed prince were deposited, with the usual solemnities, in the mausoleum erected by Shah Rokh, contiguous to that of the eighth Imaum at Mûsh-hed.

A. H. 861. A. D. 1457. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

On the same day on which the hopes of his friends were thus extinguished by the premature death of Mirza Bâber, who was generally designated by the prænomen of Abûlkaussem, or father of distributive benevolence, the Ameirs, and principal officers of state, concurred in placing his eldest son Mirza Shah Mahmûd, at this period not more than eleven years of age, on the throne of Khorassaun; Ameir Hûsseyne Ally making the best of his way to Herât, while his brother Abû Sàeid proceeded towards Serkhess, in order to secure the tranquillity of that quarter, and sheikhzâdah Peir Kowaum towards Merû, to solicit the concurrence of Mirza Sunjur, in the arrangements at Mûsh-hed. Eighteen days subsequent to the demise of his father, Mirza Shah Mahmûd took his departure for Herât; but on his way to that capital, he was met by the Peir Kowaum just mentioned, on his return from Merû, with the information, that Mirza Sunjur openly entertained aspiring projects of his own, and appeared but little disposed to concur in the authority of any superior. At the same time, a dispatch was received from Herât announcing that Meir Habeib, the governor of that place, had been thrown into a state of such miserable stupefaction, on intelligence of the death of Bàber, as to furnish to Mirza Ibrauhim the son of Allà-ud-doulah, whom he had in custody, the opportunity of which he availed himself, to escape through the negligence of his guards; and that that prince was now withdrawn to the territory on the Mûrghaub.

A. D. 861. A. D. 1457. Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

On the twenty sixth of the former Jummaudy, of the eight hundred and sixty first of the hidjerah,* however, Mirza Shah Mahmûd took up his abode in the Baugh-e-mokhtaur, and a few days afterwards, in the Baugh-e-zaughan, both celebrated gardens in the vicinity of Herât. In these circumstances, the Sheikh Abû Sàeid recently mentioned, made his appearance from Serkhess, and immediately proceeded, by a poll tax arbitrarily imposed, to commence a course of the most oppressive exactions on the inhabitants of the capital, in which they were, in no unfrequent instances, consigned to the inflictions of the torture in various shapes. The cries of an injured people did not long remain unheard. On the twenty first of the latter Jummaudy,† Ameir Sheir Hadjy conducted the young Shah Mahmûd into the city; and, having secured the gates, caused it to be immediately proclaimed to the inhabitants, that no one should presume to pay a single felss of this arbitrary impost, and that those who had complied with the odious exaction, should demand restitution without a moment's delay. At the same time, they were authorized to plunder the agents employed by this Abû Sâeid, wherever they could be found. On the other hand, the obnoxious minister had remained during the whole of the ensuing night, watching the event without the gates of the town; but before break of day on the following morning, accompanied by his brother Hûsseyne Ally, he thought it prudent to retire also towards the river Mûrghaub. He had, however, not proceeded far on his way, before he was overtaken by Sheir Hadjy, and with his life compelled to atone for his numerous oppressions.

In the mean time, reports were continually arriving from the Mûrghaub, of the numerous bodies of armed men who were assembling in that quarter, under the standard of Mirza Ibrauhim the son of Allâ-ud-doulah, and of the design, openly avowed by that prince, of marching to Herât. Thus circumstanced, conceiving a suspicion that, from a desire to favor the wishes of the dowager Gouhershaud, who had always evinced a predilection for Ibrauhim, the Terkhaunian Ameirs might be induced on the day of battle, to go over to that prince, Sheir Hadjy resolved to anticipate the design, by putting them all to death. Under the pretext then of assisting at a council of state, they were ac-

* 20th of April 1457. † 15th of May.

cordingly invited to the palace in the raven gardens, for the purpose of carrying this plan of anticipated vengeance into execution. One of the proscribed chiefs, however, Ameir Ahmed the son of Feyrouz Shah, from an instinctive sagacity, conceiving some suspicion of the plot, instantly took to flight; and Sheir Hadjy, and his associate Pehlewaun Hûsseyne Diwaunah, finding their design discovered, hastened therefore to carry it into execution, against those who yet remained in their power. Ameir Weiss Terkhan, although not before he had brought Sheir Hadjy to the earth, by a wound in the abdomen with his dirk, together with his son, and two more Ameirs of this distinguished tribe, was now put to death; and the same day, as he was proceeding to his tenure of Khowauf, Pehlewaun Hûsseyne fell in with Ameir Ahmed the son of Feyrouz Shah, whom he also dispatched to join his compeers. Sheir Hadjy then hastened to lodge the young Mirza Shah Mahmûd and the dowager Gouhershaud, in the fortress of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, while the skill of his physicians was employed in the cure of his own wound.

A.H. 861. A. D 1457. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

The hostile preparations on the Mûrghaub had been now completed, and the shahzâdah Ibrauhim, at the head of a numerous and formidable body of troops, no longer delayed his march towards Herât. In consequence of this information, the first step of Sheir Hadjy was to remove, with his royal ward Shah Mahmûd, into the Baugh-e-mokhtaur, without the gates of the city; but, on the seventh of Rudjub,* when it was announced that Mirza Ibrauhim was already in the neighborhood, the young Mahmûd was conveyed towards Mûsh-hed; while Sheir Hadjy made the best of his way to secure himself in the fortress of Neirahtou, a place of great strength, twelve farsangs, or about two and forty miles, to the N. E. of Herât. On the same day at noon, Mirza Ibrauhim took up his abode in the garden just evacuated by his adversaries, and there publicly assumed the royal authority. Nevertheless, intelligence arrived from Mûsh-hed, a few days afterwards, that Mirza Shah Mahmûd had yet been able to assemble a considerable force, with which he was again advancing towards Herât; and Mirza Ibrauhim proceeded thence, in the middle of Shabaun,† to give battle to his opponent. Accordingly, not far from the Rebbaut, or quad-

* 30th of May 1457. † Beginning of July.

A. H. 861. A. D. 1457. Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

rangle, or caravanserài, of Shah Melek, the hostile armies came to a conflict, in which, at one time, victory seemed disposed to declare for Shah Mahmûd; but the scale having been turned in favor of the opposite party, through the personal exertions of Ameir Ahmed Terkhan, that young chief was finally defeated, and again compelled to retire towards Mûsh-hed, pursued by the troops of his victorious kinsman. Although not a very singular occurrence, it was, at the same time, a circumstance full of perplexity and alarm to the unfortunate inhabitants of Herât, that about ten in the forenoon of the twenty fifth of Shabaun,* intelligence should have reached them, that victory had declared for Mirza Shah Mahmûd; about an hour afterwards, more recent information arrived, that fortune had changed sides, and that the standard of Mirza Ibrauhim was triumphant; and at noon of the same day, the agent of Sûltan Sâeid, the reigning prince of Samarkand, made his appearance to announce, that his master would be under the walls of the town on the morning of the following day.

To account for this latter circumstance it becomes necessary to state, that from the moment at which he found himself in secure possession of the throne of Samarkand, Sûltan Sâeid had ever had in view the reduction, not only of Khorassaun, but of the whole of the territory usually comprized under the designation of Irân. As soon, therefore, as the death of Mirza Bâber was announced to him his thoughts became the more irresistibly attracted towards that object, being further stimulated by the pressing invitations of Ameir Sheikh Hadjy, the governor of Balkh. He accordingly crossed the Oxus, at the head of his troops; and, by the 25th of Shabaun, he had led them by forced marches to a camp behind the village of Sauk-e-Selmaun, at no great distance from Herât, to which he dispatched the message already alluded to. Moulana Ahmed Yessawel who commanded, on the part of Mirza Ibrauhim, in the citadel of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, evinced, at first, a determination to defend the town; but on more mature reflection, he thought it more advisable to confine his exertions exclusively, to the defence of his particular post. On the following day, however, Sûltan Sâeid, without experiencing any opposition, entered Herât by the gate of Keptchauk, taking up his residence in

* 17th of July.

the Baugh-e-sheher, or garden of the city—a palace belonging to the ancient sovereigns within the walls. A summons was now dispatched to require the submission of Moulana Ahmed, and the surrender of the fortress of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein; to which he replied, that the place had been confided to him, by a prince to whom he was bound by every tie of gratitude and duty, and that he was incapable of betraying his trust, while his benefactor was living to reclaim it at his hands. This answer produced considerable resentment on the part of Sûltan Sâeid, whose troops were immediately directed to commence an attack upon the place, although with little prospect of success.

A. H. 861. A. D. 1457. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

In the mean time, some malevolent individuals had succeeded in persuading the Sûltan that the emissaries of Mirza Ibrauhim had constant access to the presence of Gouhershaud, the widow of the illustrious Shah Rokh; and were as constantly suffered to depart without interruption, with every information that could be required, on the state of affairs at Herât. In consequence of this, the monarch, in a fit of unreflecting resentment, gave orders that this celebrated princess, it seems, now, not less distinguished for her love of justice and her many other virtues, than for the elevated and illustrious station which she had filled in the empire, should be put to death; and the harsh decree was carried into execution on the tenth day of Ramzaun, of the eight hundred and sixty-first of the hidjerah.* After the consummation of this act of unwarrantable severity, for such, even in the mildest sense it is admitted to have been by our author, Sheikh Hadjy conceived he might venture from Neirahtou to Herât; since the Sûltan had given so unequivocal a pledge of his hostility to the opposite party, and he experienced accordingly a very honorable reception. But, in his absence from Neirahtou, he was destined to be robbed of that impregnable post by one of those daring exertions of adventurous enterprise, against which, although the example is not of unfrequent recurrence in the history of the world, human prudence has not yet been found always sufficiently on its guard to provide. On his departure for Herât, Sheikh Hadjy had entrusted this important asylum to the care of one of his most confidential followers; and one evening shortly afterwards, a Yessauk, or

* 31st of July 1457.

A. H. 861.
A. D. 1457.
Kholausset-ul akhbaur.

peasant, or mountaineer perhaps, of the name of Peirkah, presenting himself at the entrance of the fort, with a small flock of sheep, after some conversation with the guard, made a request that he might be permitted to continue there, for the night. The request was complied with, without much difficulty, and the shepherd was further permitted to enter the fort: when, watching his opportunity, after allowing a reasonable part of the night to expire, he proceeded silently to the ramparts, and from thence let down to his associates below, who had repaired to the spot by appointment, a strong rope or noose, by which they easily contrived to gain the top of the wall. Accompanied by these he hastened, sword in hand, directly to the head quarters of the governor, who contrived, however, by some chance or other to effect his escape, although desperately wounded; but the fort, and all it contained, remained in possession of the successful adventurer. Sûltan Sâeid had scarcely had time to reflect on the circumstances of this untoward event, when a dispatch from Balkh announced to him the more alarming intelligence, that the sons of Abdullûtteif were at the head of a formidable insurrection in Mawur-un-neher. On the ninth day of Shavaul,* he was, therefore, under the necessity of quitting Herât, and of returning without delay towards the territory on the other side of the Oxus. A part of the army which he had sent on before him, had, however, the good fortune to fall in with the two sons of Abdullûtteif, the Mirzas Ahmed and Jouky, in the neighborhood of Balkh, and there totally to defeat them; Mirza Ahmed being killed in the battle, although his brother found means to effect his escape. And, in these circumstances, Sûltan Sâeid thought it convenient to pass the succeeding winter at Balkh.

On the other hand, when he experienced the last discomfiture recently noticed, from Mirza Ibrauhim, Mirza Shah Mahmûd retired, at first to Mûsh-hed; but continuing his retreat a short time afterwards into Mazanderaun, he was there received by Bâba Hussun, the governor of the province, with every demonstration of zeal and attachment, and liberally provided with all that was necessary to support the splendour of his rank. These circumstances were early made known to Mirza Ibrauhim, with the assurance that his compe-

* 29th of August 1457.

titor was already at the head of a sufficient force, with which once more to dispute his pretensions in the field of battle. Mirza Ibrauhim proceeded therefore with the utmost expedition, by the route of Nessa and Abawerd, towards Asterabad; while the young Shah Mahmûd, on his part, issued with equal resolution from the forest of Jûrjan to oppose him. Just at this crisis intelligence was received that Ameir Jahaun Shah the Turkomaun, the son of Kâra Yûssuf, with an overwhelming force had crossed the ridge of Sundouk-shikunn, and was actually entering the boundaries of Mazanderaun. The information appears to have produced a sudden panic upon the mind of Shah Mahmûd, and he immediately fled, in conjunction with Bâba Hûssun his friendly and munificent ally; while Mirza Ibrauhim, either disregarding, or disbelieving, the report of Ameir Jahaun Shah's approach, continued his march without deviation towards Asterabad, at the distance of one farsang from which place, he encamped a short time afterwards. A body of troops whom he had, however, dispatched further in advance, fell in unexpectedly with some of the scouring parties of the Tûrkomauns, by whom they were immediately attacked and thrown into confusion. At the moment the disorder was at its height, Mirza Ibrauhim arrived upon the spot; but, perceiving that all was lost, he sought no alternative but what was to be found in an immediate and precipitate flight—many of his most distinguished followers perishing in the pursuit which was eagerly kept up by the victorious Tûrkomans. Mirza Ibrauhim himself, however, with a few of his adherents, succeeded in reaching Herât, on the ninth of the month of Suffur, of the eight hundred and sixty-second of the hidjerah,* and was received with hospitality and respect by Ameir Ahmed Terkhân, the governor of the province. Moulana Ahmed Yessawel, the Kelladaur of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, hastened at the same time to offer the homage of fealty to his prince; but conceiving that he did not experience that favorable reception, to which, by his services, he thought himself entitled, he determined, on his return to the castle, to take a part entirely hostile to the interests of the same prince; which, before the month was at an end, he did not hesitate to disclose. Neither was he to be dissuaded from his

A. H. 861-862.
A. D. 1457-1458.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

* 26th of December 1457.

A. H. 861-862. A.D. 1457-1458. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

designs, nor prevailed upon to expose himself, any more, without the precincts of his command; although much was urged on the part of Ameir Ahmed Terkhan to induce him to recede.

In these circumstances Mirza Ibrauhim determined, not without the concurrence of his principal officers, to dispatch an embassy to Sûltan Sâeid, with proposals for an accommodation; to which that prince appears to have acceded without great difficulty, stipulating, however, that Mirza Ibrauhim should cordially unite in opposing the Tûrkomauns, who were now making rapid progress on the frontiers of Khorassaun: and thus far successful, the ambassadors of Herât were permitted to return well satisfied with the result of the negociation. Here, with apparent regret at the selfish propensities of human ambition, the author pauses to enumerate the different chiefs, who, at one and the same crisis, had now started up within the limits of the single province of Khorassaun; all contending for the same point of individual and independent power, without reflecting upon the mischiefs thus accumulated upon the suffering inhabitants. Among those included under the obnoxious charge, must be mentioned Ameir Jahaun Shah the Tûrkomaun, at Esferâein; Mirza Shah Mahmûd, at Touss; Mirza Allâ-ud-doulah, after an absence of some years in Keptchauk, at Abiwerd; Mirza Ibrauhim, in the city of Herât; Mirza Sunjur, at Merû; Sûltan Sâeid, at Balkh; Melek Kaussem, the grandson of Kâra Yûssuf, in conjunction with Ameir Khaleil, in Seiestaun, [adjoining]; Moulana Ahmed Yessawel, in the citadel of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein; Ameir Peirzaud, in the castle of Serkhess; Ameir Bâba Hûssun, in the fortress of Emmaud; Sheikh Hussun the son of Sheikh Teymûr, at Jennoushaun or Khaboushaun; and Ameir Weiss the son of Khâwundshah, in the castle of Tebbes, or Tabas.

With regard to Mirza Allâ-ud-doulah it appears that, on his flight from the generals of his brother Bâber, he had become, for several years, a wanderer in different parts of the country of the Moghûls; but on intelligence of the death Bâber, he ventured to return through Khaurezm, and was now at Abiwerd, from whence he dispatched to announce his arrival to his son Ibrauhim. Mirza Ibrauhim appears to have been sincerely rejoiced at the return of his father, to whom

he immediately caused to be conveyed such presents as might have been acceptable on the occasion. Shortly afterwards, Allâ-ud-doulah being on his way to Herât, Ibrauhim hastened to meet him as far as the river Senjaub; where, on conferring together with respect to the best plan of proceeding under present circumstances, it was resolved that the son should remain at the head of the troops in the field, while the father continued his journey to Herât, there to repose himself for some time from the fatigues of a wandering life. On the seventh of the latter Jummaudy of the eight hundred and sixty second of the hidjerah,* accordingly, Allâ ud-doulah took up his residence once more in the metropolis of his grandfather. Finding it, however, unfortunately expedient, by the imposition of a poll tax, and other vexatious measures, to raise a sum of money upon the inhabitants, it so happened, that before any considerable progress had been made in this odious collection, a messenger from Mirza Ibrauhim should arrive to announce that the army of the Tûrkomans was at hand, and to indicate the danger of remaining any longer at Herât. With infinite reluctance therefore, on the first day of the month of Shabaun,† Allâ-ud-doulah again quitted that capital, and withdrew in haste to the mountains of Ghour. Immediately on his retreat, the inhabitants of Herât were thrown into the utmost consternation, by their alarm at the actual approach of the Tûrkomans; of which the licentious populace took instant advantage, to indulge in the disposition to plunder, and to exercise every species of enormity and outrage on their fellow citizens. On his arrival, however, at the town of Gousûiah, Ameir Jahaun Shah, the monarch of the Tûrkomans, apprized of the danger to which the respectable inhabitants were thus exposed, and of the general dispersion which must have been the result, lost no time to convey to the city every assurance of his protection, immediately dispatching Ameir Peirzaud the Bokhârian to assume the government in his name. On the fifteenth of the same month of Shabaun,‡ Ameir Jahaun Shah in person made his entrance into Herât, confirming to the inhabitants his assurances of protection, not less than if they were the subjects of his own immediate government. His attention was, in the mean time, directed to the reduction of the citadel of

A. H. 862-863. A. D 1458 Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

* 21st of April 1458. † 13th of June 1458. ‡ 27th of June.

A. H. 862-863. A.D. 1458 Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Ekhtiaur-ud-dein; which, after the resistance of a few days, was however surrendered to him, on terms of personal indemnity by Moulana Ahmed Yessawel the governor, who was admitted to the distinguished favor of the Tûrkoman prince, immediately on quitting his post.

While these occurrences were taking place at Herât, a serious misunderstanding, of which it would be perfectly immaterial to discuss the grounds, broke out between Allâ-ud-doulah and his son Ibrauhim; who had, by this time, also sought an asylum among the mountains of Ghour, the breach, on the perfidious suggestions of some of the Terkhanian Ameirs, terminating in the imprisonment of the younger prince. This act of severity had, however, been scarcely carried into execution, when Abdullah Khoujah, an Ameir of that distinguished class, who had been recently employed on the embassy to Sûltan Sâeid, returned; and, expressing without reserve, his disapprobation of the imprisonment of Mirza Ibrauhim, the other Ameirs of the tribe were soon brought over to his opinion, and measures having been accordingly taken to set the prince at large, he proceeded without delay, to cancel, or abjure, all further allegiance to a father's authority. At the same time, information of these changes had been punctually conveyed to Ameir Jahaun Shah, from whom a dispatch was now received inviting Allâ-ud-doulah to Herât; an invitation which he conceived too fortunate, not immediately to avail himself of; and, on the festival of sacrifice of the tenth of Zilhudje, of the eight hundred and sixty second of the hidjerah,* he accordingly made his appearance in the camp of the Tûrkoman chief, by whom he was received with the most distinguished kindness and respect. All the while, we must not omit to observe, a negociation for peace was on foot, between Ameir Jahaun Shah and Sûltan Sâeid; but before it was yet brought to a conclusion, Ameir Ahmed the Terkhanian, with a considerable body of his kindred, deserted the cause of Mirza Ibrauhim and came to Herât; where he was also very honorably entertained by the monarch of the Tûrkomans.

Ameir Jahaun Shah had been now encamped under the walls of Herât for a period of nearly six months, when intelligence was rather

* 13th of October 1458.

unexpectedly received, that Sûltan Sàeid, at the head of a powerful army, had crossed the Mûrghaub; and that, after passing the lungur, or mausoleum, or abiding place, of Meir Gheyauth, he was already advanced as far as the town of Oubah, on his march for the capital of Khorassaun. The circumstance appears to have produced considerable surprise, and some alarm in the camp of the Tûrkomans; and the monarch, with the main body of his army, conceived it prudent to remove towards the Herâtroud, a river so called at some distance to the wesward of the city, detaching Mirza Peir Bedauk, the most warlike of his sons, with a division of chosen troops, to watch the approach of the enemy. But this division, after having experienced some proof of the valour and discipline of the Samarkandians, very speedily rejoined the main body of the Tûrkomans. To add to the embarrassments of Jahaun Shah at this anxious crisis, accounts of an alarming nature arrived from Azerbâijaun, and determined him in the resolution of returning without further delay towards that kingdom; and, in order to secure an unmolested retreat from Khorassaun, Seyud Ashoura, one of his most confidential agents, was immediately dispatched to bring the treaty with Sûltan Sàeid to an amicable conclusion. The Súltan very explicitly declared, that if Ameir Jahaun Shah would withdraw his troops, without further trouble, from Khorassaun and Irâk Ajem, and content himself with the territory of Azerbâijaun, long since in his possession, there should be no obstacle to an accommodation of all other differences. After considerable discussion, a treaty was, however, at last concluded, by which it was stipulated that Ameir Jahaun Shah should immediately retire into Azerbâijaun, putting the agents of Súltan Sàeid in possession of the whole of Khorassaun to the gates of Semnaun; and, with the treaty thus concluded, Seyud Ashoura returned to the presence of his master. In the beginning of Suffur, of the eight hundred and sixty third of the hidjerah,* from the neighborhood of Yaheya-abad, where they had been for some time encamped, the Tûrkomans, accordingly, commenced their retreat for Azerbâijaun, destroying, with useless barbarity, every vestige of the abode of man that lay in the course of their march. Sûltan Sàeid, on the other hand, entered Herât on the fifteenth†

A. H. 862-863. A. D. 1458. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

* December 1458. † 27th of December.

A. H. 863. A. D 1459. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

of the same month,† taking up his residence in the Baugh-e-sheher, or old palace in the city; where he exerted himself with laudable earnestness and zeal, to promote the administration of a just government, towards an oppressed and suffering people. During the succeeding winter, nevertheless, the city of Herât was visited by a deplorable scarcity, and a great multitude of the inhabitants of the town and neighborhood was destined to perish through want of bread, or some other means necessary to the support of existence.

As soon as he had, as he conceived, firmly established his authority in the capital of Khorassaun, Sûltan Sâeid ventured to dismiss the greater part of his army for Samarkand, reserving a body of about two thousand horse only, for the defence of his person; and intelligence of this unwarranted security, having been early conveyed to the Mirzas Allâ-ud-doulah, Ibrauhim, and Sunjur, a correspondence ensued between those princes, in consequence of which, they shortly afterwards united their troops together at Serkhess, for the purpose of attacking the Sûltan. Full of hope and ardour, and entirely regardless of his great disparity of force, the latter proceeded, without hesitation, to combat the designs of his enemies; being joined, however, on his march, by a body of troops from Samarkand, under the orders of Seyud Mezeid Arghûn, and Ameir Sûltan Ahmed the son of Temir Taush. Towards the middle of the former month of Jummaudy,* and about midway between Serkhess and Merû, the rival parties came to a battle; in which both wings of the army of Sûltan Sâeid were completely put to flight, by the opposite divisions of that of the associated shahzâdahs. On this occasion, many of the fugitives never halted to repose from their apprehensions until they reached the city of Samarkand, from whence they did not fail to circulate the alarm of the Sûltan's discomfiture, throughout the surrounding country. Notwithstanding this abscision of his wings, Sûltan Sàeid, however, at the head of the centre, which remained yet firm and unbroken under his own orders, proceeded sword in hand to charge his opponents, flushed as they were with recent success, and, by one determined effort, entirely changed the fortune of the day; Allà-ud-doulah and his son Ibrauhim, both quitting the field in the utmost dismay, while

* About the 20th of March 1459.

Mirza Sunjur fell a prisoner into the hands of the victor, by whose orders he was immediately put to death. After this, Sûltan Sâeid returned to Herât, in order to enjoy the triumph of his well earned fame; and amidst his hours of relaxation from more serious pursuits, sought amusement in superintending the erection of the Eidgah, or place of sacrifice, with probably a mosque attached, in the environs of the capital. But while these occurrences were passing in Khorassaun, Abûl Ghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne Bahauder Khaun, the great-grandson of Mirza Omar Sheikh, had already made himself master of the territory of Jûrjaun, in the neighborhood; and after expelling the Tûrkomauns, by giving full encouragement to the hopes of his soldiers, and by securing the attachment of his new subjects in general, was rapidly proceeding in the establishment of his independence. And in this place it becomes, in some measure, indispensably necessary to accompany our author in his extensive, though not unseasonable digression, to furnish some account of the descent, and early history, of this able and warlike prince; to the munificence of whose minister, Ally Sheir, the city of Herât was indebted for many of its noblest ornaments, and every branch of learning for the most liberal encouragement.

A. H. 863. A. D. 1459. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

The father, then, of Abûl Ghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne Bahauder Khaun, who with other titles, acquired ultimately that of Sâheb Keraun-sauni, second lord of the propitious conjunction, was Sûltan Gheyauth-uddein Munsour, the son of Mirza Baykera, the son of Mirza *Omar Sheikh*, who was the son of *Teymûr*. His mother was the princess Feyrouzah Begum, the daughter of Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, the son of Ameir Mahommed Beg, who was the son of Ameir Moussa, of the tribe of Tanjout; and the mother of Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, as hath already appeared, was the princess Aga Begum the daughter of Teymûr. And lastly, the mother of Feyrouzah Begum was Kûtlûg Sûltan Begum the daughter of *Meiran Shah*, by Oroun Sûltan, the daughter of Seyûrghetmesh Khaun, the son of Dauneshmendjah Khaun, the son of Keydou, the son of Nourejaun, the son of Ougdài Khaun, who was the son of *Jengueiz*. Hence it appears that Abûl Ghauzy, or rather Abûlghauzy, as it may be more compactly written, was on both sides descended from two of the most renowned conquerors that ever bestrode the globe; and his birth is here recorded

A. H. 863. A. D. 1459. Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

to have taken place in one of the suburbs of Herât, in the month of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and forty-second of the hidjerah.* From his very infancy he is described to have exhibited, of course, the most undoubted presages of his exalted destiny; but more particularly in his ardor to acquire every proficiency in the art of war, and to prepare himself for its fatigues, by the habit of manly exercise in every shape. At the age of fourteen he hastened to present himself at the court of his relative Bâber, by whom he was entertained with affectionate kindness; and he was present with that prince, when he concluded the treaty with Sûltan Sâeid, under the walls of Samarkand. Actuated, however, by the ties of closer consanguinity, he then embraced the opportunity of forsaking the standard of Mirza Bâber, in order to put himself under the protection of his rival. Nevertheless, on the revolt of Mirza Sûltan Weiss, another of the descendants of Mirza Baykera, some time afterwards, Sûltan Saeid became jealous of the attachment of the princes of that line; and Abûlghauzy with thirteen more of the same kindred, was committed to prison. But, at the solicitation of his mother, the princess Feyrouzah Begum, who hastened from Khorassaun the moment she became apprized of her son's misfortune, he was considerately set at large, and permitted to accompany her to Herât; where he was once more received to the friendship of Mirza Bâber.

Removing, however, to Merû-shahjahaun on the death of that prince, Abûlghauzy there espoused the daughter of Mirza Sunjur; and at the period when Mirza Shah Mahmûd, after the battle with Mirza Ibrauhim, fled towards Asterabad, Mirza Sunjûr did not scruple to leave his son-in-law, as his lieutenant at Merû, while he proceeded in haste to take possession of Mûsh-hed. During the absence of Mirza Sunjûr, as it happened, a misunderstanding arose between Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne, and Ameir Hussun Erlaut, who had been entrusted with the actual management of affairs; but who was, unfortunately, little blessed with the advantages of a benevolent disposition, or accommodating manners. The dispute, however, terminated in the imprisonment of the unaccommodating agent; on which, without further ceremony, Abûlghauzy transferred the diadem

* June, July, 1438.

of Merû to his own brows. But becoming alarmed at some appearances of disaffection, or treason, among the abettors of his usurpation, he hastily withdrew from Merû as soon as Mirza Sunjûr was announced to have reached Makhan, on his return from Mûsh-hed, and wandered, for some time, among the solitudes of the neighboring desert, awaiting some favorable turn of fortune. At length, when, in consequence of the invasion of the Tûrkomans from Irâk Ajem, Ameir Bàba Hussun was flying from Jûrjaun towards Merû, he was intercepted near one of the villages in the territory of Nessa, by no other than this illustrious wanderer, by whom, after a very desperate conflict, he was defeated and taken prisoner, and according to the ordinary summary practice of the day, immediately put to death. Encouraged by this dawn of success, Abûlghauzy bent his course towards the territory of Jûrjaun, and, on his arrival at the station of Feyrouzghund, had the gratification to see his force auspiciously augmented by the junction of Ameir Mahommed Khodadaud, a chief formerly attached to the government of Mirza Bàber, and who, at this period, held the districts of Esferâein, Jowein, and Baharabad. Thus strengthened Abûlghauzy proceeded on his march with more leisure and greater confidence; but at the station of Sûltan Dowein, he found his progress arrested by a numerous body of Tûrkomans, under the direction of Hûsseyne Saudlû, who had there issued from the forests of Jûrjaun immediately in his way. A most sanguinary and obstinate conflict now took place, in which Abûlghauzy is described to have exhibited the most distinguished example of prowess and activity. The reward of his exertions on this arduous day, was a very complete and signal victory; Hûsseyne Saudlû and his brothers, together with many more of his principal officers and followers, being taken alive, but immediately afterwards put to death by their conquerors.

A. H. 863.
A. D. 1459.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

In consequence of this success, Abûlghauzy, in the early part of Zilhudje, of the eight hundred and sixty-second of the hidjerah,* entered Asterabad without resistance, and there publicly invested himself with the royal dignity; immediately ordering the coinage and public prayers to run for the future in his name, and holding out to

* October 1458.

A. D. 863-864.
A. D. 1459-1460.
Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

the people the most liberal assurances of a just and beneficent government. Apprized of these occurrences, Súltan Sâeid did not omit, through the medium of an extraordinary embassy, to congratulate his kinsman on the conquest of Asterabad, and to confirm the relations of amity, and good correspondence, already subsisting between them. The embassy was received with every mark of complacency by Abûlghauzy, and returned shortly afterwards with the most favorable impressions of his kindness and liberality. But Sûltan Sâeid, on his part, very early evinced that he was little disposed to make good the professions of friendship, of which he had been sufficiently liberal towards his aspiring kinsman; since he was no sooner at leisure from his engagements in Khorassaun, than he dispatched one of his officers to take possession of a certain district on the adjoining frontier, which had been previously occupied by the agents of Abûlghauzy. The discontent produced by such a circumstance was destined, as usual in most cases, to accumulate by repeated aggravation, to that degree of hostility which will be the subject of our attention in a subsequent page.

In the mean time, the narrative proceeds to state that Sûltan Sâeid when he found himself disengaged from the attacks of his more dangerous adversaries, determined to employ the force at his disposal in the reduction of the celebrated fortress of Neirahtou; of which the siege was accordingly opened with the construction of numerous Mokaubelkoub, or batteries of some description or other, in order to beat down the defences, and breach the works wherever practicable. Before the operations of the siege had, however, been long in progress, Peirkah, the shepherd chief, who was still in possession of the place, became suspicious of the attachment of his garrison, in consequence of which seve- of them were immediately put to death; and the apprehensions excited by this rash act of jealous violence provoking the vengeance of the survivors, one morning when he least expected it they rose sword in hand upon the hoary adventurer, and instantly dispatched him, conveying the head to plead for pardon with the court of Herat. The fortress must accordingly have fallen into the hands of its besiegers without further resistance; since the assassins of the governor are said to have been remunerated by the distinguished favor of the Sûltan

for this seasonable piece of service. Another auspicious event to the government of Sûltan Sàeid, which marked the period under consideration, was the death of Mirza Ibrauhim the son of Allà-ud-doulah, on his march towards Mûsh-hed, after having assembled at Damaghaun a fresh army, with which he was hastening once more to try his fortune against the Sûltan. The body was brought to Heràt for sepulture, in the college of the princess Gouhershaud; where it was consigned to the grave some time in the month of Shavaul, of the eight hundred and sixty-third of the hidjerah.* A. H. 863-864. A. D. 1459-1460. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Before the conclusion of the same year, the important fortress of Emmaud was also surrendered to one of the Sûltan's generals, by a person of the name of Mahommed Diwaunah—the governor under the authority of Bâba Hussun, whose death in consequence of the action with Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hùsseyne has been already noticed. Contrary to what had been observed with respect to Neirahtou, which had been stored with every species of supply against contingencies, the works of Emmaud were by the expreas orders of Sùltan Sáeid, levelled with the earth. About the close of the year, also, Mirza Shah Mahmúd, the son of Mirza Bàber, who, on his flight from the Tûrkomans, had conveyed himself into Seiestaun, was killed, in a battle which took place, about this period, between Ameir Khaleil Hindoukah, the governor of that province, and Ameir Bàba, governor of Kabûl.

Soon after the commencement of the eight hundred and sixty-fourth of the hidjerah,† it was announced to Sùltan Sáeid, that the troops of Abùlghauzy had made an incursion to the gates of Subbuzwaur; pillaging the country of every species of property that they could lay their hands on. In consequence of such information, a division of troops under the orders of Ally of Parss, and Hussun the son of Sheikh Temir, was immediately dispatched towards Mazanderaun; the Súltan in person, at the head of an additional force, proceeding in the same direction, on the fourth of the former month of Jummaudy.‡ On intelligence of the approach of the former force, Abùlghauzy conceived that an opportunity presented itself from which it was possible to derive some advantage; and he accordingly

* August 1459. † November 1459. ‡ 25th of February 1460.

A. H. 864-865.
A. D 1460 1461.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

hastened with a small body of select cavalry to meet this advanced corps of the Khorassaunians: but when he was within a short distance of the boundaries of the province, being further advised that Sùltan Sàeid in person, with the best part of his army, was on his march for Mazanderaun, he thought it prudent to return, in order to provide a more adequate force to repel the danger. At a crisis of such need and importance, several of his Ameirs with their retainers, however, embracing the opportunity to desert the standard of their chief, Abùlghauzy found it expedient to accommodate with the times; and to withdraw, for the present, towards the territory of Adauk, in the kingdom of Khaurezm. Sultan Sàeid was thus enabled to enter Asterabad, shortly afterwards, without opposition; where having recreated himself for some days, he left his son Súltan Mahmúd in possession of the government, returning himself without further delay towards the metropolis of Khorassaun.

But, while he was engaged in Mazanderaun, on this occasion, that metropolis had been exposed to the most imminent danger from an attack on the part of Ameir Khaleil Hindoukah, the ruler of Seiestaun, where he had maintained an independent authority, ever since the time of Mirza Bàber. Availing himself of the absence of Sùltan Sàeid, this chief determined to make an attempt on Heràt, expecting to find it unprovided for defence; but as the citizens had, by some means or other, become apprized of his intention, they had, by strengthening and securing their walls and towers, sufficiently prepared for his reception; so that, on the twelfth day of Ramzaun,* when, on his arrival before the town, he led his troops to the assault, they had but little reason to congratulate themselves on the prospect before them. And in fine, when on one of the succeeding fridays, the inhabitants, after the performance of their devotions, issued from the town, with every description of force, to attack them, they were driven from all their posts in the utmost consternation; Ameir Khaleil their general not once halting to take repose until he found himself safe in Seiestaun. On his return from Mazanderaun, Súltan Sàeid received intelligence of this daring attempt on the part of the Seiestanian, and hastened with all the expedition in his power to

* 18th of October 1460.

defeat and chastise it; but on his arrival, about the close of the month of Ramzaun, he found that the danger had been already dispelled, and that his only task was to distribute to the inhabitants of Herât, the rewards and acknowledgements due to their exemplary courage and fidelity. A division of the army was, however, immediately dispatched into Seiestaun, where Ameir Khaleil was soon afterwards besieged in the capital of the province; and, finding on experience that he had engaged in a contest which he was little able to support, he determined before it was too late to submit to the authority of the Sûltan, for which purpose he proceeded without further delay towards Herât. Sûltan Sâeid was prevailed upon without great difficulty to overlook the past, and to enrol him among the Ameirs of his court; but the government of Seiestaun was transferred to Shah Yaheya, a descendant from one of the native sovereigns of that province.

A.H. 865. A. D. 1461. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

In the early part of the eight hundred and sixty-fifth of the hidjerah,* after wandering for a long time through the desert and mountainous districts, Mirza Allâ-ud-doulah, the son of Baysungur, terminated, at last, his unfortunate career on the banks of the Caspian, under the roof of Melek Beistoun, a native chief descended from the princes of Rûstumdaur. The remains of the departed prince were conveyed to Herât, and deposited in the mausoleum of the family, the college of Gouhershaud in that city.

Such was the posture of affairs in Khorassaun, when information was received from the provinces beyond the Oxus, that Mirza Mahommed Jouky the son of Abdullûtteif, and grandson of Olûgh Beg, supported by Ameir Nour Sâeid, had displayed the standard of revolt in Transoxiana, which he was over-running with pillage and desolation. In consequence of this, on the twentieth of the former Jummaudy, of the eight hundred and sixty-fifth of the hidjerah,† Sûltan Sâeid quitted Herât, and proceeded towards the Jeyhûn, which he crossed by a temporary bridge not long afterwards. Mirza Mahommed Jouky and his followers, on the other hand, as soon as they became apprized of the Sûltan's approach, withdrew immediately towards the Seyhûn; where they threw themselves into the fortress

* November and December A. D. 1460. † 2nd of March 1461.

A. H. 865. A. D. 1461. Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

of Sharokhiah, which is here described as protected on three sides by the stream of that river, and on the fourth by a deep and impassable ditch. In that place they were a short time afterwards closely and vigorously besieged by the Sûltan; but, just as that prince was about to bring his exertions to a successful termination, intelligence from Khorassaun was conveyed to him, that Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne was again advancing to repossess himself of the province of Mazanderaun; and, as the circumstance was of a nature to produce considerable alarm, the Ameirs Seyud Asseil Arghûn, and Seyud Mûraud, were dispatched immediately into Khorassaun, in order to protect the frontiers of that province against sudden attack.

It would appear that Abûlghauzy, finding himself in the course of this year, in circumstances to renew his plans of conquest and independence, quitted his retreat in Khaurezm, and proceeded once more towards Asterabad. In the neighborhood of that place he was opposed by Mirza Sûltan Mahmûd, left by his father in the government of the province; whom, after a very desperate conflict, he totally defeated and compelled to return into Khorassaun. Abûlghauzy then, towards the middle of the month of Shabaun,* re-entered Asterabad in triumph; but, when he had passed a few days in the place to enjoy the fruits of his victory, he dispatched Abdurraihman Arghûn, one of his officers, to take possession of the rest of Mazanderaun, and set out himself immediately for Herât. Seyud Asseil Arghûn, and the other Ameirs, employed to defend the approaches into Khorassaun from that quarter, and stationed somewhere in the neighborhood of Neyshapûr and Subbuzwaur, retired on the advance of Abûlghauzy, and hastened to the defence of the capital; for which they prepared with equal zeal and ability, driving in before them the whole of the inhabitants of the surrounding districts. The operations of Abûlghauzy were, however, first directed to the reduction of Serkhess; but when that object had been secured, he proceeded without further delay to Herât, before which, in the Baugh-e-zoghoun, or raven gardens, he fixed his head quarters, on the twenty-fourth of Zilkaudah.† He had, it seems, been persuaded to believe that the gates of the city would be thrown open to him, by the inhabitants, without

* 26th of May 1461. † 30th of August 1461.

opposition, and he therefore abstained from commencing any hostile operations against them for the space of eleven days; but perceiving, at the expiration of that period, little to indicate the reality of such a design, he removed his head quarters to the suburb of Khemtchahabad, and issued orders for the attack. After continuing the siege, however, for a further period of twenty days, without any perceptible progress towards the attainment of his object, he found it expedient, on the twenty-seventh of the month of Zilhudje,* to withdraw from before Herât, and proceed towards the Mûrghaub, in order to give battle to Sûltan Abû Sâeid; who was, on his part, hastening with rapid marches from Transoxiana to the relief of his capital.

A. H. 865. A. D. 1461. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

In effect, apprized of the danger of Herât, Sûltan Sâeid submitting to the necessity of patching up some species of accommodation with Mirza Mahommed Jouky, at Shahrokiah, had made the best of his way towards the Oxus; and, having immediately recrossed that river, was now returned in great force to the confines of Fariaub. A want of subordination among his troops, on the other hand, and a difference of opinion among his principal officers constrained Abûlghauzy, on reaching the station of Setûrgui, to recede, however reluctantly, from his resolution of giving battle, and to retreat upon Serkhess, from whence he finally withdrew to Asterabad. Upon this, after reducing Serkhess, Sûltan Sâeid directed his march further towards Jûrjaun, Abûlghauzy, on intelligence of his approach, assuming afresh the appearance of resolution, and advancing to meet him to a place here called Kherraushaunah; but again, by a concurrence of adverse circumstances, and not improbably by the disorderly spirit prevailing among his troops, he was constrained, under cover of the first convenient night, to withdraw once more towards Adauk, the place of his former retreat in Khaurezm. The territory of Asterabad was thus recovered without a blow; and Sûltan Sâeid, having restored his authority throughout the province, as well as that of Jûrjaun, again placed the whole under the government of his son Sûltan Mahmûd; after which he returned to Herât, which he appears to have reached on the twenty-second of the latter Rebbeia, of the eight hundred and sixty-sixth of the hidjerah.†

* 2nd of October 1461. † 23rd of January 1462.

A. D. 866-867.
A. D. 1462 1463.
Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

But, as his thoughts were still powerfully attracted, by the necessity of extinguishing the embers of rebellion, kindled by the ambitious and aspiring projects of Mirza Mahommed Jouky, in Transoxiana, Sûltan Sâeid did not long resign himself to the enjoyment of an inglorious repose at Herât. On the twenty seventh of the former Jummaudy,* he again quitted that metropolis for Balkh; from whence, after the abode of a few days, he proceeded to the Oxus, which river he crossed on the ninth of Rudjub.† Arriving at Samarkand shortly afterwards, he hastened from thence to Shahrokhiah; the fortifications of which had by this time been rendered so unassailable, otherwise than by the most cautious and regular approaches, that, after giving orders for the construction of the Mokaubel-koub, counterforts, and other similar works,‡ to harrass and straiten the besieged, the Sûltan thought it as well for the present, to return to Samarkand. In this place we are informed that, during the Súltan's absence in Transoxiana, at the period under consideration, a dreadful contagious disorder prevailed in Khorassaun, which swept off a prodigious multitude from the cities, and other towns of that noble province.

Towards the commencement of the year eight hundred and sixty seven,§ Súltan Sâeid proceeded in person to superintend, and expedite the operations of the siege of Shahrokhiah; which, nevertheless, fully employed the exertions of his army, for a period subsequent to this, of nearly twelve months—the garrison being, however, at last compelled by famine, to solicit a capitulation, which they obtained on the ninth day of Mohurrem of the eight hundred and sixty eighth of the hidjerah,‖ Mirza Mahommed Jouky immediately delivering himself up to the mercy of his besiegers, from whom he is said to have experienced a very humane and compassionate reception. Accompanied by his captive, Súltan Sâeid then returned again to Samarkand, and from thence, shortly afterwards, to Herât; where he appears to have

* 26th of February. † 7th of April.

‡ Although the use of artillery could not, at this period, have been unknown among the Asiatics, since it had been employed by Mahommed the IId, with tremendous effect, against the walls of Constantinople, many years before, yet it does not hitherto appear to have been carried so far to the east-ward; else it would, probably, not have escaped the author's observation, on this and some former occasions.

§ October 1462. ‖ 22nd of September 1463.

arrived, on this occasion, on the twenty second of the latter Rebbeia, of the same year * Mirza Mahommed Jouky was there confined in the citadel of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, where he remained to the day of his death. The contagious and malignant disorder which had spread its ravages throughout Khorassaun, in the preceding, revisited Herât during the present year; in consequence of which, the Súltan took up his residence, during winter, at what was usually considered the summer quarters [Yellauk] of Baudgheiss, among the hills to the north-west.

A. H. 868. A. D 1464. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

When, on the approach of Súltan Sâeid, as we have already seen in a former page, Abùlghauzy Sùltan Hússeyne withdrew into Khaurezm, where he continued for some time a wanderer through different parts of that country, until circumstances should arise more favourable to his views of aggrandizement, the year 868 seemed to present the crisis which he had so patiently awaited ; and he again, in the course of that year, advanced his standard towards Khorassaun, taking the route of Kheyouk, or Kheivuk, and Tezhen, or Tedjen, for Abiwerd, in the first instance. From the latter place, however, he turned to the right towards Jennoushaun, or Khaboushaun, and from thence proceeded to Neyshapúr, finally directing his march for Tersheiz. In the mean time, a report of these hostile movements reached Súltan Sâeid, in his retirement at Baudgheiss; from whence he hastened, not without marks of considerable impatience, towards the territory of Foushenje, in advance of which place he now encamped—dispatching a part of his force, under some of his most distinguished captains, in the same direction of Tersheiz. In the neighborhood of that place, Abûlghauzy, with not more than eighty horse, adventured to engage this detached division, although it amounted to fifteen hundred; whom, notwithstanding, he entirely defeated, having killed not less than nine of the enemy with his own hand. The fugitives of this disgraceful discomfiture, made the best of their way to the camp of Sûltan Sâeid; while Abûlghauzy returned, without molestation, towards Mûsh-hed, and continuing his march to Merû, proceeded from thence, once more to his retreat in Khaurezm, having successfully eluded every attempt on the part of the officers of Sûltan Sâeid, to

* 2d of January 1464.

A. H. 869 71.
A. D. 1464-65
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

interrupt his progreess. When, on the other hand. it was ascertained that the enterprizing Abûlghauzy had again withdrawn into Khaurezm, the Sûltan returned to Herât, and proceeded to pass the winter of the eight hundred and sixty ninth of the hidjerah* at Merû. In the course of the following spring, he returned again to his capital.

The succeeding year, the eight hundred and seventieth of the hidjerah,† appears to have been one of untroubled repose; great part of it being devoted, by Sûltan Abû Sâeid, to a protracted series of festivities on the circumcision of his children. During the year eight hundred and seventy one, he repaired to pass another winter at Merû, where, in the course of the season, a messenger from Azerbâijaun announced to him the death of Ameir Jahaun Shah, [Zenza], in a battle with Ameir Hussun Beg, the son of Ally, son of Kâra Othmaun, surnamed Ozûn Hussun, or Hussun the long, monarch of the Auk-kûeinlû, or white wethers; the *Usun-Cassanes* of Knolles, and the western writers.‡

It appears that, when in conformity with the treaty of peace concluded with Sûltan Sâeid, as formerly related, Ameir Jahaun Shah was withdrawing with his troops into Azerbâijaun, Mirza Peir Bedauk, the bravest and most distingushed of his sons, separated from the army in discontent; and that he proceeded by the route of Tebbess, and Yezd, into Farss, where he openly declared himself hostile to the authority of his father. In this course of hostility, notwithstanding repeated attempts, on the part of the father, to recal him by fair means to a sense of his duty, he obstinately persisted, until the expedient was thought of, of employing the interposition of his mother; who proceeded in person to Shirauz, and at last prevailed upon him, with his family and followers, to quit that province, and remove to Baghdâd. Nevertheless, he had not continued long in possession of that government, which had been conferred upon him by paternal indulgence, before he was again impelled by the spirit of ambition, to raise the standard of rebellion against his father. It became therefore necessary to employ the intervention of superior force to reduce him to his allegiance; and Ameir Jahaun Shah, in person, at the head of a very powerful

* A. D. 1464-65. † Commencing 23rd of August 1465.

‡ According to Knolles, he was, however, the son of Pachratin, or Ameir Taherten, prince of Erzenjaun, so frequently mentioned in the life of Teymûr.

army, marched accordingly, to lay siege to the metropolis of Baghdàd, where every thing had been prepared by Peir Bedauk, for the most obstinate and determined resistance. The siege was protracted by various means of defence, for a period of nearly twelve months; at the conclusion of which, having exhausted every article that could, in any shape, be converted to the support of existence, even to their dogs and cats, the inhabitants submitted to the alternative of imploring for mercy, and for that purpose sent out a deputation to treat with Ameir Jahaun Shah, who consented without much difficulty to give them terms. Rejoicing at any prospect of relief to their sufferings, the half starved Baghdadians immediately threw open their gates, and repaired in crouds to the camp of their besiegers; but Peir Bedauk forbore to quit his palace, without, however, the smallest suspicion that his father entertained any design against his life. In the mean time, his brother Mahommedy had received the orders of Ameir Jahaun Shah to proceed with a band of soldiers to put him to death; and these executioners of a father's just, but cruel vengeance, rushing sword in hand, with their faces masked; into the palace, terminated his career accordingly, at the very moment he was about to visit the camp of his father.

A. H. 871.
A. D. 1466.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

But, with this act of sanguinary justice, the prosperity of Ameir Jahaun Shah, terminated for ever. For having set his mind at rest from domestic treason, he now directed his views towards the means of prosecuting his vengeance against Ameir Hussun Beg the grandson of Kâra Othmaun; the Ozûn Hussun, to whom we have recently adverted, with whom he had always lived on terms of inveterate hostility. When he became apprized of the designs of his adversary, and that he was already on his march from Baghdâd in that direction, Ozûn Hussun, with a body of his followers, proceeded to take post in one of the passes among the mountains of his country, between Armenia and Diaurbekir, while Ameir Jahaun Shah, bending his course towards the plains of Moush and Erzeroum, finally encamped at no great distance from him. Ozûn Hussun, whose address was not inferior to his courage, immediately opened a correspondence with the invader, in order to mollify his resentment, and, if possible, to conciliate his good will. All this was, however, ascribed

A. D. 871. A. D. 1466. Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

to some motive of weakness, or pusillanimity, by Ameir Jahaun Shah ; so that, after wasting the whole of the summer in inactivity, the troops, on the setting in of the cold season, becoming impatient of the severity of the weather, were permitted, after the formality of a council of war, to return to their homes; and the monarch, with an ordinary retinue of his principal officers and attendants, ventured to continue on the spot for several days, indulging in every species of irregularity and intemperance. His camp and that of Ozûn Hussun were, in the mean time, only separated by an intervening narrow ridge of hills, and the latter prince became early apprized of this disgraceful remissness on the part of his enemies. Having therefore previously ascertained their situation, by sending one of his spies to explore their camp, under pretence of seeking for a stray horse, he hastened at the head of two thousand of his troops to attack them. Mirza Yûssuf, the son of Ameir Jahaun Shah, endeavored for a moment to make head against the assailants, but, being compelled to give way at the very first onset, flew to acquaint his father with the extent of the danger to which he was exposed. Ameir Jahaun Shah perceived no hope of safety but in immediate flight, to which he was constrained to betake himself, before he could put on one of the most indispensable articles of dress. Ozûn Hussun was, indeed, already in the camp, and both the Mirzas Mahommedy and Yûssuf became his prisoners, while many of the Tûrkomaun officers were cut to pieces without mercy. Ameir Jahaun Shah was pursued, in the mean time, by an ordinary trooper, attracted by the splendor of his habit and the excellence of his horse; and being finally overtaken, his head was instantly struck off by his pursuer, who now arrayed himself in the habiliments of the fallen monarch, and fixing the head to the straps of his saddle, thus returned towards the camp of his general. On his way back, however, the head, by some means or other, slipped from its fastening and was lost; but as the dress of Ameir Jahaun Shah was too well remembered by many of the prisoners to pass unobserved, his destroyer was sent for, a few days afterwards, by Ozûn Hussun, and interrogated as to the means by which it came into his possession. On this he faithfully related what had passed, and furnished such exact information on the subject, that the head of the unfortunate

monarch was found without great difficulty, and immediately recognized by his unhappy sons; one of whom, Mirza Mahommedy, was then put to death, and Mirza Yûssuf, the other, was deprived of sight, by order of the conqueror. The ministers and principal officers, who conducted the government during the absence of Ameir Jahaun Shah, as soon as they became apprized of this catastrophe, hastened to place his eldest son, Mirza Hussun Ally, although here represented as an idiot from his cradle, on the throne of his father; and the gates of the treasury having been immediately thrown open by him, not less than one hundred and eighty thousand stipendiaries were shortly afterwards enrolled in his established pay. A memorial was at the same time dispatched to announce the victory of Ozûn Hussun, and to demand the immediate aid of Sûltan Abû Sâeid, and of the government of Khorassaun.

A. H. 871-872. A. D 1466-1468. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

These events were accordingly made known to Sûltan Sâeid, while at Merû, as we have already stated, during the winter of the eight hundred and seventy-second of the hidjerah;* and he determined immediately on undertaking the final reduction of Irák Ajem and Azerbâijaun. After dispatching some preliminary arrangements, of which it would be superfluous to enter into the detail, the Sûltan, in the early part of the month of Shabaun,† accordingly quitted Merû, at the head of a very powerful army; and, by the route of Jaum, Mûsh-hed, and Raudegaun, proceeded to Kalboush, on the frontier between Mazanderaun and Irák Ajem. At this station he remained for some time, to recreate himself; while several of his officers were employed to take possession of different towns in Farss and Irák, in which they appear in general to have been successful beyond expectation; and they accordingly conveyed to the treasury of their master, a very considerable supply from the revenues of the several countries thus secured to his authority.

From the period of his departure on the expedition, to that of his arrival at Kalboush, the ambassadors of Ozûn Hussun had repeatedly presented themselves in the camp of Sûltan Sâeid, with assurances of attachment on the part of their master; forcibly expostulating, at the same time, on the inconsistency of espousing the cause of the de-

* Commencing 1st of August, 1467. † Latter part of February, A. D. 1468.

A. H. 872.
A. D. 1468.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

scendants of Kàra Yûssuf, the ancient enemy of his race, against the grandson of Kâra Othmaun, the approved vassal and faithful ally of the immortal Teymûr. From Kalboush, after entertaining them very sumptuously, the Sûltan now dismissed these ambassadors with a magnificent tiara, baldric, and scimitar, together with a message for Ameir Hussun; apprizing him in effect, that when the Tcheghatàian army should have taken up its quarters in Azerbàijaun, and Ameir Hussun Beg should make his appearance in person in the presence of the Sûltan, such arrangements would be concluded between them, as might appear suitable to the circumstances of the moment. The Sûltan then conducted his troops to the territory of Rey; and here the information first reached him that the power of his ally, Mirza Hussun Ally the son of Ameir Jahaun Shah, had been already subverted; an event which appears to have been brought to pass under the following circumstances.

This prince had, it seems, taken a position with his army in the neighborhood of Marend, north of the city of Tebreiz, with the determination of giving battle to Ozûn Hussun; but, having been under the necessity of detaching a considerable part of his force in advance, under two of his Ameirs, of whose fidelity he harboured no suspicion, these two chiefs with the whole of their followers, notwithstanding, basely betrayed their trust, and went over to the enemy; and the report of this alarming desertion producing, as might have been expected, the utmost confusion in the camp of Mirza Hussun Ally, the troops in general infected by the example of their associates in advance, proceeded in large bodies to join the standard of Ozûn Hussun, while others made the best of their way to the army of Sûltan Sâeid. The latter, however, advanced shortly afterwards to Sûltauniah, and Ozûn Hussun withdrew on the intelligence to Kàrabaugh, on the other side of the Araxes; but before the Sûltan had yet advanced from the neighborhood of Sûltauniah, a dispatch was received from Ameir Mezeid, and the officers who had been sent on to Tebreiz, urging his immediate presence with the army, at that capital, as indispensably necessary to secure the final attainment of the objects of his expedition. A letter from Ozún Hussun addressed to the chiefs at Tebreiz, accompanied this dispatch, the seal of which letter,

contrary to what was his practice on former occasions, being put to the face, or perhaps the head of the contents, instead of to the joining of the envelope. The purport of the letter was, however, in a tone of authority to require that the Tcheghatâian Ameirs would immediately withdraw from Tebreiz, the government of which he said that he had bestowed upon his son Agherlú Mahommed. In consequence of this information, Ameir Yússuf of Shirauz, was dispatched to take charge of Tebreiz ; the Sùltan, at the same time, advancing his head quarters to Miaunah—where he was joined, shortly afterwards, by the unfortunate Mirza Hussun Ally, his son Súltan Ally, and his blind brother Yùssuf, all of whom he received with equal compassion and generosity.

A. H. 872.
A. D. 1468.
Khorausset-ul-akhbaur.

In these circumstances, another agent from Ozún Hussun appeared in the camp of the Sùltan, in the person of Yùssuf Beg, the brother's son of that prince, whose reception was conducted with extraordinary pomp of arrangement ; the agent not being permitted to approach the person of the Sùltan, until he had placed himself seven and twenty times on his knees. Through the medium of the ministers of state, he was then allowed to represent on the part of his uncle, that for the period of almost a century, his family under every vicissitude had maintained an unshaken attachment for the house of Teymûr ; and that the same attachment still continued, and would ever continue unimpaired. That with respect to the two provinces of Farss and Irák Ajem, he had already freely ceded both to the Sùltan's government ; and that the province of Azerbàijaun was equally at the disposal of the agents of his authority. That the only indulgence he claimed, was to be permitted to remain in that region of reeds and rushes, until the severity of winter should have abated ; and the drifting snow should have been so far reduced in the roads and passes, as to enable him to withdraw altogether into the country of his ancestors. To this, the Sûltan persisted in replying as before, that when he should reach the proper place, he would take care that every thing should be arranged in a manner suitable to the claims and circumstances of all the parties concerned ; and, with this reply, he dispatched his cousin german Mirza Mahmûd, in company with the just mentioned Yûssuf Beg, to the presence of Ozûn Hussun.

A. H. 873. A. D. 1468. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Affecting a state and ceremony corresponding with what he understood to have been observed, on the reception of his ambassador, by Sûltan Sâeid, Ozûn Hussun, on the arrival of Mirza Mahmûd, gave directions accordingly; so that on his introduction to the chamber of audience, Mirza Mahmûd found, seated on a throne of gold, Mirza Yadgaur Mahommed, the grandson of Mirza Baysungur, son of Shah Rokh, with Ozûn Hussun standing on the left hand of the throne, in an attitude of stern regard, and the whole of his generals, and principal officers, in glittering armour, placed in ranks on different sides. The Mirza, on his entrance, was directed by a nod from Ozûn Hussun, after repeated genuflexions, to address himself first of all to Yadgaur Mahommed; after which he was permitted to kiss the hand of Ozûn Hussun, to explain the object of his mission, and in a short time to depart with his answer.

Rouzut-us-suffa.

On the other hand, the Sùltan had been deliberating with his ministers, with regard to the place which should be chosen for the winter quarters of the army; and it had been determined to proceed immediately across the Araxes, to Kârabaugh, with the design of expelling Ozún Hussun from that place, and there passing the approaching winter. For this purpose, the army was put in motion accordingly, leaving Tebreiz on the left hand, and taking the road to the right towards Aidebeil, which led more immediately towards Kârabaugh. When, however, the Sùltan had conducted his troops within seven farsangs, or about five and twenty miles, of his object, it was found advisable, in consequence of an unforeseen scarcity of provisions, to change the direction of the march towards Mahmùdabad; in order to cross the Aras, or Araxes, possibly lower down, and to come to an encampment in front of that town; and in the expectation of receiving abundant supplies from the prince of Shirvaun, whose ambassadors had been for some time in attendance upon the Sûltan. On their way to the Araxes, in prosecution of this new plan of operations, the march of the army lay, unfortunately, over some plains the herbage of which proved of a quality so noxious, that every animal that fed upon it, perished; and not a drop of drinkable water was to be discovered in any direction. They contrived, however, to reach their destination at last, in front of Mahmûdabad, although the circumstance does not appear to have

materially removed the now distressing scarcity; no less a sum than ten dinaurs,* being given at this period for a maunn, or about seven pounds weight, of either wheat or barley. The greater part of the cattle had already perished, and hunger and famine soon levelled the distinctions of rich and poor. For some days, however, a supply of provisions continued to arrive along the river, from the territory of the prince of Shirvaun, the camp of Ozùn Hussun intersecting the shorter road; and his troops having, by this time, secured the approaches in every other direction so completely, that not a man could pass to the camp of the Sûltan, either from Khorassaun, Farss, or Irâk.

A.H. 873. A. D 1468. Rouzut-us-suffa.

At this crisis, or a short time before, Moulana Shums-ud-dein Mahommed Muammai [enigmatist] the Suddur, had been dispatched, by Sûltan Sâeid, on some mission of importance to Shirauz, and this person had reached Isfahaun in safety; but, on his arrival in that city, he was prevented by the governor, on the part of Sûltan Sâeid, from proceeding any further towards Shirauz, information having been received that Seyud Ally Beg, the lieutenant of the province, had long since thrown off his allegiance to the authority of the Sûltan. Moulana Shums-ud-dein, considerably rejoiced at his escape, was returning to the camp of his master, under protection of a convoy of arms and stores from Khorassaun, when the whole were attacked and captured by the troops of Ozûn Hussun, employed to cut off the communication in that quarter. Shums ud-dein was conducted, shortly afterwards, together with his fellow prisoners, to the presence of Ozûn Hussun, to whom he had already been favorably recommended, by Suddur-ud-dein, one of the lords of his court; and the same lord proceeding, on his introduction, to repeat what had been previously represented in his favor, Ozûn Hussun suddenly raising his head, said aloud "that so "far from any thing fatal to apprehend from his resentment, it was not "his intention to do him the slightest injury. On this, approaching with greater courage, Shums-ud-dein placed himself on his knees before the monarch, and was immediately directed to take his station at large, among the individuals admitted to his most intimate confidence.

It appears, that a communication across the Araxes with the camp

* £4-11-8 at the lowest computation.

A. H. 873.
A. D. 1468.
Rouzut-us-suffa.

of the Sûltan, had been established by the prince of Shirvaun; and even lower down, towards the posts of Ozûn Hussun, at the distance of two farsangs, the Khorassaunians, and the subjects of the Shirvaun Shah, had hitherto continued to pass and repass without interruption. To destroy, or intercept this communication, a body of two hundred select cavalry had been privately detached, by Ozûn Hussun; but a Tûrkomaun officer, of the name of Khorouss Beg, on his way to join this detachment, being taken prisoner by a small party of the Khorassaunian troops, he was conducted immediately to the presence of the Sûltan; and the information extorted from this officer, led to the almost unavoidable capture of the greater part of the detachment, of which a considerable number were brought prisoners to the camp of the Sûltan. One night, not long afterwards, a body of the Tûrkomauns approaching the outskirts of the encampment, and giving a prodigious alarm by their frightful shouts and barbarous music, the shahzâdahs, and the whole of the generals, on their knees intreated that they might be allowed to attack the enemy, without effect; the Sûltan insisting that it was not advisable to engage the rebels in the dark. In the morning it was discovered, that the whole force of the enemy did not exceed fifteen hundred men, and the circumstance produced a great deal of unavailing regret among the Khorassaunian troops.

By this time, through the extreme scarcity of provender, and forage of every description, all that remained of the Sûltan's horses, were reduced to mere skeletons; and their riders were rendered incapable of any sort of exertion, much more so of replying to the bitter taunts of the enemy in the field of battle. Those of the Tûrkomauns, on the other hand, were in the highest condition, and they were perpetually exhibiting their skill and activity in front of the Sûltan's encampment, cutting to pieces all those who fell into their hands, of whatever nation, belonging to his army. To add to the misfortunes of the Khorassaunians, when they had continued for some time longer exposed to every species of privation, insult, and alarm, the prince of Shirvaun suddenly deserted their cause, and drew the whole of his boats, and river craft, to the opposite side of the Araxes; by which unlooked for measure, great numbers of the Sûltan's subjects were entirely cut off from their friends, and plundered of all their property.

What led to this alarming defection, is described to have been a communication from Ozûn Hussun to the Shirwaunian, to apprize him, that whatever expectations he might have formed on the subject, it was the design of the Tcheghatâians, in the event of success, to rob and plunder his country; and that it would be then too late to reflect upon the folly and rashness of his ill-assorted alliance. The message produced some unpleasant speculations in the mind of the Shirvaun Shah, and from that moment, from the friend, he became the determined enemy of the Sûltan. To such an extremity, at all events, from the monarch to the most obscure soldier, was the Khorassaunian army now reduced, by the total failure of supplies, that it was finally resolved to commence, without further delay, the retreat for Ardebeil. A. H. 873. A. D. 1469. Rouzut-us-suffa.

The direction of their march led the troops, as it happened, through a marshy swamp full of pits and sloughs, over which, in order to secure a tolerable footing, they were reduced to the expedient of spreading their tents, blankets, and cloaks, for the space of half a farsang, by which means, with considerable difficulty, they, however, at last effected a passage, the Sûltan himself remaining on the spot until he saw that every individual of the army was safe over. Fortunately, the retreat of the Khorassaunians was so sudden, and possibly unexpected, as to have been unperceived by the enemy, otherwise their fate must have here found its consummation; as it was, the greater surviving part of their cattle was left to perish in the swamp, together with an immense quantity of baggage of every description. Having seen his troops extricated from this web of danger and perplexity, and conducted them to a convenient spot for encampment, the Sûltan dispatched some of his principal officers, with three thousand camels, and two hundred tomauns in specie, to bring a supply of grain and sheep from Guzzulniauje. On the twelfth day of Rudjub, of the eight hundred and seventy third of the hidjerah,* Seyud Mûraud had been sent to the rear of the army, in order to give intelligence of the approach of the enemy; when, after he had proceeded to a short distance, that officer fell in with a body of four hundred Tûrkoman horse, under the command of a chief of the name of Ameir Beg, who immediately entered into a conversation with him, in the course of

* 25th of January, 1469.

A. H. 873. A. D. 1469. Rouzut-us-suffa.

which he demanded, since Sûltan Abû Sâeid had made the preposterous choice of war, with those who had been the unshaken friends, and peace, with those who had been the deadly enemies of his family, for the period of nearly a century, how much further he proposed to retire, before he should either have tried the issue of a fair conflict, or made some attempt to bring the matter to an accommodation; and he concluded by observing, that if the Sûltan possessed any regard for his own welfare, or for that of the people under his authority, it behoved him, before another day should have passed over his head, to depute a certain number of his principal officers, to meet an equal number on the part of Ameir Hussun Beg, [Assem Beius]; who was still, as he alleged, sincerely disposed to prove his attachment, and to terminate all their differences by a solid peace.

Instead, however, of attending to this apparently amicable proposal, Ameir Seyud Mezeid, with other Ameirs of distinction, went out the day following in the same direction; and finding the detachment of Tûrkomauns posted on the same spot as the day before, immediately attacked, and, as they were in force greatly inferior, dispersed them at the very first onset. Such has he had taken prisoners he then dispatched to the camp of the Sûltan, having determined to proceed himself in pursuit of the fugitives, without delay, contrary to the strenuous remonstrance of Seyud Arghûn, one of his associates; who distinctly forewarned him, that the Tûrkomans would doubtless be supported in their rear, and that, considering the reduced and meager state of his horses, if the obvious dictates of common prudence had any influence on his conduct, he would remain where he was, without advancing one step further. To this, however, he paid not the smallest attention; and the consequence proved such as might have been easily foreseen. When he had advanced but a short distance in pursuit of the Tûrkomans, Ozûn Hussun in person, at the head of two thousand horse in perfect array and the best condition, suddenly rushed from the place where he lay in ambuscade; and while they were in a state of heedless dispersion, fell furiously upon the detachment, of whom little less than five hundred, composed of Ameirs, and other young men of the first distinction, were immediately cut to pieces. Seyud Mezeid the commander, became a prisoner to the Tûrkomans;

and those who escaped both slaughter and captivity might, for the moment, have considered themselves fortunate to have been able to effect their retreat, in a condition however shattered and deplorable, to the camp of the Sûltan. The sons of Ameir Ally Shukker, who had also attended Seyud Mezeid on this ill-starred excursion, and were among those who returned in safety, however, declined entering the encampment, but made the best of their way, accompanied by Sûltan Ally the son of Mirza Hûsseyne, or rather Hussun Ally, prince of Azerbâijaun, towards Hamadaun; where, at a subsequent period, they put their companion to death. During this embarrassing and perilous crisis, Mirza Hussun Ally himself had, in the mean time, by desire of Sûltan Sâeid, remained in a state of inactivity at Tebreiz.

A.H. 873. A. D. 1469. Rouzut-us-suffa.

That crisis was, however, now rapidly hastening to its final disclosure, and the Sûltan was at last convinced of the expediency of entering upon some plan of accommodation, in which he conceived it would be requisite to employ the mediation of some individual, equally distinguished by respectability of birth and dignity of character; and his choice, on this trying occasion, fell upon Seyud Gheyauth-ud-dein, descended from Seyud Kowaum-ud-dein, the prince of Ammol and Saury frequently mentioned under the reign of Teymûr. This personage, who is described to have surpassed the most illustrious of his race, that lived at the same period, was accordingly directed to proceed to the camp of Ozûn Hussun, for thus we shall continue to call him, although Ameir Hussun Beg is the appellation by which he is usually distinguished by the oriental writers; and he was received with the most flattering respect, by the Tûrkoman monarch, who hastened to meet, and cordially embraced him, before the entrance of his pavilion, or tent of audience. He announced to him, however, at the same moment, that his resolution was taken, not to consent to an accommodation on any terms; and yet, that he should feel himself under considerable embarrassment in adhering to such a resolution, contrary to what might be indicated to him, through the medium of one whom he was disposed so highly to esteem. But, before they could enter further into the discussion, Ameir Seyud Ibrauhim of Koumm, accompanied by no less a personage than the Sûltan's own mother, presented himself in the camp of the Tûrkoman; and

A. H. 873. A. D. 1469. Rouzut ussuffa.

almost at the same instant, appeared the *Seyud of Ardebeil*—doubtless Sheikh Heyder Ardebeily, who was married to Martha the daughter of Ozûn Hussun, the fruit of which marriage was Ismâeil the I. the first Persian monarch of the house of Seffy, who must therefore have been the grandson of Ozûn Hussun.* The Seyud of Ardebeil had, it seems, been dispatched some time before, by Ozûn Hussun himself, on a pretended pacific mission to the camp of Abû Sâeid; and he now assured the Tûrkoman, that the troops of Khorassaun were already reduced to the utmost extremity of distress and despair; that they were hourly perishing of themselves, through hunger, disease, and famine; and that it would, therefore, be the height of folly and impolicy, to listen to any proposal of accommodation from their prince.

These arguments had their full weight in deciding the judgment of Ozûn Hussun; and accordingly, when the agents of Sûltan Sâeid, in explaining the objects of their mission, proceeded to state, that having so lately rejected every overture towards an accommodation on the part of Ameir Hussun, they were now come on the part of their master, to demand peace, on any terms that he might be disposed to grant them; their supplications had little force against the more convincing, and important information, conveyed through the Ardebeilian Seyud; and Ozûn Hussun, without further ceremony, announced to them, that the affairs of their master had now passed the crisis at which accommodation was attainable, since they were at this moment in a state of confusion beyond remedy; the Khorassaunian Ameirs having themselves condescended to declare, that the power of Sûltan Sâeid had reached its close, and that the sun of his glory was about to set forever. His attention seemed then directed to make certain friendly inquiries into the personal affairs of Seyud Gheyauth-ud-dein Mahommed; in the course of which, having given him to understand that he was not ignorant that Sûltan Sâeid had been under a promise to invest him with the government of Saury, which promise, when it was fairly in his power, he had omitted to fulfil; and calling to one of his secretaries, he immediately ordered him to draw out a patent for the government in question, and having executed it on the spot

* Vide Knolles's History of the Turks.

with the necessary formalities, he delivered it into the hands of the Seyud. The agents of Abû Sâeid were then permitted to take their departure without further detention.

A. H. 873. A. D. 1469. Rouzut-us-suffa.

But the mother of the Sûltan had scarcely re-entered the camp of her son, together with her conductors, when the Tûrkoman troops followed, with little to apprehend from the resistance of their adversaries; the Khorassaunian Ameirs having, in the mean time indeed, quitted their posts, and gone over to the camp of Ozûn Hussun; and the same day at noon, perceiving that all was lost, the Sûltan himself took to flight. He was, however, immediately pursued, by the two sons of Ozûn Hussun, by whom he was easily overtaken; and before midnight he was safely lodged in the camp of his enemy, under a guard from whom it would be no easy matter to effect his escape. At the expiration of two days, the captive monarch was sent for to the presence of Ozûn Hussun; who advanced to receive him, when he saw that he had approached within a short distance of the audience tent, and otherwise treated him with every mark of respect due to the exalted station, from which he had so suddenly fallen. When they had taken their seats in the assembly, Ozûn Hussun, in stating his various grievances, proceeded at some length to enumerate the many injuries which he had sustained, in return for the multiplied instances of zeal and attachment, uniformly exhibited in his conduct towards the Sûltan; to which the latter endeavored to reply, in such terms as appeared suitable to the occasion. And it would seem, that when these mutual explanations had taken place, after remanding his captive to safe custody, Ozûn Hussun, so far from entertaining any further design to his injury, actually intended to furnish the unfortunate monarch with an equipage suitable to his princely rank, and finally to restore him to liberty and his country.

But, on entering into consultation on the subject, with the principal ministers and Ameirs of his court, the whole strenuously united in remonstrating against the obvious impolicy, and even imbecility, after accumulating upon him every species of insult, distress, and injury, of reposing any confidence in the professions of that man, to whose forbearance so little could be trusted, when nothing had been done on their part to provoke his hostility. For it was absurd to conceive,

A. D. 873. A. D. 1469. Rouzut-us-suffa.

that when restored to power, he would omit to apply it to the punishment and subversion of that state from which he had, however deservedly, experienced so many severe calamities. On this occasion, however, none were so forward to urge the immediate destruction of Abû Sâeid, as the agent of the prince of Shirwaun; because, on the same day, the unfortunate monarch had taken an opportunity of reminding this man, that Ozûn Hussun had never triumphed over the Tcheghatâian army, were it not for the perfidious desertion of the Shirwaunian, and the consequent failure of supplies. The agent was therefore persuaded, that if ever he regained his liberty, and in his turn triumphed over the power of his enemies, the Sûltan would convey the whole soil of Shirwaun, into Khorassaun, in the very feeding-bags of his horses.

On the twenty-second of Rudjûb, at all events, of the eight hundred and seventy-third of the hidjerah,* the captive monarch was conducted to visit his kinsman, the Mirza Yadgaur Mahommed son of Sûltan Mahommed, recently mentioned; who on the approach of the Sûltan within a short distance of his tent, respectfully advanced to receive, and to all appearance, also most cordially embraced him. He then returned into his tent, and the Sûltan was stepping forward to follow, when the attendants suddenly interposed, and announced that he must remain where he was. The Sûltan now discovered that the crisis of his destiny was arrived; and seating himself down on the spot, with his face towards the Keblah of the temple of Mekkah, his thread of life was instantly dissevered by the executioners of human vengeance. We have been led to be thus circumstantial in describing the latter events of the reign of Sûltan Sâeid, which occupied altogether a period of eighteen years, because the subject became more material to our history from the consideration that he was the grandfather of the illustrious Sûltan Bâber, the celebrated founder of the Hindustauny branch of the house of Teymûr; of whom we are pledged to speak more at length before we come to the conclusion of these memoirs.

Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

The moment it became known that Sûltan Sâeid had consigned himself to the hazards of a precarious flight, the utmost consternation

* 4th of February, 1469.

took possession of the Khorassaunians; while the Turkomaunian soldiery, pouring into the royal quarters, immediately proceeded to indulge without restraint in all the excesses of robbery and pillage. But the royal tents and their appendages remained yet substantially untouched, when Ozûn Hussun in person fortunately arrived; and placing himself on horseback before the principal entrance, sternly called upon the troops to forbear from these acts of licentious outrage. Orders were then given to secnre the treasure, and to station the necessary guards for the protection of the females of the family of the Sûltan. A mandate was promulgated at the same time, that the Ameirs of Khorassaun, with their military retainers, should immediately enrol themselves under the standard of Mirza Mahommed, and not a few readily conformed to this arrangement. Others dispersed in different directions to all parts of the country; and such of the principal officers and ministers of the household of the Sûltan, as became prisoners in the hands of the Tûrkomans, were generously set at large at the command of Ozûn Hussun; excepting only Meirek Abdurraheim the Suddur, chief judge, or perhaps metropolitan, who, because the Sùltan is alleged to have been actuated in his hostile designs towards Ameir Hussun, principally through his malignant counsels, was therefore condemned to be flayed alive, and his skin stuffed with straw, to be suspended by the side of the high road, exposed to the view of the troops as they passed to their respective destinations.

A. H. 873.
A. D 1469.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

At the period of his death, there were, of the children of Sùltan Abú Sâeid, living eleven sons, as enumerated in the following list: Mirza Sûltan Ahmed; Mirza Súltan Mahommed; Mirza Súltan Mahmùd; Mirza Shah Rokh; Mirza Olúgh Beg; *Mirza Omar Sheikh;* Mirza Abú Bukker; Mirza Sùltan Mùraud; Mirza Sûltan Khaleil; Mirza Sûltan Walid, and Mirza Sûltan Omar. Of these, the Mirzas Sûltan Mahommed and Shah Rokh, became the prisoners of Ozûn Hussun, on the fatal discomfiture in Azerbâijaun, and were lodged in confinement in some of the castles, in the neighboring province of Irâk Ajem. At the expiration of a certain period, they were however, set at large, and lived for a long time in different parts of that country in extreme indigence; until the eight hundred and

A. H. 873. A. D. 1469. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

ninety-ninth of the hidjerah, when, on his way towards Khorassaun, Shah Rokh died at Saury in the province of Mazanderaun, his body being conveyed to Herât, where it was buried in the mansoleum of Gouhershaud Aga. Mirza Sûltan Mahommed was, however, supposed to be still living in the nine hundred and fifth of the hidjerah,* the period at which the author of the *Kholausset-ul-akhbaur* was about to close his history. Mirza Sûltan Mahmûd, the most discreet and virtuous, according to our author, of all the Sûltan's children, escaped the general catastrophe, and made his way good into Khorassaun; but, as the metropolis of Herât was by that time in the possession of Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne, he continued his retreat to Samarkand, in order to join his elder brother Sûltan Ahmed, who held the government of Transoxiana. He was received with great kindness and affection, and continued to live with his brother on terms of the happiest cordiality for some time; until, seduced by the counsels of ambition, he embraced the opportunity, while amusing himself in the neighborhood of Samarkand, under pretence of hunting, to withdraw into the territory of Hessaur, [shaudemaun], of the government of which, together with Buddukhshaun, Kondez, and Bakalaun, he contrived to put himself in possession; and to these, on the death of Mirza Sûltan Ahmed, in the eight hundred and ninety-ninth of the hidjerah,† he further added the government of Samarkand. He did not, however, long enjoy this acquisition of power, dying also in the month of Mohurrem, of the year nine hundred.‡

Mirza Sûltan Mahmûd left four sons, whose names were as follows: Mirza Sûltan Mûssâoud; Mirza Baysungur; Mirza Sùltan Ally; and Mirza Sùltan Weiss. Of these the former became, on the death of his father, prince of Hessaur, while Mirza Baysungur succeeded to the government of Samarkand; and hostilities ensuing between this latter prince and his brother Sûltan Ally, he took him prisoner, and directed that he should be deprived of siglit. By some means or other, the Sûltan contrived, however, to sustain the operation without injury to his eyes, and escaped some time afterwards to Bokhàra. At that place Sûltan Ally had sufficient influence to raise an army with

* Commencing 7th August, A. D. 1499. † Commencing 11th Octobsr, A. D. 1498.
‡ October 1494.

which he advanced to Samarkand; his brother Baysungur unable to oppose him in the field, concealing himself among the inhabitants within the walls of that city. But a convenient opportunity offering, shortly afterwards, he effected his escape from thence to Kondez, where he claimed the protection of Ameir Khossrou Shah, one of those officers who had been brought up under his father's bounty; leaving his brother Sûltan Ally in undisturbed possession of Samarkand, over which he still continued to exercise the sovereign authority, in the nine hundred and fifth of the hidjerah.

A. H. 873. A. D 1469. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Mirza Baysungur, on the other hand, on his arrival at Kondez, was immediately invested with the royal dignity by Ameir Khossrou Shah; and hostilities commenced, not long afterwards, under his authority to deprive his brother Sûltan Mûssâoud of the power which he had established over the government of Hessaur. The latter found it expedient to withdraw, from a contest to which he conceived his resources unequal, into Khorassaun, where he was most honorably received by Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne; who bestowed upon him the hand of one of his daughters, with every thing that could contribute to repair the losses which he might have sustained, in his unjust expulsion from his hereditary government. When he had resided for some time at Herât, tasting all the enjoyments of a splendid repose, Abûlghauzy, to crown the measure of his bounties, furnished him with a powerful army to re-conquer his government of Hessaur; but, when he was arrived within a short distance of his destination, Sùltan Mûssâoud suffered himself to be persuaded, by repeated messages from Ameir Khossrou Shah, that that perfidious chief was entirely in his interests; and being completely deceived by these insidious professions, he had the folly and imprudence, unaccompanied by his army, to proceed to Kondez, or Kondoz. And there, with a total disregard to the ties of gratitude and the obligations of public faith, he was instantly deprived of sight, and, accompanied by a slender escort, dismissed for Samarkand; with the supposition that he would be permitted to spend the remainder of his days at that place, under the protection of his brother Sûltan Ally. Trusting, however, to the better tried humanity of Abûlghauzy Sùltan Hûsseyne, the unfortunate Mûssâoud determined on repairing once more to Herât; where he

A. H. 873. A. D. 1469. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

finally arrived in safety, and continued still to reside under the protection of his benefactor, in the nine hundred and fifth of the hidjerah. Having thus rendered Súltan Mùssâoud utterly incapable of any further views on the sovereign power, Ameir Khossrou Shah no longer delayed to carry into execution his perfidious plans against Mirza Baysungur, whom, with equal baseness and cruelty, he caused to be murdered a short time afterwards; and thus finally succeeded in establishing his authority, without a competitor, over the whole territory of Kondez, and Bakalaun, together with Buddukhshaun and Hessaur. Sùltan Weiss, the fourth of the sons of Mirza Súltan Mahmúd, in the midst of these disturbances, escaped into Túrkestaun; where he was still living among his maternal kindred, at the period to which the author of the Kholausset-ul-akhbaur had now brought his history.

To proceed with the remainder of the sons of Súltan Abù Sàeid, Mirza Olùgh Beg, the 5th in order, had, as it would appear, previous to the death of his father, been invested with the governments of Kabúl and Gheznein, and was still in undisputed possession at the period so often referred to, the nine hundred and fifth of the hidjerah.* The Sùltan had also conferred the province of Buddukhshaun, upon Mirza Aba Bukker, the seventh of the illustrious brothers, whom our author considers as the most warlike of the whole; and he continued in the government of that country, long during the life of his father, and, through the exemplary kindness and generosity of Abúlghauzy Sùltan Hússeyne, for some time subsequent to his death. But ultimately disregarding his obligations to that benevolent prince, and engaging in hostilities against his authority, he became, after many a severe and obstinate conflict, his prisoner; and his career was terminated by the hand of destiny, towards the latter part of the month of Rudjub, of the year eight hundred and eighty-four.† In the same paternal spirit, the province of Andejaun, or Ferghaunah, had been conferred by Súltan Sàeid, upon *Mirza Omar Sheikh;* and he also continued to hold his authority over that country subsequent to the death of his father, until the month of Shabaun, of the eight hundred and ninety ninth of the hidjerah,‡ when he died in consequence of a fall from a pigeon house, as will be seen in another place. His son

* A. D. 1499. † October 1479. ‡ May 1494.

Mirza Bâber, immediately succeeded to the vacant authority, with the unanimous concurrence of the whole of the Ameirs, and principal natives of the country. With respect to Sùltan Múraud, the eighth in order, in the above enumeration of the sons of Sùltan Sàeid, he had for several years administered the government of Kandahaur, and the neighboring territory of Gurrumseir, under the authority of his father; and when the province of Iràk Ajem had been added to the other extensive possessions of Sùltan Sàeid, he was proceeding, by his father's orders, into Kermaun; but receiving on his march, intelligence of the disastrous reverse in Azerbàijaun, he returned towards the Gurrumseir territory. Before he could again reach his destination, he was, however, compelled, through the hostile proceedings of Yússuf Terkhan, to draw off into Khorassaun, where he also claimed the protection of Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne. By that illustrious monarch, he was conveyed to the court of his elder brother Sûltan Ahmed, at Samarkand; but through some circumstance or other, perceiving little to hope for from the sympathies of fraternal affection, he embraced the earliest opportunity of returning into Khorassaun, where for a short time, he experienced afresh the most bountiful treatment from Abûlghauzy; although, for reasons which are not explained, during the month of Suffur, of the eight hundred and eightieth of the hidjerah,* he was, together with some of his attendants, finally conveyed to the fortress of Neirahtou, and nothing further was ever heard of him.

A. H. 873. A. D. 1469. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Mirza Sûltan Khaleil, at the period of his father's disastrous fate, resided at Herât, and, after Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne had succeeded in establishing his authority over Khorassaun, was, like others of the family, dispatched by that monarch into Transoxiana; where however, proceeding to excite sedition and revolt, he was early cut short in his designs, and put to death by one of the officers in the service of his brother Sùltan Ahmed. Mirza Sûltan Walid retired among the Ameirs of the tribe of Erlaut, where he remained to the day of his death. And, lastly, when the grandeur of the family seems to have perished with Sûltan Abû Sàeid in the defiles of Azerbâijaun, Mirza Sûltan Omar, the youngest of the brothers in this list, had his

* June 1475.

A. H. 873. A. D. 1469. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

abode in the territory of Samarkand; but, long subsequent to that event, his brother Sûltan Ahmed, judging from certain suspicious appearances that he was hatching designs against his authority, took care to anticipate the execution, and to expel him from the country; after which, he joined his other brother Aba Bukker, with whom he was present when he experienced his defeat, in the neighborhood of Merû, from the troops of Abûlghauzy. From the scene of this discomfiture he made his way into the territory of Abiwerd and Nessa; but he there fell into the hands of some of those in the service of Abûlghauzy, by whom he was conducted immediately to Herât. From thence, after experiencing a confinement of some duration in the castle of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, he was, in the month of Rudjub, of the eight hundred and eighty third of the hidjerah,* finally transferred to the fortress of Neirahtou; and of him also nothing further was ever known.

Of the early history of Sûltan Sauheb Keraun Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne Bahauder Khaun, to the events of whose reign the narrative is now about to proceed, a sketch has already appeared in the former part of this chapter. It is here only necessary to remind the reader that he was the son of Mirza Baykera, the son of Omar Sheikh, and of course the great grandson of Teymûr. As soon as it became generally known that Sûltan Abû Sâeid was sinking under the combined pressure of famine, and the efforts of the Tûrkoman armies, Abûlghauzy quitted his retreat in Khaurezm for the last time, and again directed his march towards Khorassaun. Tauje-ud-dein Hussun Melky, and Ameir Bei-nezzeir, who had been left in charge of Herât, omitted no precaution, however, to place the walls and towers of that metropolis in a proper state of defence, the moment it was ascertained that he was actually encamped in the territory between Abiwerd and Nessa; while dispatches were forwarded without delay to Samarkand, to announce the approach of the enemy. In consequence of this intelligence, Mirza Sûltan Ahmed immediately left that capital, and crossed the Jeyhûn, at the head of a numerous army. In the mean time, reports of the final catastrophe in Azerbâijaun, were circulated in all quarters, on which Abûlghauzy put his troops

* October 1478.

in motion directly for Heràt; and this circumstance was no sooner ascertained by Mirza Sûltan Ahmed than he returned without further delay towards Samarkand. His brother Sûltan Mahmûd, on the other hand, contrived to reach Heràt; on the second of Ramzaun, of the year eight hundred and seventy-three;* but perceiving, after a residence of three or four days, that the people in all their classes and gradations directed their hopes towards the camp of Abûlghauzy, he very quietly divested himself of all further thoughts on the throne of Khorassaun; and attended by a certain Ameir Kûmber Ally made the best of his way for the territory beyond the Oxus—Ameir Sheikh Abû Sâeid entering shortly afterwards to take possession of the government of Herât, on the part of Abûlghauzy. On the eighth of the same month of Ramzaun, the nobility and principal inhabitants of the town proceeded to meet their new sovereign, and, being introduced to his presence on the north side of the hill of the Bâoulygâh, were most favorably received. After bestowing the most distinguished marks of kindness on the men of letters, and members of the learned professions presented to him on the occasion, Abûlghauzy led his troops to encamp at the Takht, or shrine, of Hadjy Beg, in the neighborhood of the city. On friday the tenth of Ramzaun,† the Khotbah, or public prayer, was recited in all the mosques through Herât, in the name of Abûlghauzy; and on the same day, that monarch, after the performance of his devotions, entered the palace of the Baugh-e-zoghûn, or raven gardens, where he publickly seated himself on the throne of Khorassaun.

A.H. 873-74. A. D. 1469. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

When he had, in due time, succeeded in completing the subjugation of the territory of Khorassaun, Ameir Sheikh Zauhed Tauromy was dispatched by Abûlghauzy to effect the reduction of Mazanderaun; which that officer finally accomplished, after killing Mirza Menutcheher, the elder brother of Sûltan Sâeid, who had made an attempt to secure the districts of Rustumdaur for himself, subsequent to the discomfiture in Azerbâijaun. Lest, however, he might be led to conceive that his prosperity was to continue unalloyed with the afflictions of humanity, Abulghauzy, in the early part of the eight hundred and seventy-fourth of the hidjerah, experienced a heavy,

* 15th of March 1469. † 23rd of March 1469.

A. H. 874. A. D 1469. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

domestic calamity in the death of his mother, the princess Feyrouzah Begum, who expired at Herât on the fourteenth day of Mohurrem of that year.*

At that period when Ameir Jahaun Shah the Túrkoman withdrew from Khorassaun, as we have already seen, in consequence of the treaty with Sùltan Sáeid, it appears that Mirza Yadgàr Mahommed, the son of Baysungur, son of Shah Rokh, by the advice of his aunt Pàyendah Begum, under whose care he had received his education, rather than remain among his own relatives resolved to accompany the Tùrkoman chief into Azerbâijaun; and there, during the remainder of the life of Ameir Jahaun Shah, he continued to pass his days in the enjoyment of every thing that could contribute to his repose and happiness. On the death of that monarch he experienced also from his conqueror, Ameir Hussun Beg, or Ozún Hussun, proofs of respect and honor, in no degree inferior; and when that monarch had consummated his victory over Sùltan Sáeid, one of his first objects was to place the son of Baysungur in a posture, with several of the Ameirs of the province at the head of a very powerful army, to undertake the invasion of Khorassaun. Mirza Yadgaur Mahommed proceeded accordingly, in all the pride of power, and confidence of success, to carry into execution the scheme of conquest laid open to him by his benefactor; and as his progress led him first into Mazanderaun, he appears to have expelled the lieutenant of Abûlghauzy from that province, without much difficulty.

The moment he became apprized of these hostilities, Abûlghauzy, on his part, sent off a respectable force under the Ameirs Wully Beg, and Abdulkhaulek, to oppose the attempts of the invader. Proceeding by the way of Neyshâpûr, these Ameirs advanced to Semelgaun, where they encamped for some days; being followed a short time afterwards, by a further division dispatched to their support, under Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, surnamed Mirza Ketchek—the little Mirza—the son of Mirza Sûltan Ahmed, son of Mirza Seyud Ahmed, son of Meiran Shah, and sister's son of Abûlghauzy. The whole when united then marched together, in quest of Mirza Yadgaur, who had, by this time, led his army through the defiles of Asterabad towards

* 24th of July 1469.

the frontiers of Khorassaun. When, however, they reached the station of Shouraub, the troops of Abûlghauzy, in conformity with instructions recently transmitted by their sovereign, took post on the range of hills called the Kouh-Khorouss-Yellauky, where they appeared in sufficient strength and security to bid defiance to all attack; and Mirza Yadgaur, finding their position unassailable with any prospect of success, immediately drew off towards Esferâein.

A. H. 874. A. D. 1469. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Having on the other hand, completed his arrangements, Abûlghauzy took his departure from Heràt, on the fourth day of the former Rebbeia, of the eight hundred and seventy fourth of the hidjerah;* and in the ordinary succession of marches proceeded to Mûsh-hed. Here when the monarch, preparatory to the resumption of his march, gave orders that the astrologers should attend his presence, for the purpose of determining on the hour propitious for departure, his confidential minister *Ameir Ally Sheir*, the patron of our author, honestly stated that he did not conceive the presence of astrologers, or any research into the complexion of the hour, could be attended with any essential advantage; on the contrary, whether that hour was declared favorable, or otherwise, one thing was very certain, that the investigation would be productive of delay, when it was indispensably necessary that his march should be immediate, and as expeditious as possible. The argument appeared so conclusive to the prince, that he put his troops in motion, without a moment's further delay, in quest of the enemy. On information that Mirza Yadgaur was encamped at Tchenâweran, Mirza Ketchek also, with the troops under his orders, quitted the defensive position on Kouh Khorouss, and hastened to join the main body under Abûlghauzy; who, thus reinforced, immediately advanced towards the same station of Tchenàweran, where he drew up the whole of his army in order of battle, in the presence of his adversary. Mirza Yadgaur being, on his part, little disposed to decline the challenge, a most severe and obstinate conflict ensued; in which, at the very crisis when his army appeared on the verge of defeat, Abûlghauzy, sword in hand, bravely rushed upon the enemy, and, in one moment, fixed the fortune of the day in his own favor. The troops of Mirza Yadgaur then quitted the field in the

* 10th of September 1469.

A. H. 874. A. D. 1469. Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

utmost confusion, immediately dispersing in every direction; while the conqueror triumphantly took possession of the ground they had abandoned, and remained encamped on the same spot at Tchenâweran for the space of fourteen days afterwards. At the expiration of that period, having conferred the government of Asterabad, upon Ameir Hussun the son of Sheikh Temûr, Abûlghauzy returned to Herât.

He had, however, not been many days at his capital, when intelligence from Damaghaun announced to him, that a large body of Tûrkomans, under some of his own relatives, had been dispatched by Ozûn Hussun, to the support of Mirza Yadgaur; and that encouraged by such a reinforcement, the latter had resumed his designs upon Khorassaun. The Ameirs Nausser-ud-dein Abdulkhaulek, and Sheikh Abû Sâeid, together with Peir Ally the Tûrkoman, were therefore again employed to oppose this fresh invasion; but, on further information that the enemy had already penetrated to the borders of Subbuzwaur and Neyshapûr, Abûlghauzy in person, hastened to the support of his generals, whom he accordingly joined in the luxuriant territory of Raudegaun. From thence he proceeded towards Subbuzwaur, at this juncture the head quarters of Mirza Yadgaur, and his army of Túrkomans. Advised, however, of the approach of Abûlghauzy, Mirza Yadgaur withdrew in considerable haste towards Jaujerom, leaving Kauzy Beg, one of his officers, to make a stand in the castle of Subbuzwaur. But the banners of Abúlghauzy were no sooner displayed before that place, than the Khorassaunian troops were led to the assault, and the castle was carried at the first onset; the governor was taken prisoner, and ignominiously bound; andseventy Túrkomans, who had rendered themselves particularly obnoxious, through their arrogant and oppressive behavior, were delivered over to the just vengeance of the inhabitants, by whom they were immediately put to death. Abúlghauzy then led his troops in pursuit of the enemy; of whom, soon after he had encamped at the station of Punjdehenah, or the five gorges, a part of his army fell in with, and defeated a considerable detachment, probably the rear guard, with great loss, several officers of the first distinction, belonging to the troops of Mirza Yadgaur, being killed in the action.

Nevertheless, on advancing from the last mentioned station to

Jaujerom, a strange and unaccountable reverse took place in the fortune of Abûlghauzy; and an entire change in his proceedings was rendered immediately necessary, by an alarming defection among his troops, who went over in crowds to the enemy. Compelled to yield to the force of circumstances, it appears to have been considered as a matter of some consolation, that he should have been permitted to prosecute his march in safety to Mûsh-hed, and from thence to the Pûll-e-khatûn, or bridge of the princess, where he joined his heavy baggage. In the mean time, Abdullah Akhteb, whom he had left in charge of the government of Herât, contrived, by his arbitrary and oppressive exactions, to render himself so odious to the inhabitants, that they at last rose upon their oppressor; and shutting him up in the Khaunekah, or caravanserâi, of the illustrious Shah Rokh, which he had chosen for his abode, compelled him there to secrete himself in an unknown corner of the building; after which, the tumult subsided of itself, and the inhabitants quietly returned to their occupations. This unwelcome intelligence reached Abûlghauzy, in his camp at the Pûll-e-khautûn; and it was immediately resolved to dispatch the favorite minister Ameir Ally Sheir, whose counsels and exertions were ever directed to the welfare of his fellow subjects, with letters from his master, to restore the confidence of the citizens of Herât, and to console them, under the sense of their wrongs, from the unauthorized proceedings of a tyrannical governor. Repairing to Herât, accordingly, Ally Sheir, in conformity with the instructions of his sovereign, devoted his utmost zeal and diligence to redress the inhabitants, and to protect them from further oppression; thus arresting the arm of violence from extending its inflictions, any more, to the injury of the weak and unfortunate. Having conveyed his heavy baggage and equipments on the way to Neirahtû, Abûlghauzy, also, returned shortly afterwards, and took up his abode in the Baugh-e-nuzzergah, or prospect gardens, in the neighborhood of the metropolis.

A. H. 874.
A. D. 1469.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

As might have been expected, before he had been many days at Herât, on this occasion, it was again announced to him, that Mirza Yadgaur Mahommed was arrived at Khaboushân, or perhaps Jenushaun, on his way to Mûsh-hed. Abûlghauzy therefore, at the head of such troops as he had been able to assemble, proceeded once more

A. H. 874-875.
A. D. 1469-1470.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

towards that place. But, he had no sooner encamped on the plains of Meshertû, or Meshratû, than the spirit of disaffection broke out afresh among his troops, and sent them again in entire squadrons to join the enemy. In these circumstances, there seemed no other resource than, as on former occasions, to temporise with his misfortunes; and the Sûltan was compelled to postpone his design of giving battle, to some more favorable opportunity. He therefore conceived it expedient, in the first instance, to remove his camp to the foot of the Kullah Kouh, a range of hills in the neighborhood; and from thence, immediately afterwards, by the route of Tokouz-rebbaut, towards the fortress of Neirahtû. Arriving under the walls of that place, it was his intention to have made it, for some time at least, the asylum of the female part of his family; and for this purpose, a messenger was sent in with instructions to Ahmed Touktchey, who had been entrusted with the command of this important post by Abûlghauzy's own appointment, to provide the necessary accommodation for their reception. To this, however, the faithless changeling replied, that if the Sûltan was disposed to enter with no more than one or two of his attendants, the gates should be freely thrown open to him—but not otherwise, [willa, filla]. From an answer so laconic, and so little consistent with the principle of duty, it was not difficult to discover that the contagion of disloyalty had extended itself to the garrison of Neirahtû; and it became therefore expedient to look for security to some other quarter, and to retire without delay towards the banks of the Múrghaub. Here, while he was deliberating with no small perplexity as to the direction in which he should next bend his course, a messenger from Ameir Mùzuffur Berlas, the independent chief of Keysaur, or possibly Konsaur, presented himself to Abùlghauzy; and announced to him from his master, that a very respectable body of the tribe of Erlaut, established in that neighborhood, had expressed a wish for his presence among them, being desirous, as he alleged, to attach themselves to his standard, and to devote their lives to his service. Abúlghauzy most gladly availed himself of this seasonable invitation, and he proceeded, accordingly, without delay, towards Keysaur; where, on his arrival, he was cordially greeted by Ameir Mùzuffur, and other chiefs of the tribe, on all of whom he conferred such marks of his

favor as were proportionate to their respective qualities. From thence he proceeded further to the town of Meymenah, of which we possess no further information; but where, for the present, the narrative leaves him, awaiting the return of some crisis more favorable to his designs.

A. H. 874-875. A. D. 1469-1470. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

At that period at which Abûlghauzy quitted the plains of Meshertû, directing his march for the fortress of Neirahtû, Mirza Yadgaur was still encamped in the territory of Raudegaun; but, urged by the counsels of the Ameirs Feridoun Berlas, and Sûltan Ahmed Tchaurshûmbah, and some others, the princess Payendah Sûltan Begum hastened to enter Herât, which she thus succeeded, without opposition, in securing for her brother's son. On intelligence of this successful undertaking, on the part of his patroness, Mirza Yadgaur drew also towards the metropolis; but passing to the northward of the town, he thought it expedient to proceed without halting, in quest of the troops of Abûlghauzy, to the Mûrghaub. Having, however, over-run the whole of the country in that direction, apparently without resistance, he returned towards Heirât; to the neighborhood of which he was now welcomed, by the general homage of all classes of the inhabitants. Selecting a day on which the moon was on its increase, he next proceeded to encamp on the plain of Kehdestaun; and on monday the ninth of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and seventy fifth of the hidjerah,* which was also a day of auspicious quadrature, he made his entry into the Baugh-e-zaughan, or raven gardens, the favorite royal residence in the suburbs of the metropolis. At the same time, desirous of evincing, without delay, his gratitude to the Tûrkoman chiefs in the service of Ozûn Hussun, to whose exertions he was so materially indebted for his recent success, and who had signified a wish to settle in the country, he hastened to distinguish them by all the marks of kindness and encouragement in his power to bestow, assigning to them the fairest dwellings, and the most pleasant situations in the neighborhood, for their abode.

The debt of gratitude thus far discharged, Mirza Yadgaur conceived he might now resign himself, without reserve, to his pleasures; and his time became henceforward devoted, almost exclusively, to the

* 7th of July 1470.

A. H. 875. A. D. 1470. Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

enjoyments of wine and music. Of this state of delirious indulgence, his tyrannical and licentious followers took the usual advantage of exercising every species of violence and injustice on the unfortunate subjects of his government; so that, unable to support the enormous exactions levied upon the hard-earned wages of industry, the whole body of artizans, and useful mechanics, betook themselves to the last alternative, of abandoning the country of their birth, and the tombs of their fathers. To add to the general distress, Sûltan Khaleil, one of the sons of Ozûn Hûssun, with another body of Tûrkomans, entered Khorassaun. and took up his quarters in the fertile territory of Raudegan, which he proceeded to overspread with every species of enormity and outrage; while his brother Zeneil, or Zeynel, extended the same enormities throughout the neighboring districts of the Kohestaun, where the Tûrkomans are alleged to have suffered no vestige to remain, whereby to distinguish the right hand from the left. In short, the cruelty and injustice of the Tûrkomans, throughout the whole of Khorassaun, rose to such a pitch at last as to touch the heavens, in the cries of the oppressed inhabitants calling with united zeal to the throne of God, for vengeance upon their oppressors. The supplications of the afflicted Khorassaunians were, on this occasion, more speedy in the attainment of their object, and their deliverance more sudden in its approach, than probably might have been looked for by the fondest expectation.

The tyranny and violence of the Tûrkomans, and the total negligence, or criminal supineness of Mirza Yadgaur, had been repeatedly made the subject of complaint to Abûlghauzy, in his retreat at Meymenah; and the design of returning to Herât, for the purpose of relieving the people from their accumulated injuries, had very early presented itself to his contemplation. When he had, however, taken but a short time to reflect upon it, he ventured, in the privacy of his cabinet, to disclose the design to his faithful and confidential minister, Ameir Ally Sheir; who most cordially concurred in his views, urging, at the same time, the indispensable necessity of keeping them a profound secret; nay, strongly stating it as his opinion, that it would have been more discreet if the subject had still remained a secret, even to himself. The expediency of this service, he further maintained on a

consideration of the numerous desertions to Herât, which daily took place among the Sûltan's followers, who could not render a more acceptable piece of service in that quarter, than by communicating intelligence of such a design: since it might awaken the government of Mirza Yadgaur, to some degree of activity, and not impossiblly produce the march of a body of troops, in order to dislodge them from their, at present, unmolested retreat. Abûlghauzy removed, shortly afterwards, from Meymenah to Almaul, or perhaps Aymaul, where he distributed armour to his troops; and continuing his march to Lungur Bouken, he there assembled a council of his Ameirs, and to them, for the first time, announced his design of advancing to Herât, which he had hitherto concealed from all but his faithful minister.* The plan met with the entire approbation of the council, and it was unanimously determined to proceed without delay towards the metropolis of Khorassaun.

A. H. 875. A. D. 1470. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Passing near the residence of Bâba Khauki, a devout person of great celebrity at this particular period, the pious dervaish hastened to introduce himself to Abûlghauzy; to whom he presented a sheep, a Koumatchei, and a collar, with the most flattering encouragements to proceed in his undertaking. Continuing his march, he was met on his way, shortly afterwards, by Shairum Kerâwul, one of his light horsemen, or videttes, whom he had previously dispatched to procure intelligence; and who now stated, that he had proceeded all the way to the entrance, or head, of the Kheyabaun quarter, in the suburbs of Herât, where he learned on inquiry among the people, that all in the city were entirely without advice of any thing that was passing in the country; and that Mirza Yadgaur continued to reside in the raven gardens, totally immersed in his intemperate indulgences—or, as the author expresses it, like the tulip and narcissus with the cup, or goblet, in perpetual circulation.

Thus apprized afresh of the stupid insensibility of Mirza Yadgaur and his Tûrkomans, Abûlghauzy hastened his march, at the head of eight hundred and fifty chosen soldiers, which composed the whole of his force on this occasion, and came to the hill range of

* Mukurrub-ul huzrut-ul-Sûltauny—the inmate of the presence of his sovereign; Ameir Ally Sheir, so designated by our author, henceforward, from the familiar intercourse to which he was admitted by the prince.

A. H. 875. A. D 1407 Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Tcheshmah-khubber-zouk, or perhaps kheyr-zouk. From this place, in concurrence with the advice of his officers, one of the chiefs of his party was sent forwards with instructions, if he found an opportunity, to break open the gate of the raven gardens; and, otherwise, to proceed as the suggestions of his own prudence might direct. He was immediately followed by the Ameirs Muzuffur Berlas, Sheikh Abû Sâeid, surnamed Jaun-der-miaun, Ibrauhim Berlas, and Dervaish Ally Erlaut, at the head of about one hundred and fifty warriors; with orders, as soon as the gate should have been broke open, to dispatch a messenger with the intelligence, so as to meet the head quarters of Abûlghauzy, when he should have reached the fountain of Kerenfûll. In the mean time, Abûlghauzy with the remainder of his force proceeding very slowly in his march, instead of halting at the fountain of Kerenfûll, as had been originally intended, was encouraged, by the confidence of success, to move straight on through the Kheyabaun quarter, immediately to the point of attack—the raven gardens; and shortly afterwards, Yadgaur, his master of horse, came to announce from the advance, that one of the gates of the garden had been broke open. On this, inspired with fresh confidence, Abûlghauzy directed the Ameirs Mûbaurez-ud-dein Wully Beg, and Nausser-ud-dein Abdulkhaulek, to approach the palace of Jullaul-ud-dein Feyrouz Shah, now occupied by Ameir Ally Jullâeir; with orders to attack that minister if he exhibited any design of resistance. At the same time, Douletek the Ouzbek, with some of his tribe, was sent to cut off all egress by the gate near the mosque of the princess Gouhershaud; while Mirza Ketchek received orders to take post near the principal gate on another side. And lastly, the prince royal, Mirza Sûltan Ahmed, was employed to secure that which opened towards the mausoleum of Abûlwalid.

Abúlghauzy in person, at the head of eighty of his attendants, sword in hand, then entered the raven gardens, pushing forward at the instance of Ally Sheir, directly through towards the northern side of the gardens where, contrary to his expectations, he could not discover a single individual of the several Ameirs whom he had dispatched in advance. They had, indeed, in consequence of some unaccountable panic, all without exception, either betaken themselves

to some unseen corner, or concealed themselves behind the trees. Perceiving, however, a tent in the precincts of the old palace, Abûlghauzy directed some of his followers to enter, in the expectation that Mirza Yadgaur might be found within. The minister Ally Sheir then approached the tent, sending one of his attendants to explore; but to little purpose, as not a vestige of any person was to be there discovered, and of this, he returned to advise his master. They then proceeded together to the entrance of the palace; where Abûlghauzy now addressed himself to his attendants, calling upon them immediately to scale the wall. To this, however, he received no answer, neither did any one appear disposed to obey the order; the whole being withheld by some extraordinary impression of alarm which had overpowered their minds. When the Sûltan had, in this manner, urged his commands repeatedly in vain, Ameir Ally Sheir at last broke silence; and, after observing that he had hitherto abstained from obtruding his services, because he could not without permission, leave the presence of his master, proposed without further delay to ascend, and bring the rival prince a captive to his feet. Abúlghauzy acceded to the proposal, and Ally Sheir dismounting from his charger, and drawing his sword, immediately proceeded in the obscurity of a very dark night, and repeatedly missing his course, to explore his way to the top of the building.

A. H. 875. A. D. 1470. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

In the mean time, a Feraush, or sweeper, of the name of Mehter Ismàeil, ran out of the garden, and returning with some lighted tapers, a number of the soldiers on different sides, succeeded in gaining the upper part of the palace; and, by one of these, a piaudah, or footman, of the name of Hadjy Ally, was the wretched Mirza Yadgaur now discovered, reclining on his ignoble couch of luxury and sloth. The soldier was met, leading his royal prisoner down one of the staircases, by one of the Ameirs dispatched by Abûlghauzy to the support of his minister; and the captive prince, being immediately taken charge of by this Ameir, was now conducted towards the foot of the stairs, by which Ally Sheir happened to be himself ascending; and in this manner, he was finally led along to the presence of Abúlghauzy. The Sùltan was, at first, sincerely disposed to spare the life of his vanquished and degraded rival; but his principal officers were

A. H. 875
A. D. 1470.
Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

not to be otherwise appeased than by the death of the unfortunate Shahzàdah, on whose destruction, as they alleged, depended their only security for existence. He was accordingly put to death on the spot; and this event appears to have taken place sometime in the month of Suffur, of the eight hundred and seventy-fifth of the hidjerah;* the words Sheher-e-Suffur, exhibiting the number 875, being the date of his captivity and execution.

As soon as the catastrophe was announced to the chiefs of the Tûrkoman troops, some of whom were stationed in the new gardens, and others in the garden of Zobaidah, they decamped the very same night, and directed their course for Iràk. Several Khorassanian Ameirs, on the other hand, who had suffered themselves to be seduced from their allegiance, and who had gone over to Mirza Yadgaur, were, notwithstanding, now redeemed from the death they merited, through the friendly intercession of the Sùltan's ministers, and even advanced to some of the highest honors of the government; with the exception, however, of Ameir Ally Jullàeir, who had accepted of the office of prime minister, under Yadgaur, and who was therefore doomed to perish, the day following, by the hand of the executioner.

Having thus regained possession of his capital, *Abûlghauzy*, whose titles at length were, Sûltaun Sâheb Keran, Abûlghauzy, Sûltan Hûsseyne Bahauder Khaun, proceeded to seat himself permanently on the throne of Khorassaun; which, according to our author who was a living witness to the truth of his assertion, he embellished with every virtue that could adorn, and with every qualification that could secure respect, stability, and lustre to, the royal authority. From the preceding pages of this narrative, it may be inferred that he continued to reign, with equal glory to himself, and happiness to his people, up to the nine hundred and fifth of the hidjerah; that is to say, for about thirty years subsequent to the period at which Khondemeir, the author of the Kholausset-ul-akhbaur, here terminates his history. Like that author, as far as it can be rendered intelligible through the dazzling glare of metaphorical language, we shall conclude this chapter with the description which he has given of the favorite and celebrated city of Herât, as it stood at the close of the fifteenth, and the commencement of the sixteenth century, of the christian era.

* August 1470. † Commencing 7th of August 1499.

A.H. 875-905.
A. D. 1470-1500.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Dismissing then, as far as possible, the high flown panegyric of the historian, who has elevated the pinnacles of its stately structures to the heavens, has bestowed upon its inhabitants the palm of superior zeal and orthodoxy in the principles of the Korân, and filled it with men of genius in every branch of knowledge and art, far surpassing what is to be found in any other country on earth, we shall proceed to relate that, with respect to the name and origin of this celebrated city, there existed some variety of opinions, all of which have, however, been comprehended in a stanza of four lines, to the following substance: "Originally founded by Lohorausp, it was considerably augmented by Gushtausp, further enlarged by royal Bohmen, and finally completed by Alexander the Grecian." Although, in consequence of its possessing no other means of irrigation than what was derived from a single rivulet, it could boast but few gardens in the interior of its walls; yet, without, from the Gauzergâh, or suburb of the washermen, to the Tcheshmah-mauhian, or fishing well, and from the Kereiah-baushtan, to the corn lands of Sauk-e-Selman, or market of Selman perhaps, a distance of nearly five farsangs, or about eighteen English miles, on one side, it exhibited a wide and rich expanse of fruit and flower gardens, and luxuriant plantations of various descriptions; and on another side, to the bridge of the boundary, or perhaps necklace—*Pûll-e-maulan*—a further space of two farsangs, or about eight miles, it was equally covered with inclosures of a similar description, and with charming villas, of unparalleled beauty and variety, almost contiguous to each other in endless succession. The whole surrounding territory was crowded, moreover, in all directions, with towns and villages, or otherwise laid out under tillage, to an extent so great, as scarcely to be brought within the compass of ordinary calculation. "Herât," in short exclaims the author, "is the eye—the lamp which gives light to all other cities." "Herât is the soul, of which this world is but the body; and if Kho-"rassaun be the bosom of the world, Herât is allowed to be the heart." But, as all general praise of the beauty and loveliness of this admired metropolis, would furnish but a very indeterminate idea of the reality, it will be more satisfactory to accompany the author in his brief enumeration, and description, of the most remarkable public build-

A. H. 875-905.
A. D. 1407-1500.
Kholaussset-ul-akhbaur.

ings, and of the various gardens which graced the vicinity, to the equal delight and recreation of the inhabitants.

First, among the structures belonging to this noble city, and not the least worthy of admiration must be mentioned, the castle, or citadel, of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, renowned for its impregnable strength and solidity; of which, the surrounding fosse is described to have been more unfathomable than the soul of the liberal man in his bounty, and the ramparts more lofty than to be spanned by the ordinary powers of the imagination.

Next was the great, or metropolitan mosque, than which, it is alleged, there never was erected by man, a more substantial, or a more beautiful pile. This structure was commenced towards the conclusion of his reign, by Gheyauth-ud-dein the son of Saum,* of the dinasty of Ghour; but as he died before it could be finished, and his brother Sûltan Shahaub-ud-dein was prevented from continuing the work, through the hostility of the king of Khaurezm, the completion was reserved for his son, Sûltan Gheyauth-ud-dein Mahmûd. It stood untouched and unimpaired for some time, until, during the fearful irruption of *Jengueiz*, it partook in the general ruin of Khorassaun; after which it was, however, rebuilt by Melek Gheyauth-ud-dein Guerret, and subsequent to the death of that prince, it was greatly beautified and embellished, by Melek Mûezz-ud-dein Hûsseyne.† In the time of Shah Rokh it was also completely repaired, by his minister Jullaul-ud-dein Feyrouz Shah. But, latterly, during the reign of Abúlghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne, the main arch of the sanctuary of this noble structure having given way, and the principal dome exhibiting, in consequence, on every side, the most alarming appearances, while the walls and columns [peilpayah, or elephant feet] were in general tottering to their fall; and other symptoms of dilapidation were daily accumulating upon the sacred floors, from the perpetual disruption of bricks from the roof, the minister Ally Sheir, determined on giving it at once a thorough and substantial repair; and for that purpose he solicited the permission of his sovereign. This, there can be little doubt, was readily granted, and he accordingly

* He died in the 599th of the hidjerah.

† Who died in the 771st of the hidjerah.

commenced the undertaking in the sacred month of Ramzaun, of the nine hundred and third of the hidjerah.* A. H. 875-875. A. D. 1460-1500. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

And first of all, the builders proceeded by his orders to lay open, or take down, the great dome, and back, or principal arch, of the Meksourah, or place set apart for the sanctuary, which already presented the most alarming fracture; after which, with the advice of the most skilful and experienced architects, he directed the whole to be re-constructed, on such principles of strength and durability, as nothing could surpass. On two sides of the sanctuary he added, moreover, two lofty galleries, and for that purpose, the great arch was finished with more than ordinary solidity. In the mean time, Ally Sheir generally attended in person, day after day, giving instructions to the workmen, frequently with his robe tucked up, and trowel in hand; at other times, when he saw the opportunity seasonable, encouraging them to exert themselves by presents of rich apparel, and other liberal donations. In short, such was the dispatch employed in carrying on the work under these encouragements, that what, on ordinary occasions would have required the period of three or four years to complete, was now accomplished in the short space of six months, notwithstanding the additional galleries, and that they were all from six to seven cubits higher than before: and it is something singular, that the number 904, being the year of the hidjerah in which these repairs were completed, should be contained in the letters which compose the sentence, *Mer-emmet kerd*—he repaired.

Having thus substantially restored the shell of the fabric, Ally Sheir next devoted his attention to the decoration of the interior; in which the united arts of painting, sculpture, and mosaic, were so skilfully and successfully employed, and with such inimitable beauty and elegance of design, that in twelve months more, that was rendered complete, which under auspices less favorable, could scarcely have been produced in a period short of five years. All this was particularly exemplified in the finishing of the arches, and slender balustrades, or railing of the galleries;† which were exquisitely painted and inlaid,

* May 1498.

† These were probably, intended for the women, and were most likely fronted with a screen of highly finished lattice work, elaborately netted and inlaid, to conceal them from the view of the men.

A. H. 875-905.
A. D. 1470-1500.
Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

both in the Chinese and Mahommedan taste, and with a perfection that far surpassed any of the performances ever exhibited on structures of a similar description, on any preceding occasion. The vaulted ceiling of the dome exhibited a surface of the most clear and spotless white; and the screen of the galleries, composed of the purest white marble, appeared not less admirable for the exquisite delicacy and lightness, than for the real stability of the work. Moreover, to replace the ancient Mumbur, or pulpit, now crumbling to pieces and unfit for use, it was the minister's early care to employ his servants to procure a block of marble for the purpose, which, after considerable search, was at last found at Khowauf, and having been purchased at a handsome price from the owner, was brought safe to Herât; where, by the chissel of Shums-ud-dein, a most ingenious sculptor of that city, it was finally wrought into a pulpit of such inimitable beauty, as, according to our author, not to have been equalled since the sun commenced his course in the firmament, and the law of Mahommed to find votaries upon earth.

We are lastly informed, that this boasted fabric was surmounted by four hundred and eight domes, or cupolas, contained one hundred and thirty Rowauk, perhaps windows, or niches, for the admission of light and air, and was supported by four hundred and forty four Peilpayah, columns, or pillars, so called probably from their resemblance to the legs of the elephant. Its total length, within the walls, was two hundred and fifty four cubits;* its breadth, one hundred and fifty cubits.† The length of the Sûffah, or elevated, or reclining place of the sanctuary, was sixty five cubits;‡ the breadth twenty cubits;§ and the span of the arch, twenty six cubits.‖ The length of the north Sûffah was twenty three cubits;** the breadth fifteen cubits †† The length of the Súffah on the east side was twenty eight cubits;‡‡ the breadth was fifteen cubits §§ The length of the south Sùffah, was twenty two cubits.‖‖ the breadth thirteen cubits.*** The longest diameter of the dome over the mausoleum of the kings, was twenty four cubits,††† the shortest twenty three cubits.‡‡‡ And lastly the length

* 465 feet 8 inches, at 22 inches to the cubit. † 275 feet. ‡ 119 feet 2 inches.
§ 36 feet 8 inches. ‖ 47 feet 8 inches. ** 39 feet 2 inches. †† 27 feet 6 inches.
‡‡ 51 feet 2 inches. §§ 27 feet 6 inches. ‖‖ 40 feet 4 inches. *** 23 feet 10 inches.
††† 44 feet. ‡‡‡ 42 feet 2 inches.

of the principal, or common floor of the mosque, was one hundred and fourteen cubits,* and the breadth eighty four cubits.† There were, moreover, to the fabric, six superb entrances that might, if it were not impiety, be compared with the eight gates of the celestial paradise; since nothing to be found through the seven climates of this nether earth, according to our author, could ever bear a comparison with them.

A. H. 875-905. A. D 1470-1500. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

If, in the mean time, from this description, we have been able to derive any precise idea of the outline, the structure must have been of an oblong quadrangular shape, in length exceeding its breadth, in the proportion of about four fifths, standing, probably, north-west and south-east; so that, looking towards the sanctuary, the people would have their faces directed towards Mekkah. But as the author has altogether omitted to give the height, any conception we can form of its appearance must, after all, be very indeterminate, and imperfect.

We shall finally observe, that the whole was completed by wednesday the fourteenth of Shabaun, of the nine hundred and fifth of the hidjerah;‡ on which day, a noble entertainment was provided, at the expence of Ally Sheir, for the Imaum, or chief priest, the Khateib, or principal orator, the monitor, the reciters of the Korân, the treasurer, and others attached to the religious establishment of the Mosque, together with the master builders, and other principal artists employed on the work, the illustrious minister presiding in person at the repast; at the close of which, he presented to one hundred of the most distinguished individuals respectively, a robe of the richest fur, and other articles of dress, of the most admired and valuable materials.

But, as a further particular description of the various edifices devoted to the several purposes of public worship, charity, and instruction, within the city of Herât, would engage us in a very tedious, and perhaps irksome digression, we shall confine ourselves with the author, to the simple enumeration of such as were probably most worthy of notice, taking our departure from the great mosque above described.

2 The college of the Sûltan. 3 The Gheyauthiah college, erected by Melek Gheyauth-ud-dein Guerret. 4 The Khaunekah-jedeid,

* 209 feet. † 154 feet. ‡ 15th of March, A. D. 1500.

A. H. 875-905.
A. D. 1470 1500.
Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

or new caravanserâi, erected by Mûezz-ud-dein Guerret. 5. The academy of traditions, and hospital for the sick, erected by the princess Melket Aga, and eminently supported by the encouragement and liberality of Ameir Ally Sheir. 6. The college of Khoujah Melek the goldsmith. 7. The college of Nour Anwarullah. 8. The college of Kemmaul-ud-dein Hûsseyne. 9. The mosque over the tomb of Khoujah Mahommed Merghezi. 10. The Peishberrah college, founded by Moulana Jullaul Kâeiny. 11. The college of Khoujah Ismâeil Hessaury. 12. The college of Khoujah Afrein. 13. The college of Ameir Mahmûd. 14. The Gûmbez, Mozzaur, or mausoleum of Khoujah Mejeid-ud-dein Taulebah. 15. The college of the quarter of the infants. 16. The mosque of Abdullah Aumar, rebuilt by Mirza Allà-ud-doulah. 17. The mausoleum of Beibi Setty, erected by Nizam-ud-dein Ahmed, the son of the minister Feyrouz Shah. 18. The Daur-us-seyaudah, or hotel of the Seyuds, one of those erected by Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne. Here food was daily distributed to the distressed and indigent of all classes of the people, and a public lecturer supported for their general instruction, on a liberal endowment from the sovereign. 19. The green college of Feyrouzabad. 20. The Gûmbez serr-e-mezaur, or mausoleum of Khaujah Turauzûdaur. 21. The mosque at the barrier of the Bazaur of Irâk, founded by Shah Melek—in ruins. 22. The Nizaumiah college, rebuilt and re-endowed by Ally Sheir, with two learned professors, or lecturers, supported for public instruction. 23. The college of Fesseiah, founded by Fesseiah-ud-dein Mahommed ul Nizaummy. 24. The college of Jullaul-ud-dein Kaussem Ferenkhoudy. 25. The Gùmbez mosque. 26. The mosque of the chandler's quarter. 27. The Gûmbez serr-e-mezaur, or mausoleum of Khaujah Rokhbund. 28. The Khaunekah, or hotel, of the Peir of Heràt. 29. The mosque of Yeksettoun, or of one column. 30. The Khaunekah of Melek Husseyne Guerret. 31. The mosque in the city garden. 32. The college and Khaunekah of Mirza Shah Rokh, both founded by the respectable monarch of that name in the early part of his government, and endowed with very productive tracts of land, and other abundant sources of support. The establishment provided also for a regular supply of food, every morning, to the poor and the stranger, whether

on their arrival or departure; and four learned men were employed, on liberal salaries, as professors or lecturers, to give instruction to the students in the college. 33. The college of the Púllbund, or aqueduct. 34. The *library* of Sûltan Ahmed Mirza; the only establishment of this description that appears among the whole.

Having proceeded thus far in his enumeration, the author, discouraged perhaps at the almost endless succession to be found *within* the city, of buildings and establishments, devoted to the service of religion, charity, and public instruction, acknowledges himself unequal to the task of continuing his detail on that head any further; but claims the attention of the reader while he endeavours to furnish some account of similar structures, erected *without* the town and in the vicinity.

1. The mosque and Khaunekah of Sheikh Tchawesh, in the little market called by that name, and repaired during the reign of Abûlghauzy. 2. The college of Subbuz Berauman. 3. The mosque of Ameir Feyrouz Shah, rebuilt by Ameir Ally Sheir. 4. The hospital of Sûltan Abûlghauzy. 5. The lungur, or resting place of Sheikh Yaheya, rebuilt by Ally Sheir. 6. The hospital of the departed Shah Rokh. 7. The mausoleum of the Seyuds, erected by one of the Ameirs of the court of Abûlghauzy. 8. The college of the princess Melket Aga. 9. The mausoleum of Khoujah Tchehelguzzy, re-edified by Ameir Ally Sheir, with the addition of a lecturer's chair for public instruction, then respectably filled by a learned professor. 10. The mosque of the four roads, Tchahaursûy, named after Mirza Allà-uddoulah, but founded by Ally Sheir. 11. The mosque and Khaunekah, or Khounek, of Ameir Feyrouz Shah, erected at the same time, or rather contiguous to each other; and although the Khaunekah, or caravanseràì, might have been defective in decoration, the college attached was finished with considerable elegance, and two learned doctors were then delivering instructions to the students, on salaries derived from the foundation. 12. The royal college of the princess Gouhershaud Begum, often mentioned in the preceding pages. It was equally admired for its extent and elegance, and the neatness and convenience of its accommodations; and it long continued to be the resort of multitudes of the people, more particularly on fridays. 13.

A. H. 975-805.
A. D. 1460-1500.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

The mosque of the same princess, which was possessed of sufficient attraction in point of design, and elegance of decoration and workmanship, but in loftiness, size, and solidity, surpassed most of the mosques of this metropolis. There were here moreover, four lecturers of distinguished eminence, employed in giving instruction, on salaries established by the benevolent foundress. 14 The mosque at the head of the bridge of Enjeil, erected by the distinguished minister Ally Sheir, not to be equalled in elegance of structure, or beauty of decoration. 15 Among the noblest buildings, however, in the vicinity of Heràt, are not to be omitted the college and Khaunekah, erected near the same spot, the bridge of Enjeil, by the architects of the royal household of Abûlghauzy; than which, according to our author, it would be impossible for human skill to produce any thing more beautiful in design, or elaborate in execution. From the varnished gilding on the walls the dawn of the morning derived its blushes, and the reflection of the lapis lazuli in-laying lent its azure tints to the vault of heaven. On the western wing of the same college, if we comprehend our author aright, the royal Abûlghauzy, amidst the glare of earthly grandeur not unmindful of the common lot of humanity, caused a splendid mausoleum to be erected for his own sepulture; the dome, and the walls, and other parts of which, exhibited in the utmost perfection, all that gold, and azure, and marble, could be made to display, by the most consummate skill in sculpture, painting, and architecture.* The author adds that at the period at which he wrote, there were in the college and Khaunekah, together, no less than twenty professors, or lecturers, eminent for their learning and talents, supported for public instruction, on liberal endowments set apart for them, by the reigning Sùltan Abûlghauzy; that the individuals attached to the service of the Khaunekah, regularly attended to make a distribution of food every morning throughout the year; and that it was in this noble and charitable structure that Moulana Kemmaul-ud-dein Hûsseyne Waezz, a celebrated and well known preacher of the time, delivered his admonitions once every

* Those who may have had an opportunity of visiting the Tauje mehel, in the neighborhood of Agra, even in its dilapidated state, can alone form an adequate judgment of the exquisite beauty sometimes displayed in these structures.

week, followed in his exhortations by the Sheikh, or presiding elder, of the foundation. 16. Another of the structures without the city indicated for the admiration of the stranger, was the great mosque erected by Ally Sheir, opposite to his own palace in the suburbs; of which the Sûffah, or platform, of the sanctuary, is described in particular, if it is not, indeed, a metaphorical excursion of the author's, to have been inlaid with gold and lapis lazuli; and it was distinguished, moreover, on the right and left, by two very lofty and highly decorated minarets, overlaid with porcelain of Kashaun, and elevating their slender pinnacles to the skies. At the north end was also a lodge, or cloister, for the extempore reciters of the Korân, the walls and ceilings of which were beautifully overlaid with gold and azure; and at the opposite extremity was a noble hospital for the sick, with a spacious reservoir of water in the centre, medical attendance always at hand, and an abundant supply of medicines of every kind for the relief of the afflicted. Adjoining, or at no great distance from the hospital, were the college and Khaunekah, called the Kholaussiah, and Ekhlaussiah respectively, also erected by the beneficent and noble minded Ally Sheir, and finished with the same admirable ingenuity in design, and skill in execution, displayed in all his other undertakings; and what must have rendered an abode here peculiarly pleasing and desirable, were the limpid streams of running water which were kept constantly flowing through the precincts. At this Khaunekah, there was also a daily distribution of food to the poor; and every year, not far short of two thousand vests, or tunics, of leather, or fur, and other materials, together with turbans, drawers, and sandals, were given for their use, at the expence of the same illustrious minister. Finally, there were seven lecturers, of distinguished learning, constantly employed either in the college, or Khounekah, in delivering instructions, particularly on subjects of religion and Theology; the advantages derived from which may be sufficiently estimated from the circumstance, that during the short period which had elapsed since the foundation, many thousands who had repaired thither from different parts of the world for the purposes of study, were already enabled to return to their respective countries, eminently qualified in every branch of knowledge; and many individuals, natives of the city, who

A. H. 875-905.
A. D. 1470-1500.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

A. H. 875-905. A. D. 1470 1500. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

received their education here, afterwards filled the professional chairs in this college, with the highest reputation for learning and talents. 17. Next claimed the attention of the stranger, the college of Badeia, erected by the heir apparent to the throne of Khorassaun, Abûl Futtah Sûltan Badeia-uz-zemaun, scarcely inferior to any other similar structure, either in magnitude, or beauty of architecture. At the period at which the author wrote this part of his history, the lecturer's, or professor's chair of this college, was filled by Suddur-ud-dein Youness, whose instructions were uniformly attended by a crowded resort of students. 18. The Hezeirah, or close, or perhaps cloister, of the princess Beiby Mohebb, remarkable for its beautiful decorations in porcelain of Kashaun; and here also was an eminent lecturer, numerously attended from all parts of the city. 19. The Hezeirah of Ameir Sûltan Ahmed Tchougantchei, [the horse-goff player], opposite to the edifice last mentioned, and by no means deficient in beauty and elegance of decoration. 20. The mausoleum of Imaum Fakher-ud-dein Rauzy, a spacious and elegant structure much resorted to, on account of its healthy and beautiful situation. 21. The college of the four minarets, founded by the princess Khaunum Begum, and distinguished for its variegated and multiplied embellishments; as well as for the lectures there delivered at this period, by Moulana Gheyauth-ud-dein Mahommed, an eminent physician of Herât, who enjoyed a liberal salary, from the funds provided for its support. 22. The Hezeirah* of the princess Feyrouzah Sûltan Begum, delightfully situated in the Kheyabaun quarter, or quarter of the tent-makers, and, in beauty and extent, far surpassing any similar structure in that part of the suburbs. Khaujah Parsâ, and the Seyud Ameir Abdul-lûtteif, known by the appellation of Ameir Kouftgueir, or Kouftigueir, the patient, here discharged the function of lecturers, with liberal salaries on the foundation; and here also, a distribution of food to the poor took place every morning throughout the year. 23. The college of Ameir Ferman Sheikh was not deficient in conveniences, and supported one lecturer for public instruction. 24. The college of Ameir Tchekmauk of Damascus, on the other hand, possessed an

* I have not been able to determine whether this was not a convent, or perhaps almshouse; at all events, it appears to have been an inclosure for charitable purposes.

ample share of beauty and decoration, and also supported one eminent lecturer for instruction. 25. The Khaunekah, and Jummâyet-khaunah, or convent, at the mausoleum, or over the grave, of Shums-ud-dein Mahommed Uttebaudgauny, erected by Ally Sheir, and, like others of a similar description, remarkable for neatness and convenience. 26. The college of Sûltan Aga, abounding in every convenience, with one public lecturer. 27. The green Khaunekah, or perhaps the Khaunekah, or Karavanserâi, at the head of the tent-makers quarter, erected by Melek Hûsseyne, of the dinasty of Guerret. 28. The Khaunekah of Sûltan Khowautûn, hard by the last mentioned. 29. The college and Khaunekah of Ameir Allâ-ud-dein Alleikah Koukeltaush, noticed as a structure of great extent and solidity, with two lecturers supported on liberal salaries. 30. The mosque of Beibytchah Mûnedjemah, much frequented on fridays. 31. The Fennayah, one of the structures erected by Ally Sheir, but of which the object is unexplained. 32. The mausoleum of Mukhdoum the divine, [Hukkâeik punnah], a celebrated Peir of Herât, also erected under the patronage of the munificent Ally Sheir; and a pleasing retreat on account of the very delightful shrubberies, and flower gardens, with which it was surrounded. 33. The mausoleum of Sheikh Zeyne-ud-dein ul Khowaufi, erected by Khoujah Gheyauth-ud-dein Peir Ahmed of Khowauf. 34. The Aywaun, arch, portico, or perhaps peristyle, of the Eidgâh, or place of festival at Herât, was among the memorials of his power left by the late Sûltan Abû Sâeid. 35. The Hezeirah of Sheikh Behâ-ud-dein Omar, a highly venerated spot, distinguished by a lofty superstructure. 36. The building on the Tcheshmah mauhian, or fish spring; one of those erected by Ally Sheir. 37. Tokkouz-rebbaut, a Karavanserâi, or hotel, for the reception of travellers, also erected by the munificence of Ally Sheir, and remarkable for the extent and neatness of its accommodations. 38. The rebbaut, quadrangle, or Karavanserài, at the head of the Kheyabaun, or quarter of the tent-makers, another monument of the benevolence, and public spirit, of Ally Sheir. 39. The Hezeirah of Sûltan Ahmed Mirza, no less admired for the salubriousness of its situation, than for its lofty and spacious buildings. The lecturer's chair of this endowment was filled, at the period under consideration, by Moulana

A. H. 875-905.
A. D. 1470-1500.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

A. H. 875-905. A. D. 1407-1500. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

Shums-ud-dein Mahommed, son of Seyf-ud-dein. 40. The Khaunekah, at the mausoleum of Khaujah Abdullah Ansaur; a structure equally venerated for the sanctity of the spot, and admired for its elegance, as well as for the beauty and salubriousness of the situation. Here was ample provision of food always ready for distribution, not only to the poor, but to those of all classes that might be disposed to partake, furnished entirely at the expence of the funds of this very noble and hospitable establishment. In the nine hundred and fourth of the hidjerah, the minister Ally Sheir himself, did not disdain to accept the office of sweeper round the tomb of the friend of his prophet; on which occasion he nominated the learned Moulana Shums-ud-dein Mahommed the Berdaite, from the Ekhlaussiah college, where he had borne away the prize of pre-eminence from all his fellow students, to fill the chair of lecturer, and he appointed, moreover, several reciters of the Korân, selected for the melodiousness of their voices, to be continually employed in chanting the sections of the sacred volume, under the cloisters of this venerated structure, together with a Khateib, or orator, and Mûezzin to give the call to prayer, neither of which had hitherto been provided for by the institution: and of all these latter, the expence was defrayed from his own private fortune. 41. Niaummutabad, the abode of abundance, an endowment erected by Sûltan Abûlghauzy, of which the object is not explained, any further than that it fully corresponded with its appellation. 42. The mausoleum of that eminent Sheikh, Khaujah Ally Mouffek, a highly venerated structure. 43. The college of Ameir Gheyauth Bukhshy, erected during the reign of Abûlghauzy. 44. The college of Seyud Gheyauth-ud-dein Mahommed ul Hûsseyne was not deficient in beauty, and it was, at the period under consideration, supported and kept in repair by the sons of the founder. 45. The mosque near the Pûll-e-kard, or bridge of the dirk, erected by Ally Sheir. 46. The Gûmbez, or dome, of Ameir Mahommed Sûltan Shah, not by any means defective in point of decoration, or ornamental architecture. 47. The mosque by the bridge of Dilferauz; or perhaps Dilkurraur, another of the structures for which the metropolis was indebted to the munificence of Ally Sheir. 48. The rebbaut, quadrangle, or Karavanserâi, at the head of the Koutchah allaumut, or street of the standard, per-

haps of the miracle, also erected by Ally Sheir. 49. The Khaunekah of the Zeiauretgah, or place of visitation, erected by the same beneficent minister. 50. The mosque of the Zeiauretgah, among those founded by Abûlghauzy. 51. The mausoleum, or monument, over the grave of Ameir Abdulwauhed the son of Mosslem, erected by Ally Sheir. 52. The mosque of Khaujah Afzel-ud-dein, distinguished for its neatness, and elegance of decoration. 53. The college of Khaujah Pâbouss, a lofty and spacious structure. 54. The college of Moulana Lùtfullah Suddur, a very pleasing structure. 55. The mausoleum of the solitary Peir Khaujah Abûlwulleid Ahmed, also included among the numerous edifices erected by the munificent Ally Sheir. It was a place of great resort on wednesdays; the resident Sheikh, or elder, and those attached to the service of the sepulchre, attending, with charitable assiduity, to the entertainment of all who presented themselves, whether on arrival or departure. Contiguous to this edifice, an extensive Jummayut khaunah, or convent, was built by Khaujah Nizam-ul-mûlk the Khowaufite, a person brought up under the protection of Ally Sheir, but for some circumstance of disloyalty or misconduct, punished with the displeasure of Sûltan Abûlghauzy; and lastly, a very spacious and convenient rebbaut, for the accommodation of travellers, was erected in the same vicinity by the servants of Ally Sheir, and was usually frequented by a numerous resort of strangers from all parts of the East.

A. H. 875-905. A. D. 1470-1500. Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

But, as this sketch would be incomplete without devoting our attention to some of the numerous gardens which embellished the vicinity, and administered to the delight of the inhabitants, of this celebrated metropolis, the author proceeds to relate, that although, on obtaining possession, he found the place abundantly accommodated in this respect, Abûlghauzy Súltan Hûsseyne very early evinced his determination to add, most extensively, to the sources of rural recreation already enjoyed by his people. For the noblest of his gardens he selected, however, a situation to the north east of the town, equally happy for its pure air, and the delicious salubrity of the water in the neighborhood; and here, on this chosen spot, for a period of nearly twenty years, he employed the most skilful architects, and the most ingenious mechanics, in every branch of decoration, in producing a complete assemblage

A. H. 975-805.
A. D. 1460-1500.
Kholausset-ul-akhbaur.

of all that was admirable in the invention, and beautiful in the execution; nay, from the very dawn of his power to the moment at which the author was composing this part of his relation, a period of not less than two and thirty years, no expence, nor exertion of skill, was omitted to render it, what, it is alleged without a question, it became, unparalleled for beauty on the surface of this globe. It would, at the same time, have been more satisfactory, if the author had enabled us to form some distinct conception of the component parts of this terrestrial paradise; although some faint idea of the picture may yet be derived from his statement, that, like the flower-enamelled retreats of elysium, its heart expanding area exhibited one entire carpet of roses, and of every description of flower and fragrant shrub; that the soul refreshing air which breathed through every avenue, like the zephyr breeze of the loveliest month of spring, possessed the influence of assuaging the sorrows of the most afflicted; that the azure realms of ether faded in the comparison with the charming tints of its ever verdant pastures; and that the fountain of the water of life itself produced nothing to be compared with the lovely translucent streams which either shot in brilliant showers to the sky, or wandered in velvet bordered rills through every part of this inchanting scene. To crown the whole, it was adorned in every direction by so many superb and lofty pavilions, magnificent porticos, or corridores, airy and elegant balconies, and other varieties of ornamental architecture of equal taste and beauty, that the powers of description must necessarily fail in the recital: and, that the name might in some measure correspond with the reality, it was called the Baugh-e-jahaunaràì—the garden which is the ornament—the jewel of this nether world.

But, although this was the principal, it was not the only instance in which the taste of the royal Abûlghauzy was exerted in this way for the embellishment of his capital. The author enumerates four more gardens, of which, however remarkable for the magnificent pavilions, and other beautiful structures contained in them, similar to those already mentioned, he very prudently confesses, that this abridgement affords but little room for the description. Yet he would have been unjust to the memory of his munificent patron, the illustrious Ally Sheir, had he omitted to record that he followed closely in the steps

of his sovereign, whose example he imitated in this taste for elegant decoration. So far back as the commencement of his master's reign, part of his attention had been engaged in forming and embellishing what was called the Baugh-e-mergheny, a garden which, for thirty years afterwards, continued to flourish in the highest perfection, under his fostering care, equally admired for the rarity and beautiful variety of its trees, plants, and flowers, and for the elegance of the pavilions, and other fairy structures, which met the eye of the spectator in every direction. Several others are mentioned of equal beauty, although of smaller compass, and among those the Baughtcheh Kauzergah, or little garden of the bleaching grounds; which, for the salubrity of the air and purity of its waters, surpassed every thing of the kind, in Khorassaun, and perhaps in the whole world; it being situated on the unenclosed heath of the Kauzergah, and the stream of the Jûi Sûltauny, or royal canal, passing through the middle of the gardens, previous to its being diverted through any other inclosure. Neither were the other nobles of the court of Abûlghauzy, less forward in this respect, in emulating the example of their sovereign, as the numerous villas, and other elegant retreats raised under their directions, would abundantly attest; although the fear of proving tedious deters us from mentioning them in detail. The author, therefore, closes this article with the enumeration of a few of those places of a similar description, which were to be found in the neighborhood of Heràt, prior to the accession of Abûlghauzy.

1. The Baugh-e-nuzzergah, or prospect garden. 2. The Baugh-e-mokhtaur, or garden of selection. 3. The Baugh-e-kerenfil, or garden of juliflowers. 4. The Baugh-e-kheyabaun, in the quarter so called, the work of Mirza Allà-ud-doulah. 5. The Baugh-e-zaughan, or zoghùn, or raven gardens, so often mentioned in these pages, and the favorite residence of that respectable monarch Shah Rokh. At the period under consideration also, on any occasion of public festivity, it was the place chosen for his presence by Abûlghauzy; and for that purpose usually covered with temporary colonnades and pavilions. 6. The Baugh-e-nou, or new garden, belonging to the prince royal Sûltan Badeia-uz-zemaun Mirza. 7. Baugh-e-zobaidah, the garden of Zobaidah, among the memorials of his taste left by Mirza

A. H. 875-905.
A. D. 1470-1500.
Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

Mahommed Jouky the son of Shah Rokh. In this there stood a palace, to which, at one time, in point of variegated and elaborate decoration, there were in Khorassaun but few parallels. But, even at the period at which our author wrote, it was in a state of dilapidation. 8. The Aukserâi, or garden of the white palace, ascribed to the late Sûltan Abû Sâeid. 9. The Baugh-e-seffeid, or white garden, than which, according to our author, there existed not under the azure vault of heaven, a sweeter, or more lovely spot. This was one among the many embellishments indebted for their creation, to the magnificent taste of the departed Khaugan, the illustrious Shah Rokh; and for many years the successive residence of the Mirzas Baysungur, Allà-ud-doulah, and Sûltan Abû Sâeid.*

* At the head of the men of genius and letters, who flourished in the court of Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne, was Nûr-ud-dein Abdurraihman ul *Jaumy*, the author of the Yûssuf Zuleikha, Showauhed-ûn-Nebbowut, Noffahaut-ul-uns, and many other admired productions. He was patronized by the munificent Ally Sheir; died on the 17th of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and ninety-eighth of the hidjerah; [7th of November, 1492], and was buried close by the tomb of Moulana Saud-ud-dein of Kashghàr, at Heràt. Neither can we omit to insert in substance, as far as can be included within the limits of a note, the author's cursory sketch of the life of his father, *Meir* or *Ameirkhond*; the laborious compiler of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, so largely drawn upon in framing the superstructure of these pages. Of him, then, he states that having devoted the early part of life, to acquire all that was to be attained in the sciences of the East, in which he soon outstripped the whole of his contemporaries, he applied himself with equal diligence and success to the study of history, and of the records of past events. Through the seductions of a convivial disposition, however, and too unrestrained an intercourse with the votaries of pleasure, it never occurred to him to engage either in the labours of composition, or in any settled charge of public instruction; until, by the goodness of providence and the influence of his better destiny, he found means to be introduced to the excellent Ally Sheir, from whom he immediately experienced every mark of kindness and encouragement. Not long subsequent to this introduction, a set of apartments in the Khaunekah Kholaussiah, an establishment to which we have recently referred, and in which he had occasionally taken up his abode in person, was assigned, by the same munificent minister, to his learned and ingenious friend. And here it was that he proceeded to compose his elaborate work of the Rouzut-us suffâ. By diut of application and unwearied diligence, he was enabled, in a short time, to bring the six volumes of his unequalled performance to a conclusion; the seventh remaining incomplete through failure of materials, or, what is more likely, the delicacy of engaging in a narrative of the passing events of the reign of Abûlghauzy; but this omission his son Khondemeir, in recording the circumstance, pledged himself, at a future period to supply, provided heaven were propitious to his hopes, and the requisite materials attainable. In the mean

time, during the prosecution of his labours, and long afterwards, Ameirkhond continued to experience from the bounty of Ally Sheir, the most liberal encouragement, and the most friendly support; and when the tedious uniformity of a laborious task had at length produced considerable abatement in the ardour of composition, that excellent minister did not disdain to employ the stimulus of facetious discourse, and even of raillery, to excite and animate his exertions. Evincing, however, towards the decline of life, a disposition to retire from the world, Ameirkhond withdrew to a secluded spot in the Kauzergàh, or bleaching grounds; where, for the space of a twelve-month, he devoted himself entirely to a pious preparation for the endless felicity, the imperishable rewards, of a future state In these circumstances being attacked by a painful disorder in the loins, he was compelled, during the month of Ramzaun, of the 902d of the hidjerah, [May 1497], to return to the city; there, his complaint growing daily worse, after a lingering illness, he finally expired on the 2d of Zilkaudah, of the year 903, corresponding with the 21st of June, A. D. 1498.

## CHAP. XII.

A. H. 810-873.
A. D. 1408-1469.
Abûl Fazzel-Nâmah.

IN order to preserve the chain of historical evidence unbroken, it may be expedient to recur to the period at which Meiran Shah, in the eight hundred and tenth of the hidjerah, perished by the hands of the Tùrkomans, in the neighborhood of Tebreiz. He had eight sons; of whom the sixth, in order of birth, was Sûltan Mahommed Mirza, who is stated to have resided in general at Samarkand, with his brother Sùltan Khaleil, until the latter, as we have already seen, was compelled to withdraw into Irâk Ajem. And, when Olûgh Beg became invested with the government of Samarkand, the same Sûltan Mahommed was recommended to his protection in the most favorable terms, by the illustrious Shah Rokh; who spoke of him as a person for whose talents and virtues he bore, from experience, the highest respect. He was, accordingly, on all occasions, treated by Olûgh Beg with particular and distinguished esteem. Sûltan Mahommed Mirza had two sons—Abû Sàeid Mirza, of whom we have already spoken at considerable length, and Menûtcheher Mirza. The former of these, on his death bed, he recommended to Olûgh Beg, in the strongest terms of paternal affection; in consequence of which, the young Sûltan enjoyed under the protection of that prince, every species of favor, encouragement, and indulgence, finally succeeding to some of the highest dignities under the authority of his protector. Of the manner in which, in vindication of his own claims to the sovereign power, he conceived himself justified in attacking the government of that prince, we have also spoken in a former chapter. It is here only necessary to remark, that when one of his courtiers, on some occasion or other, expressed to Olûgh Beg his admiration at the singular zeal, which his young kinsman seemed to exert in his service, he replied that it was not so much to serve him, as to acquire, by actual experience, the principles of political science, and the art of war, that the Sûltan evinced such

unwearied assiduity and application; and the event sufficiently proved, that Olûgh Beg was governed in his opinion by an attentive and judicious observation of facts.

Sùltan Abû Sâeid Mirza, was born in the eight hundred and thirtieth of the hidjerah;* attained to the sovereign power at the age of five and twenty; and perished, as we have seen, about the twenty fifth of Rudjub, of the eight hundred and seventy third of the hidjerah,† at the instance of Yadgaur Mirza, the son of Sùltan Mahommed Mirza, the son of Baysungur Mirza, son of Shah Rokh, in the camp of Ozûn Hussun, and under the pretext of retaliation for the murder of Gouhershaud Aga, the widow of Shah Rokh. He had reigned, with great glory and success, for a period of eighteen years; and the precise era of his death is contained in the Persian characters of the sentence, "Mûkuttel-e-Súltan Abû Sâeid"—the place of slaughter of Sûltan Abù Sâeid.

*Omar Sheikh Mirza* is here represented as the fourth son of Súltan Abû Sàeid; being, according to our author, posterior in birth to the Sûltans Ahmed Mirza, Mahommed Mirza, and Mahmûd Mirza, and prior to the Sûltans Mûraud Mirza, Walid Mirza, Olûgh Beg Mirza, Aba Bukker Mirza, Khaleil Mirza, and Shah Rokh Mirza. He was born at Samarkand, some time in the eight hundred and sixtieth of the hidjerah;‡ and being originally destined, by his noble father, for the government of Kabûl, a certain Bâba Kàbuly was nominated his preceptor; but for some reason unexplained, this destination was suddenly changed, and the young prince appointed to preside over the provinces of Endejaun and Ouzkhund, with Teymûrtaush Beg, for his Ataleigh, governor, or preceptor. In consigning this important frontier government to him, whom he already considered as the most discreet and promising of his children, Abú Sâeid is alleged to have acted on the precedent furnished by the immortal Teymûr himself, who entrusted the same government to his son Omar Sheikh, in consideration of his consummate prudence, and long tried experience; for that renowned conqueror is said to have repeatedly declared, that he had subdued the world by the sword of Omar Sheikh, because, while

* Commencing the 1st of November, A. D. 1426. † 7th of February, 1469.
‡ Commencing the 10th December, 1455.

A. H. 860-899.
A. D. 1455-1494.
Abûl Fazzel.

posted at Endejaun, that prince presented an impenetrable barrier between the dominions of his father, and the trackless wilds of Keptchauk; the barbarous hordes of which, being deterred by the activity and vigilance of the son from making any attempt on his frontier, the father was thus enabled to extend his conquests over the richest part of the habitable globe. The prince, of whom we are now speaking, established on his part also such an admirable system of defence, that no attempt of foreign force ever succeeded, during his government, in making the slightest impression upon Ferghaunah; as was sufficiently exemplified in the instance of Youness Khaun, who found all his plans against that province equally impracticable and unavailable.

Not less discreet in thought and speech, Omar Sheikh Mirza, the subject of our present remark, is described as an enthusiastic admirer of poetry; and to have in himself possessed no mean talent for versification, although he could seldom be prevailed upon to give it publicity. Much of his time was indeed devoted to the perusal of the poets and historians of his country, and a day seldom passed in which some passages in the Shahnâmah were not recited in his presence. He was, at the same time, of a temper extremely cheerful and convivial, frequently repeating such of the most beautiful passages, in the works of the ancient poets, as were applicable to the business of the moment. All his actions bespoke, in an eminent degree, the noble spirit by which he was animated; and his singular good fortune was sufficiently evinced by the unclouded prosperity of his government. In the prudence, justice, and paternal care, with which he superintended the affairs of his people, we are told, in short, that no period past, or present, ever produced his equal. Uniting courage with liberality, and limiting his bounty only by his resources, he became, in truth, an ornament to the throne on which he sat; and of his inviolable regard to the claims of justice and humanity, the following circumstance is here related as a very distinguished proof.

A caravan, or convoy of merchants, from Khatâi, having halted at the close of their day's journey, among the mountains to the east-ward of Endejaun, were suddenly overwhelmed by a prodigious fall of snow; and the whole perished, with the exception only of two persons.

A report of the catastrophe, together with an account of the immense value of the effects thus placed at his disposal by an unforeseen calamity, was soon conveyed to the prince. Instead, however, of applying the whole to his own use, which, through the exigencies of his government, and the immemorial usages of the neighboring despotic states, he would have been fully warranted in doing, he immediately gave directions, that every article should be carefully brought together, and lodged in the care of those who were held responsible for the safe custody of all; until such time as those who could justly lay claim to the property made their appearance to demand it. All this was carried into execution with the most scrupulous exactness; so that at the expiration of the necessary period, the whole of the effects were restored to the legitimate proprietors, without the defalcation of a single article. We must, at the same time, observe that this circumstance so honorable to the memory, of either, is ascribed by colonel Dow, in his translation of Ferishtah, to the warlike and adventurous Bâber; but as Abûl Fazzel must have been pre-eminently informed with respect to all that concerned the illustrious family of which he was peculiarly the historian, we shall not, I trust, be blamed for giving to his authority the preference.*

A. H. 860-899.
A. D 1455-1494.
Abûl Fazzel.

Having succeeded to his father in the government of Endejaun, or Andejaun, which was, at this period, the chief town of Ferghaunah, the territories dependent on Taushkend, Shahrokhiah, and Seiraum, became, in the course of subsequent events, superadded to the possessions previously subject to the authority of Omar Sheikh; and he repeatedly led his troops to the gates of Samarkand, in support of those claims which had been by him formally announced to Youness Khaun, then sovereign of the dominions of Tcheghatâi, and of all the

* I cannot in this place forbear to notice, that I have had frequent occasion to witness among the vulgar Mounshies, or teachers, in India, what at first I considered as a most unaccountable prejudice against this admirable historian; but I soon discovered the source. Abûl Fazzel was a friend to the oppressed Hindûs, and most probably suggested to his enlightened sovereign many a plan for their protection and relief His attachment for his master was, at the same time, of a degree that bordered on adoration; and he constantly wore in his bosom, either his picture, or a small image of him. Hence, the bigoted Mussulman has stigmatized both his master and himself, with the odious appellation of Bût-perest—Idolater.

A. H. 860-899.
A. D. 1455-1494.
Abûl Fazzel.

Moghûl tribes, to whom he was allied by marriage; and, on which occasion, he received from that monarch some considerable accession of territory. He was also frequently engaged in different parts of Moghûlstaun, probably on the requisition of the same Youness Khaun, since it was during his last expedition, that he is described to have received from that monarch, a grant of the territory of Taushkend; which, together with that of Shahrokhiah, remained in possession of his family to the 908th of the hidjerah. When, however, the throne of Tcheghatâi descended to Mahmoud Khaun, the eldest son of Youness Khaun, the new sovereign, in concert with Sûltan Ahmed Mirza, the brother of Omar Sheikh, and, at this period, the ruler of Samarkand, proceeded to invade the possessions of that prince; Sûltan Ahmed advancing from the south side of the river of Khojend, or Seyhoun frequently so called, and Sûltan Mahmoud Khaun from the north. Omar Sheikh was at this crisis residing at Aukseiket, or Auksy, one of the seven principal towns of Ferghaunah; which he had recently chosen for the metropolis of his government. The place is described as being situated at the head of a great bridge, on one of the branches of the river Seyhûn, some of the buildings of the town being actually erected on the bridge. It so happened, however, that while the prince was one day seated on the bridge, amusing himself in looking at a pigeon house belonging to one of those buildings, an alarm was suddenly given by some of his attendants, that the bridge had broke down; and in fact, although he instantly started on his feet, yet before he could get on his second slipper, the bridge had separated immediately under him, and he was in a moment precipitated into the yawning abyss beneath, where he perished without the possibility of escape.

This event is stated to have occurred on Monday, the fourth day of Ramzaun, of the eight hundred and ninety-ninth of the hidjerah,* when the unhappy prince was in the prime of life, having only just attained to the thirty-ninth year of his age. He had in all three sons, and five daughters, in the following order: Zeheir-ud-dein Mahommed *Bâber*, and younger by two years, Jahangueir Mirza; the latter by Fautima Sûltan, the daughter of the Moghûl chief. The third

* 7th of June 1494.

was Nausser Mirza, two years younger than Jahangueir Mirza, by Ghountchahtchei-Ommeyd, a native of Endejaun. The eldest of the five daughters was Khaunzâdah Begum, by the same mother with Sûltan Bâber, but five years older than that prince. Hence, at the period when Shah Ismâeil Seffûi defeated the Ouzbeks at Merou, this princess residing in that city, was by the conqueror, after having been treated with the most distinguished respect, conveyed with all possible honor, to the court of her brother, then at Kondez. The second daughter was Mehed-Baunù-Begum, by the same mother with Nausser Mirza, and eight years younger than Bâber. The third was Yadgaur Sûltan Begum, by Agha Sûltan Ghountchatchei; and the fourth was Rokheiah Sûltaun Begum, by Mekdùmah Sûltaun Begum, known also by the name of Feragour Begum. These two were born subsequent to the death of Omar Sheikh. The fifth daughter was by Olouss Aga, the daughter of Khoujah Hûsseyne; but she died in her infancy.

A. H. 899. A. D 1494. Abûl Fazzel.

It would be, in this place, almost inexcusable to omit the short account, furnished by the author, of the province of Ferghaunah; the cradle of this illustrious branch of the house of Teymùr, which he describes in the following terms. It is situated in the fifth of the seven climates, and towards the very extremity of the habitable world; having Kashghâr on the East, Samarkand on the West, and the mountainous boundary of Buddukhshaun on the South; but to the North, although there formerly existed the flourishing cities of Almaulegh, Almautour, and Yaungui, the latter being the same as Otraur, yet at the period at which the author wrote his history, during the reign of Akbar, there remained not the slightest vestige to indicate the spot on which they stood. To the westward, in the direction of Khojend and Samarkand, it has no mountains; and it is on that side, accordingly, that it is alone accessible to foreign invasion. The river Seyhûn, there more frequently called the river of Khojend, enters the province from the North-east; then passing to the westward, it leaves the city of Khojend to the southward, or on the left hand, and that of Finauket, or Shahrokhiah, to the northward, or on the right hand; after which it takes a northern course towards Tûrkestaun, or country of the Moghûls, and is finally lost in the sands of

A. H. 899. A. D. 1494. Abûl Fazzel.

the desert in that trackless region, without disemboguement into any sea, or larger body of waters, of any description whatever. The province contained, moreover, at the period under consideration, seven towns of distinguished note—five to the southward, and two to the Northward, of the main branch of the Seyhûn, namely: Endejaun, or Endegaun,* Ouss, or Oush, Mergheinan, Aushferah, and Khojend, to the South; and Auksy, or Aukseiket, andKashaun, to the North.

Zeheir-ud-dein Mahommed Baber, the eldest son of Omar Sheikh, was born on the sixth of the month of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and eighty-eighth of the hidjerah;† and, accordingly, at the period of his father's premature death, he was just eleven years and nearly four months old. His mother is here expressly stated to have been Kûtlûgnegaur Khaunum, the second daughter of Youness Khaun, the monarch of Túrkestaun recently mentioned, and lineally descended from Tcheghatâi, the son of the immortal *Jenguciz*. He received at his birth the name and title of Zeheir-ud-dein Mahommed, protector of the faith, *Mahommed*; but, in order to accommodate the native Moghûls, who found some difficulty in articulating these sounds, the shorter appellation of Bâber, which signifies tiger, was sometime afterwards superadded. As will be immediately described at large, he succeeded to the limited sovereignty of Ferghaunah, at the city of Endejaun, on Tuesday the fifth of Ramzaun, of the eight hundred and ninety-ninth of the hidjerah,‡ being the day next after that on which his father perished; and we are assured that the obstacles which he surmounted, the exertions which he found it necessary to display, in his progress to imperial power, seldom fell to the lot of any monarch either of ancient or modern history; while the courage, intrepidity, patience, and devotion, personally evinced by him in the conflicts of the field of battle, and in other circumstances of equal peril, seemed to surpass the ordinary energies of human strength.

When the catastrophe which had terminated the life of his father was communicated, on the following day, to the young prince, he happened to be recreating himself among the gardens in the environs

* In the best modern maps, this town is placed, however, on the north bank.

† 13th of February 1483. ‡ 8th of June 1494.

of Endejaun; and he mounted his horse, the same moment, to make the best of his way to the citadel. He had, however, no sooner reached the entrance of the fort, than Shairum Toghâi, one of the Moghûl Ameirs of his retinue, seized him by the robe, and persuaded him to turn off short towards the Nomauzgâh, or principal place of worship, without the town. It was shrewdly suspected that, as Sûltan Ahmed Mirza was known to be approaching at the head of a very powerful force, the principal Ameirs of the province might have formed some design hostile to the rights of their hereditary sovereign, and possibly to transfer the sovereignty of his country to the invaders; and with thesesuspicions on his mind, this faithful attendant resolved that, however they might rob him of his birthright, the person of his young master should at all events be conveyed to a place of safety, in the first instance to the foot of the mountains in the direction of Ouzkund, and ultimately to the protection of either of his relatives, Alunjah Khaun, or Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun—the latter being his mother's brother. In the mean time, some of the same Ameirs, receiving intimation of the design, hastened to dispatch one of the oldest and most faithful of the followers of the departed Omar Sheikh, a certain Khaujah Mahommed, in order to remove the apprehensions of the young prince; and the latter had scarcely reached the Nomauzgàh, when he was overtaken by the messenger, and prevailed upon, without great difficulty, to relinquish the plan of exile, and to return to the fortress of Endejaun, which he accordingly entered the same day. Here the greater part of the Ameirs, and other members of his father's government, immediately repaired to his presence, and experienced from him all those marks of kindness which, in his circumstances, it was in his power to bestow.

A. H. 899-909.
A. D. 1494-1504.
Abûl Fazzel.

Sùltan Ahmed Mirza of Samarkand, and Sùltan Mahmùd Khaun were, however, still known to be advancing in opposite directions, in order to make the attack concerted between them, upon Omar Sheikh; and, after the unlooked for misfortune by which they had been deprived of their sovereign, it must have been a signal intervention of providence, that could have produced that union of hearts and exertions, among the inhabitants, which enabled them, in so short a time, to place the fortifications of Endejaun in a very excellent state of de-

A. H. 899-909.
A. D. 1494-1504.
Abûl Fazzel.

fence. Sûltan Ahmed had, indeed, passed through the territory of Khojend and Mergheinan, both dependent on Ferghaunah, and was, by this time, encamped within four kôsse, or about eight miles, of the town, obstinately rejecting every overture towards an accommodation proposed on the part of his nephew. But the same providence, which on this and another conspicuous occasion, alluding to the instance of Bâber and that of his grandson, the renowned and enlightened Akbar more particularly, seems to have taken the minority of this illustrious family under its peculiar care, further interposed, by the rumors in circulation of the strength of the works, and of the singular unanimity which prevailed among the principal Ameirs of the garrison of Endejaun, as well as by a contagious disorder which invaded his camp, and the disabled state of his cavalry, to induce the Sûltan to relinquish his hostile designs altogether; and, after demanding peace on almost any terms, finally to return home entirely frustrated in all his expectations. About the same time, Sùltan Mahmûd Khaun, to the north of the Seyhûn, had actually invested the fortress of Auksy; but being successfully opposed, in repeated conflicts, by Jahangueir Mirza, the still more youthful brother of Bâber, assisted by the loyal band of Ameirs, who nobly defended that place for the children of their departed sovereign, he was also finally constrained to forego his ill-grounded claims, and to return, with equal disgrace and disappointment, into his own dominions.

Subsequent to this, it will be sufficient to observe with our author, without entering into the detail, that Sûltan Bâber contended for the kingdom of Transoxiana, against the princes of the race of Tcheghatài, and the Khauns of the Ouzbeks, with various success for a period of fifteen years; in the course of which he *thrice* obtained triumphant possession of the metropolis of Samarkand. First, in the nine hundred and third of the hidjerah, when proceeding from Endejaun, he wrested it from Baysungur Mirza the son of Sûltan Ahmed Mirza, who had succeeded to the government on the death of his father; secondly, in the year nine hundred and six, when he took it from Shahy Beg, or Shebeik Khaun, or Shubiani, the Khaun of the Ouzbeks. And the last time, in the nine hundred and seventeenth of the hidjerah,* when he made himself master of it, through the assistance

* Commencing the 30th of March A. D. 1511.

of Shah Ismâeil, of the race of Seffy ; on the discomfiture and death of the same Shahy Beg Khaun, in the decisive battle with that prince, near Merú. All these events are circumstantially described by Colonel Dow, in his history of Hindûstaun, and it would be superfluous to enter into the subject here, further than is absolutely necessary, in order to pursue the thread of the narration.

A. H. 909-911. A. D 1504-1505. Abûl Fazzel.

It was, however, in concurrence with the design long since determined on, by the will of omnipotence, which had pre-ordained in its infinite wisdom, that a portion of its glory should irradiate the brows of his illustrious grandson *Akbar*, that Sûltan Bâber was insensibly led to seek for that establishment in a foreign land, which seemed, by so extraordinary a fatality, to be withheld from him in his own. And to this, it must be confessed, that he was, at the same time, more immediately constrained, by the pressure of those reverses which perpetually assailed him in the country of his ancestors, and the failure of support, where he most naturally looked for it, among the followers of his fortune. Perceiving therefore, after repeated trial, that a further continuance in the territory on the Oxus would be inconsistent with the views which he had formed for the advancement of his power, Bâber finally resolved, at the head of the faithful few who still adhered to him, to direct his course for Buddukhshaun, and from thence, as circumstances might further determine, towards Kabûl. On his arrival in the former mountainous region, the retainers in the service of Khossrou Shah, the then ruler of the province, immediately came over to him ; and their master himself, however unwillingly, was at last induced to follow their example. This personage had rendered himself extremely obnoxious by his crimes, and by his ingratitude; having, as formerly noticed, put Baysungur Mirza to death, and deprived Sûltan Mûssâoud, his brother, of sight, both of them uncle's sons of Bâber; and on several occasions, when the latter was driven, by misfortune and defeat, to seek an asylum in Buddukhshaun, added greatly to his offences, by treating the illustrious fugitive with inhospitable violence. Nevertheless, when it was thus in his power to retaliate upon him, to the full measure of his injuries, Mirza Bâber, with that singular magnanimity of character which never forsook him, not only forbore to punish his ingratitude, but gave directions that he should

A. H. 909-911.
A. D. 1504-1505
Abûl Fazzel.

be permitted to select from his property, in other respects forfeited, whatever he thought convenient, and to retire without molestation into Khorassaun. Of this permission he very liberally availed himself; loading several camels, and some mules, with jewels, and plate, and other valuable effects, with which he proceeded accordingly into that province.

In the mean time, when he had satisfactorily arranged the government of Buddukhshaun, Bâber proceeded, without further delay, across the mountains towards Kabûl, at this period in possession of Mahommed Mokeim, the son of Zûl Noun; by whom it had been recently taken from Abdurrezauk Mirza, the son of Olûgh Beg, the son of Sûltan Abû Sâeid, and of course another uncle's son of Bâber. The rumors which preceded the approach of the latter prince, had led this chieftain, in the first instance, to shut himself up in the fortress of Kabûl, where he prepared to defend himself; but at the expiration of a few days, proposing to capitulate on reasonable terms, he was also permitted to retire, with his property and most valuable effects, to his brother Shah Beg, at Kandahaur. Thus, in the latter end of the former Rebbeia, of the nine hundred and tenth of the hidjerah,* Mirza Bâber became possessed of the city and province of Kabûl. In the career of ambition, however, the achievement of one conquest is but the stepping stone to another; and in the course of the following year, we accordingly find that Bâber marched from Kabûl, with the design of attempting the reduction of Kandahaur; but when he had taken possession of Kolaut, one of the dependencies on that government, he conceived it expedient, through some consideration of prudence or policy, to postpone his further design, and to proceed to the territory south of it; whence, having over-run the Afghan districts in that direction, he soon afterwards returned to his new capital of Kabûl. During the same period, embracing the nine hundred and eleventh of the hidjerah,† that city was visited by a tremendous earthquake, which is described to have overthrown, or precipitated, the walls of the castle, upon the greater part of the dwelling houses in the upper town; and the whole of a particular suburb, or adjoining village, that of Beimghaun, was utterly destroyed. Three and thirty distinct shocks

* Beginning of September A. D. 1504.

† Commencing the 3d of June 1505.

were observed in the course of one day, and the awful visitation returned at intervals, once or twice in twenty four hours, for a whole month. Many of the inhabitants perished; and in one particular spot, the earth opened for a stone's throw in width, and a bow-shot deep, several springs of water immediately issuing from the chasm; but from Asterghunje to Meydaun, a distance of about six farsangs, or about one and twenty miles, the undulations were so tremendous, as in many places to have raised the earth to the height of an elephant. The earthquake was preceded by violent whirlwinds from the summits of the surrounding monntains; and it is alleged, moreover, that the same awful phœnomenon with effects equally tremendous occurred in Hindûstaun, in the course of the same year.

It was about this crisis, or very shortly afterwards, that Shahy Beg Khaun, the monarch of the Ouzbeks already mentioned, was preparing with a great army for the invasion of Khorassaun; and Sûltan Hûsseyne Mirza [Abûlghauzy] and his sons were making every exertion to oppose the design. In the mean time, Seyud Afzel, the son of Ameir Sûltan Ally Khaub-bein [the Dreamer], was dispatched to solicit the aid of Bâber; and the latter, accordingly, in the early part of the nine hundred and twelfth of the hidjerah, put his troops in motion for that quarter. While he was on his march, he received intelligence of the death of Sûltan Hûsseyne; but this, in opposition to the pusillanimous and temporising counsels of some of his Ameirs, he considered to furnish a more powerful inducement to hasten to the support of his relatives. Previous, however, to his arrival in Khorassaun, the importunities of the inexperienced had prevailed to raise Baddeia-uz-zemaun Mirza, and Mûzuffer Hûsseyne Mirza, the sons of the late Sûltan, conjointly to the throne of their father. On the eighth of the latter Jummaudy of the year just mentioned,* Bâber, on the banks of the river Mûrghaub, came to an interview with the two Mirzas, and on their invitation proceeded shortly afterwards to Herât; where he remained for some time. But soon discovering that these poor princes possessed none of those qualifications, either in point of judgment or discretion, that appeared likely to ensure any sort of permanence to their authority, he con-

* 25th of October 1506.

A. H. 911-913.
A. D. 1505 1507.
Abûl Fazzel.

ceived it prudent, with the least possible delay, to return with his troops towards Kabûl; and for that purpose, on the eighth of the month of Shabaun,* he accordingly took his departure from Herât.

Among the Hazzaurahs, or mountainous districts perhaps, between Khorassaun and Kabûl, information reached him that Mahommed Hûsseyne Mirza, and Sûltan Sunjur Berlas, after circulating a report that he had fallen a sacrifice to the treachery of the Persian Mirzas, had brought the Moghûl troops, whom he had left in garrison at Kabûl, to unite with them in raising his kinsman, Khaun Mirza, to the government of that province; but at the same time, that the Ameirs Mohebb Khaleifah, Mahommed Kaussem *Kouhberr*, [the mountain piercer], Ahmed Yûssûf, and other officers in charge of the citadel, continued faithful to their allegiance, and to defend that important post for their master. The moment this information was announced to him, leaving his camp and heavy equipments to the care of his brother Jahangueir, at this period labouring under some indisposition, Bâber, at the head of a chosen division of his troops, hastened to descend the passes of Hindû Kouh; and after surmounting considerable difficulty in making his way through the drifts of snow with which they were encumbered, appeared one morning, rather unexpectedly, before the walls of Kabûl. His enemies dispersed to their hiding places the instant he made his appearance; but Mahommed Hûsseyne Mirza was soon taken, and brought to the presence of his offended sovereign; by whom he was generously permitted to retire into Khorassaun. And, shortly afterwards, the misguided Khaun Mirza was himself conducted to the presence of Bâber, by his cousin the princess Mehed-negaur Khaunum; and he also was indulged with permission either to remain at court, or to retire to any of the neighboring countries at his option. He chose to withdraw to Kandahaur.

In the course of the following year, the 913th of the hidjerah,† Bâber led his troops against that fortress; and having obtained a decided victory over Shuja Beg, the son of Zûl Noun Arghûn, the governor of the province, and his younger brother, he appears to have rendered himself master of the whole country, which he now placed under the authority of his half brother Nausser Mirza. He then returned

* 23d of December. † Commencing 12th of May 1507.

to Kabûl. Shortly afterwards, Khaun Mirza, who had recently joined him during the expedition to Kandahaur, was dispatched to take charge of the government of Buddukhshaun, which he retained for many years, in faithful subjection to the authority of his magnanimous relative. From thence, in the nine hundred and sixteenth of the hidjerah,* an express arrived to announce to Bâber, that Shahy Beg Khaun, monarch of the Ouzbeks, had fallen in battle, and that his presence in Buddukhshaun would be attended with the most important advantages. In concurrence with these suggestions, Bâber, in the month of Shavaul of that year,† accordingly took his departure from Kabûl; and having been uniformly successful in a variety of conflicts with the Ouzbeks, he, on the fifteenth day of Rudjub, of the year nine hundred and seventeen,‡ for the third time entered Samarkand as a conqueror; but in the month of Suffur, of the following year,§ when he had continued in possession of that metropolis for a period of less than seven months, he was, at the station of Koul-melek, forced to a battle by Abdullah Khaun, who had succeeded to the monarchy of the Ouzbeks; and although the victory is here alleged to have been on the side of Bâber, yet fortune in some other important particulars appearing disposed to forsake his cause, he found it expedient to abandon Samarkand, and withdraw towards Hessaur. Under the walls of Ghedjdowaun, in conjunction with Nûdjum Beg, the general of the troops of Shah Ismâeil, he was, however, confessedly defeated in a great battle with the Ouzbeks, the general of his ally being killed in the action. This had a decided influence upon the destiny of Bâber; for he now finally determined on relinquishing altogether his designs on Transoxiana, and on immediately returning to Kabûl; resolving to confine his future exertions to the formation of a new empire for himself, in the rich and fertile regions of Hindûstaun.

Towards that devoted country, then, he now directed his operations, and on four distinct occasions did he lead his troops to that quarter, before he could effect his final establishment; being as often constrained to return, either by the occurrence of untoward events at

* Commencing 10th of April 1510. † January 1511. ‡ 7th of October 1511.
§ April 1512.

A. H. 913-926.
A. D. 1507-1520.
Abûl Fazzel.

Kabûl, or by the perverse opposition of his principal officers. His *first* expedition appears to have taken place in the month of Shavaul of the nine hundred and twenty fifth of the hidjerah,* when he proceeded by the route of Badaum-tcheshmah and Jogdelung, to Kheyber and Bejeim, or Nejeim, which were the limits of his progress on this occasion. In the Wakaat-e-Bâbery, a chronicle written by himself in his native Turkish language, this enterprizing monarch is alleged to describe, that having reached the town of Adeinahpour, perhaps Adenagur, in six stages from Kabûl, he found himself suddenly transported to a warm climate, and for the first time in his life on the confines of Hindûstaun—in a region perfectly new to him, the vegetable creation exhibiting a different exterior, the birds and animals a different form, and the people, a system of morals, habits, and usages, entirely different from any thing that had ever before presented itself to his observation. But a council having been held to determine here, by which of the passages it would be most advisable to cross the Indus, in those parts more generally known by the designation of Neilaub—the blue river—it was decided, by a majority of the refractory Tcheghatàians, that the passage of that celebrated river should not be attempted for the present. Bâber therefore struck off to the southward for Kohet, or Kohout; and having over-run that district, together with the territory of Benguesh, and Benour, he led his troops in several marches, by Eissakheyl, to a station which lay oposite to Terpeilah—described to be a town on the Indus, dependent on Mûltaun. Hence, after proceeding for some distance along the course of the river, he appears to have taken a north-western route, by Dukky, or Douky, of which name, there are two places in the map; one on the road from Mûltaun to Kandahaur, by which he probably proceeded on this occasion, since we are told that a few days afterwards, he encamped at Gheznein; and in the month of Zilhudje,† he returned to Kabûl.

On his second expedition towards the Indus, Bâber appears to have proceeded by the route of Khord Kabûl, according to the best arranged authorities,‡ in the former Jummaudy, of the year 926;§

* October 1519 according to Dow's history. † December 1519.

‡ The transcriber of my copy of Abûl Fazzel, has here set down the year 913, which must be a gross error, and I have chosen to follow the authority of Colonel Dow.

§ April—May 1520.

and, passing through the districts of Mendrawel, or Mendroul, to have continued his march to Attyr, and finally to Sheivah. From thence, however, he was again constrained by the adverse counsels of his followers to a premature return ; his course being now directed, from Attyr, by Kezz and Kourkil, or Nourguil, and the transit from Kezz being accomplished by means of some water conveyance, [tchaulehnishustah], to rejoin his camp, from which he appears to have separated. He finally reached Kabûl, by the way of Baudenje ;* and on a rock which overlooks this latter station, he caused the date of his passage on the occasion, to be engraved, and the inscription continued sufficiently legible in the time of Abûl Fazzel. To this period, it is here observed, the princes of the race of Teymùr had been contented with the more modest title of Mirza ; but in the inscription just alluded to, it was enjoined that the name of Bâber should be inserted with the imperial adjunct of *Padshah*.

A. H. 926-927.
A. D 1520-1521.
Abûl Fazzel.

The *third* expedition towards the Indus commenced on Monday the first of Mohurrem, of the 927th of the hidjerah,† the Tcheghatâian prince directing his course, on this occasion, towards Bejour. While on the march, he experienced some tremendous shocks of an earthquake, each of which is described to have continued for half an astronomical hour. In the mean time, Sûltan Aweiss repaired to the camp of Bàber ; and the fortress of Bejour submitting, shortly afterwards, the government of that place, together with the districts dependent upon it, was now bestowed on Khaujah Kullan Beg, the son of Moulana Mahommed Suddur, one of the most faithful and distinguished officers in the service of his father Omar Sheikh. This personage was deservedly high in the esteem ot Bâber, not less than six of his brothers having laid down their lives in the service of that monarch, and being himself a man of distinguished talent, of the soundest judgment, and most excellent understanding. The views of Bâber were, however, more particularly directed towards the territory of Sewaud, and the subjugation of the Afghan tribe of Yûssufzehy ; and

* Of the places mentioned in this expedition, I have not been able to trace a vestige in the maps.

† 11th of December—1520, we have here endeavored to reconcile some incongruity of date in Abûl Fazzel.

A. H. 926-927.
A. D. 1520-1521.
Abûl Fazzel.

accordingly Taowus Khaun, the younger brother of Shah Munsour the chief of that tribe, now presented himself in the camp of the Moghûl invader, together with the daughter of his brother as a peace-offering, and the most humble protestations of submission. A scarcity of provisions prevailing at the same time in the country, Bâber, was the more easily induced to revert to his original and more serious design, the invasion of Hindûstaun; which he therefore determined to carry into execution without further delay, however unprepared, at the moment, for the effectual undertaking of an expedition of such magnitude, and still contrary to the avowed opinion of his Ameirs.

With such a resolution he accordingly drew back from Sewaud; and on the morning of Tuesday, the sixteenth of the same month of Mohurrem,* with his camels, horses, and lighter equipments, proceeded to cross the Indus, near the place called Kutchakout; his bazar and heavy baggage following in tchaolahs, the species of river-craft recently mentioned. At the distance of about seven kôsse, or from twelve to fourteen miles, north of Behrah, rises the mountain, in the Zuffurnàmah and other works, denominated Koh-Joud; and this was the spot now chosen for the encampment of Bâber's troops. The monarch is said to remark in his commentaries, that until the present moment, the etymology of this appellation had never been ascertained; whereas the circumstance was now clearly explained from its being the residence of the tribe of Joud, one of two families derived from the same stock, the other being called Khetchwah. In order to appease the alarm of the inhabitants, Abdurraheim Shikawely had been early dispatched to Behrah, with instructions to prohibit plunder or violence, in any shape; and in the course of the same day, towards evening, Bàber in person proceeded to encamp on the river Behaut, or Cheilum, a little to the eastward of the town. A contribution of four hundred thousand Shahrokhies was, however, immediately levied on the place, as the price of its exemption from pillage, the whole of which sum, together with the government of the conquered district, he then bestowed upon Hindû Beg; Khoushaub being consigned at the same time to Ameir Shah Hûsseyne, with instruc-

* 26th of December, 1520.

tions to support the governor of Behrah, whenever occasion should require it.

A. H. 927-932.
A. D. 1521-1526.
Abûl Fazzel.

At this crisis, a certain Moulana Mùrshed was dispatched from the neighborhood of Behrah, on an embassy to Sûltan Ibrauhim, the son of Sûltan Eskunder Lody; who had succeeded to his father on the throne of Dehly, some five or six months previous to the period under consideration. The envoy was charged with instructions to convey to that monarch, provided he found in him a disposition to attend to them, sundry admonitions of the utmost importance to the well being of himself, and of the country subordinate to his authority. But this ambassador was never permitted to reach his destination, being perversely detained and sent back, by Dowlut Khaun, the governor of Lahour. On the second of the former Rebbeia, intelligence was brought to Bâber of the birth of a son, to whom, as it seemed auspicious to the enterprise which he had in contemplation, he gave the name of Hindâl. On the eleventh of the same month,* leaving Hindû Beg in charge of Behrah, and of the acquired territory on that side the Indus, he returned once more towards Kabùl, which he reached on the last day of the month;† and on the twenty-fifth of the following month, regardless of the obligations of duty, Hindû Beg also arrived from Behrah, which he thus pusillanimously abandoned to the attempts of the enemy.

Of Bâber's fourth expedition into the territory beyond the Indus, the author confesses that he could never ascertain the date, any further than that it must have been at the period in which he made himself master of Lahour; and this, according to the history of the reduction of Deibalpour, was accomplished during the nine hundred and thirtieth of the hidjerah.‡

But, as every important event in the affairs of this world is generally understood to have its determined period allotted by providence, the final consummation of Bâber's views on Hindûstaun was reserved, although, apparently protracted through secondary courses, the adverse opinions of his Ameirs, and the failure of co-operation on the part of his kindred, for his *fifth* expedition; on which he is said to

* 16th of February, 1521. † 9th of March.

‡ Commencing the 9th of November, 1523.

A. H. 932. A. D. 1526. Abûl Fazzel.

have proceeded on Friday the first of Suffur, of the nine hundred and thirty-second of the hidjerah,* leaving to his son Mirza Kamraun, in addition to the government of Kandahaur, the protection of his metropolis of Kabûl. This, his final expedition was, however, greatly facilitated by the previous possession of Lahour, and other important provinces in the Punjaub, already secured by his lieutenants. On this occasion, while he lay still encamped at Wouffabaugh, he was joined, on the seventeenth of the month,† by his son Homayûn, with the contingent from Buddukshaun; and on the same day, he was further reinforced by Khaujah Kullan Beg, with the troops from Gheznein. Thirteen days afterwards, namely, on the first of the former Rebbeia,‡ he crossed the Indus, near Ketchakout; and here he conceived it expedient to make a general muster of his force, which, including Tartars and Persians, and adventurers from different nations, was found to amount altogether to no more than twelve thousand horse. From thence he proceeded to pass the Behaut, above Jeilum, in the vicinity of the spot subsequently fixed upon for the fortress of Rohtas, and, shortly afterwards, he crossed the Tchunaub, in the neighborhood of Behlowulpour. On the fourteenth of the same month,§ he encamped on the plains of Siahkout, the fortifications of which he determined to destroy; giving the preference as a military station to Behlowulpour, which he accordingly directed to be repeopled, and placed in a state of repair.

Reports were now continually coming in of the proceedings of the enemy; and on his arrival at Kullanour, on the Rauvy, some distance above Lahour, Bâber was joined by Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, Auddel Sûltan, and other Ameirs employed in the government of the latter named city. On the twenty-fourth of the month,‖ the fortress of Melout, or Melwet, with a considerable booty, was taken possession of by his troops; and a valuable library, the property of Ghauzi Khaun, the son of Dowlut Khaun Lôdy, captured on this occasion, was placed at the disposal of the Moghûl conqueror, and by him partly bestowed upon his son Homayûn on the spot, and partly conveyed for the use of Kamraun Mirza, at Kandahaur.

* 16th of November, 1526. † 2d of December. ‡ 15th of December.
§ 28th of December. ‖ 7th of January, 1526.

In these circumstances, receiving well authenticated intelligence that Hameid Khaun, the governor of Hesssaur Feyrouzah, with a considerable force, had made several marches in advance to oppose his progress, Bâber, having now proceeded to the eastward of Anbaulah, and encamped on a lake, or large pond, not far from that place, conceived it advisable, on the thirteenth of the former Jummaudy,* to detach his eldest son Homayûn, accompanied by the Ameirs Khaujah Kullan Beg, Sûltan Mahommed Douldy, Wully Khauzen, Abdullazziz, Mahommed Ally Tcheng-tcheng, with a considerable part of his own force, to give battle to this advanced corps of the enemy. On the same day, *Beyn*, an Afghan chief, and one of the most distinguished among the Ameirs of Hindûstaun, came over to the camp of Bâber, and experienced a most gracious reception. In the mean time, the young Homâyùn, at this period in his eighteenth year, proceeded to carry into execution his father's orders, in which he acquitted himself with equal ability and success; entirely defeating the division under the governor of Hessaur Feyrouzah, and rejoining the main body in triumph, on the twenty first of the month.† This being the first action of any magnitude, in which the prince had commanded in person, the government of the same Hessaur Feyrouzah, was now bestowed upon him, yielding a revenue of one krour, or one hundred laks; and he was, at the same time, presented with an immediate donation of a sum in specie to the same amount.‡ Bâber, at the head of his troops, then continued his march to Sersawah, it being announced to him at different stages, that Sûltan Ibrauhim Lôdy, with one hundred thousand horse, and one thousand armed elephants, was actually approaching to give him battle; and he had scarcely encamped at the same Sersawah, when Heyder Ally, belonging to the division of Khaujah Kullan Beg, who had been employed to procure intelligence, conveyed the information that a detachment of about six thousand horse under Dàoud Khaun, and Hautem Khaun, was considerably in advance of the main body of the enemy. In consequence of this, on

A. H. 932.
A. D 1526.
Abûl Fazzel.

* 24th of February. † 4th of March, 1526.

‡ The denomination of currency here introduced, is not explained; a krour of rupees would be a million sterling, but a krour of daums, the fortieth part of a rupee, would be no more than 25,000 rupees, nearly equal to £3125 sterling.

A. H. 932. A. D. 1562. Abûl Fazzel.

sunday the eighteenth of the latter Jummaudy,* Tcheintemûr Sûltan, Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, Mehedy Khaujah, and other distinguished commanders, with the whole of the left wing, and a part of the centre, under the Ameirs Youness Ally and Abdúllah, were sent forward to make an attack, upon this advanced guard of the troops of Súltan Ibrauhim; and the result was equal to the warmest expectations of the Moghûls, as a considerable proportion of this division of the enemy was either cut to pieces, or captured by the assailants; and Hautem Khaun, one of the generals who was taken alive, together with seventy of his associates who had been equally unfortunate, was put death in cold blood, immediately on his arrival in the camp of the Moghûl conqueror.

Bâber now conceived it expedient to make his arrangements for the decisive conflict; and for this purpose, Oustaud Ally Kûly, his chief engineer, received, in the first place, instructions to prepare the wheel-carriages of the army in the following manner. He was directed, after the Turkish method, to fasten these carriages together with chains, and ropes made of raw hides; and between every two carriages thus fastened together, it was provided, that five or six hurdles, or probably gabions, should be placed as a cover for the musqueteers destined to take post behind them. In the course of a few days, all these arrangements were completed; and on thursday the last of the latter month of Jummaudy,† the Tcheghatâian army had advanced to Pânipet—the spot selected on so many occasions, on which to decide the fate of Hindùstaun. The right wing of the army was, on this occasion, posted within the town and suburbs. The centre was covered in front by the carriages arranged in the manner already described, with the hurdles, or gabions, disposed in the intervals between. The left wing was further protected by a ditch, and abbatis; the latter formed with the branches of trees laid on the earth, and pointed at the end. Sûltan Ibrauhim, equally prepared for battle, had taken up a position at the distance of about six kôsse, on the Dehly side; and, for several days, the troops of Bâber were engaged in skirmishing with the detachments of the enemy to the very outskirts of his camp, returning uniformly successful from every conflict; until friday the eighth of Rudjub,‡

* 31st of March. † 11th of April. ‡ 19th of April.

when it was ascertained that Sùltan Ibrauhim in person, with the whole of his force, was approaching to give battle to the Tcheghatâians. A. H. 932. A. D. 1526. Abûl Fazzel.

We are here called upon to remark, that when, at the destined crisis, the providence of God has determined to redress the injuries, or to repair the disorders which are occasionally permitted to take place in the affairs of this world, the actions of mankind are directed, in a way, to be singularly instrumental to the consummation of the principal design. And of this, the advance of Sùltan Ibrauhim to give battle to his invaders, on the one hand, and the resolution of Sûltan Bâber, with such an incredible disparity of force, to engage him, on the other, are recorded as very striking and conspicuous examples. But, at all events, with the fullest confidence in the support of Omnipotence, Bâber proceeded to dispose of his warlike bands in the following order of battle. He assumed the command of the centre in person. Of the division to the right of the centre, by the Tartars denominated Ounghoul, he gave charge to Tchein-temûr Sûltan, aided by Sûliman Mirza, Ameir Mahommedy Koukeltaush, Ameir Shah Munsour Berlas, Ameir Youness Ally, Ameir Derwaish Mahommed Sarbaun, and Ameir Abdullah Ketàbdaur. Of the division to the left of the centre, by the same nation called the Séwalghoul, or perhaps Sounghoul, as exhibited in another manuscript, he gave the direction to Ameir Khaleifah, assisted by Khaujah Meir Meiran the Sudder, with the Ameirs Ahmedy Purwauntchei, Tereddy Beg, Mohebb Ally Khaleifah, and Mirza Beg Terkhan. Of the Beranghaur, or main body of the right wing, posted, as we have already observed, in the town of Pánipet, he consigned the command to his son Homayûn, at this period about nineteen, assisted by the Ameirs Khaujah Kullan Beg, Sùltan Mahommed Douldy, Hindû Beg, Wully Khauzen, and Peir Kûly of Seiestaun. The left wing [Juwanghaur] was entrusted to Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, aided by Seyud Mehedy Khaujah, Audel Súltan, Sûltan Jenneid Berlas, and other warlike chiefs. The Hurrawul, or vanguard, was placed under the orders of Khossrou Koukeltaush, assisted by Mahommed Ally Tchengtcheng, and Ameir Abdulazziz. The rear reserve [Ouje] of the right wing, was committed to the discretion of Wully Shermil, Melek Kaussem, and Bâba Kuska, with a body of Moghûls; and the rear reserve [Ouje] of the

A. H. 932. A. D. 1526. Abûl Fazzel.

left wing, was under the direction of Kàra Kouzy, Abûl Mejeid Neizah-bauz, [the lance player], and Sheikh Ally, together with Sheikh Jummaul, Sunkery Kûly the Moghûl, and other veteran warriors.

This was the disposition in which, with a firmness immoveable, the troops of Bâber awaited the attack, and finally defeated the reiterated, but ill directed efforts, of the unwieldy multitude which composed the force of the enemy. Of the circumstances of the battle Abûl Fazzel furnishes no description; neither perhaps is it very material in this place; but the victory on the part of the Moghûls was complete and decisive, Sûltan Ibrauhim having himself fallen, although for the moment unknown, among a heap of the slain. The carnage fell heaviest among the Afghans, or Patans, the particular tribe of the sovereign—not less than five or six thousand of them lying dead near the body of the Súltan. Comparing it, however, with what had been achieved by former Mahommedan conquerors of Hindûstaun, the historian avers, and with apparent justice, that in boldness of design, and energy of execution, the enterprize of Bâber infinitely surpassed all that had preceded. Súltan Mahmûd of Gheznein, for example, when he undertook his expedition, was not only in possession of the territory descended to him from his father, but of the noble province of Khorassaun; and the sovereigns of Samarkand, Khaurezm, and Daur-ul merz. were each of them subordinate, or tributary, to his power. The force, moreover, by which he was accompanied, rather exceeded, than fell short of, one hundred thousand men; while the invaded territory, instead of being subordinate to the authority of one head, was subdivided among a number of separate Râjahs, and other chiefs, entirely independent of, and generally hostile to, each other, but at all times incapable of uniting for their common defence. With respect to Sûltan Shahaub-ud-dein the Ghourian, it is well known that he proceeded on his expedition to the same quarter, with an army of not less than one hundred and twenty thousand horse, the greater part, if not the whole of them, clad in mail; neither at that period was the country better prepared in point of union, and although the important province of Khorassaun was under the separate authority of Sûltan Gheyauth-ud-dein, yet was it sufficiently understood that he could never be induced to counteract the designs of his brother,

And lastly, when, on the plains of Sâmaunah, the invincible Teymûr, on his march towards Dehly, gave orders for a general muster of his troops in the usual way, we are informed, through the Zuffernâmah of Shurf-ud-dein Ally, that the Bessawul of that monarch's army, which was the part of the line of battle allotted to the stipendiary cavalry in the pay of the state, extended to six farsangs, or about one and twenty english miles, in length. Now it has been ascertained, by men of acknowledged experience on the subject, that a farsang, or six thousand yards, is sufficient for the display of twelve thousand horse in battalia, two deep we will suppose; and hence it has been determined, that the force under Teymûr, on that occasion, exclusive of the retainers in the service of the regular stipendiaries, here denominated the Nouker-e-Nouker, must have amounted to seventy two thousand men on horseback—the depth of the line of battle allotted to the Nouker-e-Nouker above mentioned, being stated at two kôsse, or about three miles. His adversary Mellou Khaun, on the other hand, is no where alleged to have had more than ten thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty elephants. Nevertheless, in spite of their obvious superiority of force, the troops of the invader were seized with an unaccountable dismay; and it was in order to dissipate, or appease, the unmanly apprehensions which he had discovered in the pusillanimous language of many of his generals, that Teymûr found it expedient to adopt the precautions for the security of his camp, described in a former page.

A.H. 932. A.D. 1526. Abûl Fazzel.

What then, it is asked, must be our admiration, when we find that the adventurous Bâber succeeded in achieving this mighty conquest with a force, the utmost strength of which, both in horse and foot, did not amount altogether to more than twelve thousand men! And our admiration will not be diminished, when it further appears that the revenues of Kabûl, Kandahaur, and Buddukhshaun, the only three provinces at the time subject to his authority, were scarcely adequate to the support of this small body of troops; while his expences to protect the more distant frontiers against the attacks of a hostile neighborhood, far exceeded the receipts of his exchequer. Under all these circumstances, however, did this enterprizing prince undertake to subdue the government of Sûltan Ibrauhim, the undisputed monarch

A. H. 932. A. D. 1526. Abûl Fazzel.

of a territory, the fairest in Hindûstaun, extending from *Behrah* on the Behaut to *Bahar* on the Ganges; and supported in the field by an army of one hundred thousand horse, and one thousand elephants caparisoned and trained for battle. But, in the usual strain it is finally observed, when we come to reflect that he bore in his person that portion of the divine splendor which was destined to irradiate the world from the brows of his grandson, the illustrious Akbar, the circumstance must cease to excite our astonishment.

But, at all events, having, as it was just, in humble prostration offered his tribute of thanksgiving to the author of victory, Bâber proceeded on the same day to dispatch Homayûn, accompanied by the Ameirs Khaujah Kullan Beg, Mahommed Koukeltaush, Youness Ally, Shah Munsûr Berlaus, Abdullah Ketabdaur, and Wully Khauzen, with instructions to hasten with all possible expedition towards Agrah, the metropolis of Sûltan Ibrauhim's government; in order to secure the royal treasure, and at the same time, to tranquillize the minds of the inhabitants with every assurance, of the clemency and justice of the conqueror. With similar objects, Seyud Mehedy Khaujah, with Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, Auddel Sûltan, and the Ameirs Jenneid Berlaus, and Kûtlùg Kuddum, proceeded immediately for Dehly. On the twelfth of Rudjub, four days subsequent to his victory, Bâber in person made his entry into the latter city; and on friday the twenty first of the same month,* he was triumphantly received into the metropolis of Agrah. At that capital, he proceeded to treat the mother and children of the fallen Sùltan, with equal kindness and humanity; consigning to them the whole of the treasure and jewels which they could claim in any shape as private property, and bestowing upon them, in addition, lands for their maintenance, to the value of seven hundred thousand Tankahs, or perhaps Tungahs.† He exhibited, moreover, to the whole of the people, such conspicuous proofs of his bounty and generosity, as at once to dispel their alarms, and, to a degree beyond the most sanguine expectations, to restore the public tran-

* 2d of May 1526.

† From a reference to Ferishtah, it appears that that author calculates the Tungah, at the 20th part of a rupee; at which rate this sum would be equal to 35,000 rupees, or about £4,375 sterling.

quillity. Homayûn, who had previously reached Agrah, now presented to his father a diamond of eight methkals, or about 192 carats, and of such enormous value, as to be estimated at a sum equal to the purchase of a day's subsistance for one half of the inhabitants of the terrestrial globe. It was represented by the inhabitants of Agrah, as formerly belonging to the treasury of Sûltan Allà ud-dein the Ist, and received by him from the sons of Bikramajit, Rajah of Gwaliar. The jewel was at first, for form's sake, graciously accepted by Bâber, but immediately afterwards returned to the young prince. A. H. 932. A. D. 1526. Abûl Fazzel.

On the thirtieth of the month, the conqueror commenced his survey and distribution of the treasure and jewels, so industriously accumulated by a succession of wealthy and powerful sovereigns; and first of all, he allotted to Homayún in specie, of the mint of Sekunder, the sum of seventy laks, or seven millions of Tankahs,* exclusively of an undisclosed chamber of treasure, full of untold gold and silver. To each of his officers, according to his station in the service, he gave from ten laks, to five Tankahs, the lowest sum, and to every soldier in the army, he distributed a share much beyond that to which, by his station, he was entitled. In short, from the most distinguished Ameir to the very meanest camp follower, there was not an individual in his service excluded from a portion in this most extensive distribution of captured property. Neither were the different branches of the imperial family, whether in Buddukhshaun, at Kabûl, or at Kandahaur, forgotten on the memorable occasion. Seventeen laks of Tankahs were remitted to Kamraun Mirza. Fifteen laks to Mahommed Zemmaun Mirza; and to the princes Auskery Mirza, and Hindal Mirza, in the same proportion, without omitting a single female belonging to any branch of the family. In like manner, to every officer and retainer, who had been necessarily excluded from taking a part in the expedition, was conveyed something in proportion to his rank in the state, either in jewels, or some article of curious manufacture, in gold or silver. The bounty of the conqueror extended, at the same time, to all who bore the remotest claims of relationship, whether at Samarkand, in Khorassaun, in Kasnghàr, or Irák—to all places of religious sanctity, at Samarkand, in Khorassaun, or elsewhere; and finally, he

* About at 350,000 rupees at twenty to the rupee.

A. H. 932. A. D 1526 Abûl Fazzel.

provided that a gratuity of one Shahrôkhy each,* should be presented to every inhabitant, little or great, man, woman, or child, at Kabûl, and in the neighborhood. Thus, according to Ferishtah,† at a single sitting, and totally regardless of future exigencies, did Bâber contrive to dissipate the accumulated treasures of so many powerful monarchs, by his improvident liberality on the occasion, acquiring for himself, not unjustly, the nickname of Kúllender—or strolling monk.

It is, at the same time, to be remembered, that the authority of this heroic prince scarcely extended, at the moment, beyond the walls of the two great capitals of Dehly and Agrah, all around being yet in possession of the enemy. The fortress of Sumbul, north-east on the Ganges, was in the hands of Kaussem Sumbuly; that of Beiaunah, in the opposite direction, held out under Nizam Khaun; Meivaut was in possession of Hussun Khaun Meivauty; Mahommed Zeitoun maintained himself at Dhoulpour; and the impregnable fortress of Gwaliar was secured against the Moghúls, by Tatar Khaun Saurungkhauny. Hûsseyne Khaun Lohauny was in possession of Ravery, Râbery, or Rewary; Kûttûb Khaun of Etawah; and Aullum Khaun of Kalpy. Even Mahawun, contiguous to the very suburbs of Agrah, still held out against Bâber, under Merghoub, one of the slaves, or body guards, of the late Sûltan Ibrauhim. Kanouje, with the whóle of the territory to the left of the Ganges, in that quarter, was in the hands of the Afghans, under the authority of Nesseir Khaun Lohauny, and the noted Fermully, who had indeed been no less hostile to the government of Sûltan Ibrauhim. On the death of that monarch, they had availed themselves of the general dissolution of authority, to extend their usurpation over many more of the adjoining districts; and they had recently, after conferring the dignity of Emperor on Pahar Khaun, the son of Derria Khaun Lôdy, with the title of Sùltan Mahommed, advanced several marches in the direction of Agrah.

The discontent which, notwithstanding the unparalleled munificence of their sovereign, had already begun to make its appearance among the Moghùl troops, was not a little aggravated by an unusually hot season, followed by an alarming contagious disorder; and thus,

* Of silver of the weight of a dram and a half according to Ferishtah; about one shilling English according to Dow. † Translator.

influenced by their fears, and the consequent loss of judgment, great numbers of them disgracefully resolved to abandon the ensigns, under which they had been so signally victorious. At the same time, the major part of those who remained, equally discouraged by surrounding hostilities, by the insalubrity of the climate, the difficulty and hazard of their communications with the Indus, the tardy arrival of supplies, and the consequent scarcity of every article of consumption, became generally determined on the necessity of immediately withdrawing from Hindûstaun. Yet, though the majority of the Ameirs longest in his service, and the oldest of his veterans, both by expression, and by indications that could not be misunderstood, in his presence and among their associates, thus evinced a disposition little favorable to his magnanimous designs, BABER, whose understanding and strength of mind were evidently of the very highest order, was not to be shaken from his purpose, and continued his exertions to consolidate his newly acquired power, without regarding either murmurs or expostulations.

A H. 932. A D 1526. Abûl Fazzel.

When, however, he found that this spirit of discontent had reached individuals the most intimate in his confidence, from whom he had nourished expectations extremely different, and that fortune seemed again disposed to exhibit some of her extravagancies at his expence; when he discovered that it had extended to Ahmedy Purwauntchei—the secretary—to Wully Khauzen—the treasurer—and more than all, to the veteran and experienced Khaujah Kullan Beg; who, in every conflict, in all his enterprizes, and particularly in this greatest of all, his Indian expedition, had uniformly expressed the most magnanimous resolution; and that each of them was now among the most forward, both by express declarations, and indirect hints, to urge the expediency of quitting the country, the monarch finally determined to make it the subject of serious deliberation before a council of state.

Before such council solemnly assembled, when he had previously addressed to them those wholesome admonitions for the guidance of their judgment, which from his acknowledged talents, he was so pre-eminently qualified to offer, Bâber proceeded to explain, without reserve, the object of his most private views and meditations; and to expatiate on the folly and imbecility, on the first trifling inconvenience, of relinquishing a conquest which had been achieved at the

A. H. 932.
A. D 1526.
Abûl Fazzel.

expence of so much personal exertion, fatigue, and danger. Such a step he contended to be no less at variance with the dictates of common prudence, than it was contrary to all those maxims which are known to contribute to the establishment of a great and powerful monarchy. Joy and sorrow, prosperity and adversity, as they are so closely allied, should, he alleged, be met with equal moderation—be taken together; and when their present perplexities should cease to exist, he entertained not the smallest doubt that their repose and enjoyment would be in full proportion. He therefore called upon them to resume that confidence which had rendered them invincible, and to dismiss that refractory and discontented spirit, which was only calculated to produce groundless alarm and despondence. Such, however, as were yet seriously disposed to return to their homes, and were not ashamed to exhibit a proof of degenerate spirit, so unworthy of their former renown, would find no obstacle on his part, and were perfectly at liberty to withdraw, whenever they thought proper. But for himself, relying on the native resources of his own yet unbroken mind, which he considered as a sure pledge that heaven was on his side, he declared it his fixed and unalterable resolution to remain in Hindûstaun.

This appears to have terminated all difference of opinion. The whole of the Ameirs united in declaring, that the arguments of their sovereign were founded in incontrovertible truth, "for the language of kings," said they, "is the king of languages;" and they finally concurred in the resolution to maintain themselves in the country, in defiance of all exertion to expel them. Khaujah Kullan Beg, however, who had been warmer and louder than any one in his clamours for return, was permitted to indulge his inclination; undertaking at the same time, to be chargeable with the conveyance of the numerous presents set apart for the princes, and other distinguished personages at Kabûl, and in the neighborhood. In consideration of his former meritorious services, the city of Gheznein, together with Guerdeiz, or Gurdaiz, and the districts anciently the patrimony of Sûltan Mûssâoud, was on this occasion conferred upon him in jâgueir; and, that he might not be without his portion in the conquered territory, the Purgunnah, or township of Kehraum, was moreover consigned

him, in addition to the other marks of his sovereign's bounty. Meir Meiran was, however, the only officer of rank, who thought proper to accompany him; and when he finally took his departure from Agrah, on the twentieth of Zilhudje of the 932d of the hidjerah,* he is said to have written on the wall of one of the houses, a couplet importing, that if, after reaching the banks of the Indus once more in safety, he ever set foot again in the territory to the eastward of it, he wished it might be with the face of a black man.

A. H. 932. A. D 1526. Abûl Fazzel.

The history of Bâber, in this crisis of his fortune, furnishes one more splendid example that the man who forms his resolutions on the basis of discreet and prudent reflection, has seldom, if ever, failed in the issue, to advance himself to the most distinguished station amongst his fellow creatures. For thus it happened when, with an army totally discouraged, and surrounded on all sides by hostile nations burning for vengeance, that intrepid monarch, relying on the resources of his own mind, and the support of omnipotence, finally determined on fixing the seat of his government at Agrah, placed as it is in the very centre of Hindûstaun; and when, through the influence of a vigorous, just, and liberal policy, and in defiance of the most formidable obstacles, he gloriously succeeded in securing for it permanent stability. The immediate effect produced throughout the country, was, indeed, most fortunate and animating; since many of the most powerful chieftains, as soon as they found that it was not his design, like Teymûr, to abandon his conquests, no longer hesitated to submit to the authority of the conqueror, and were immediately enrolled among the vassals of the new sovereign. Among the most distinguished of these was Sheikh Gohrin, whose influence was so extensive that not less than three thousand others, of eminent note and respectability among the natives of the country, were immediately prevailed upon to follow his example. Feyrouz Khaun, Sheikh Bayezzid, Mahmûd Khaun Lohauny, and Kauzy Heya, are further enumerated among the chiefs of distinction and importance, who claimed, on this occasion, the protection of the conqueror, and were shortly afterwards admitted to a distinguished share in his favor. Feyrouz Khaun, in particular, was remunerated by a jagueir of one *krour* of

* 26th of September 1526.

A. H. 932. A. D. 1526. Abûl Fazzel.

Tankahs,* in Jounpour, and Sheikh Bayezzid received an assignment, or pension, of equal value on the territory of Oudah, or Oude. A similar assignment of ninety laks, on Ghauzipour, was conferred upon Mahmûd Khaun, and another of twenty laks† from the revenues of Jounpour, upon Kauzy Heya.

Through these and similar measures of policy and conciliation, affairs, in a very short time, assumed such a character of security, repose, and happiness, as is to be experienced only under a government of permanent stability. In making the preceding observations, the regular course of the narrative has been, however, anticipated by a period of some months; since the history now recedes to notice that, some days after the festival at the commencement of Shavaul, a most sumptuous entertainment was given by the Tcheghatâian monarch, in the palace of Sùltan Ibrauhim at Agrah, where all classes of the people were again admitted to partake in the inexhaustible bounty of this most munificent prince. On this occasion, in addition to the government of Hessaur Feyrouzah, already in his possession, the province of Sumbul, on the upper Ganges, was bestowed upon Homayûn; Ameir Hindû Beg being deputed to preside over that province in his name. The fortress of Sumbul was, however, at the same time, held in close siege by Beyn the Afghan, who had recently revolted against the authority of Bàber; and it became expedient to employ a considerable force, from among the troops in the Doaub, or peninsula of the Jumna and Ganges, under the Ameirs just mentioned, in order to restore obedience in that quarter. An advanced division of this force was opposed by the rebel in person, who was, however, in this early stage of the business entirely defeated, and compelled to fly; and having forfeited every claim to indulgence, by his perfidious violation of engagements, never prospered afterwards.

Having passed the rainy season, which in Hindûstaun is that of spring, when the earth puts on its freshest verdure, in adjusting the affairs of his newly acquired possessions at Agrah, Bàber, as the dry weather, and the period for warlike operations approached, entered into consultation with his generals, whether it would be most advisabl to proceed first to the eastward, in order to oppose the ambitious

* Fivelaks of rupees, or about £50,000 sterling. † One lak of rupees, or about £12500.

designs of the Lohauni Afghans, who were advancing from Kanouje with a force of nearly fifty thousand horse, or direct his arms to the westward against Rana Sanka, who had recently reduced the fortress of Gundhâr, and seemed disposed to aim at objects of still higher importance. After considerable debate, it was, however, determined, since that chieftain bad been foremost in his expressions of zeal on the approach of the Moghûl army from Kabûl, to defer hostile operations against the Râna, until some means should have been adopted to ascertain more clearly the extent of his views; and, in the mean time, to direct the principal effort towards the subjugation of the turbulent Afghans. Bàber, upon this, indicated his intention of taking upon himself the execution of the plan concerted against the latter power; but the young Homayûn expressing a desire to be employed on the service, and, at the same time, an adequate degree of confidence that he should be able to bring it to an honorable termination, provided the enterprize were consigned to his management, his offer was accepted of, with tokens of peculiar satisfaction. Orders were accordingly issued, that the troops employed under Auddel Sùltan, Mahommed Koukeltaush, Ameir Shah Munsûr Berlaus, and other commanders, in the reduction of Dhoulpour, after wresting that government from Mahommed Zeitoun, and leaving it in charge of Sûltan Jenneid Berlaus, should be conducted to join the prince royal in the direction of Beiaunah; while Ahmed Kaussem, with the Ameirs from Kalpy, were instructed to meet him at Tchundawer, or Chandour; Seyud Mehedy Khaujah, the jaguirdaur, or feudatory chief, of Etâwah, again, with Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, Sûltan Mahommed Douldy, Mahommed Ally Tchengtcheng, Abdullazziz master of the horse, and the troops engaged against Kûttûb Khaun, another Afghan chief who was in arms in that quarter, was also instructed to put himself under the orders of the Shahzádah.

A. H. 932. A. D. 1526. Abûl Fazzel.

Quitting Agrah on the thirteenth of Zilkaudah, of the year nine hundred and thirty two,* Homayûn proceeded to encamp the first day at the distance of three kôsse, or between six and eight miles from that city; and resuming his march on the succeeding days, continued to make his approach towards the enemy, who had, at this period,

* 20th of August 1526.

A. H. 932-933.
A. D. 1526-1527.
Abûl Fazzel.

concentrated his force, and taken post at the station of Jaujemou, under the authority of Nesseir Khaun. Terrified, however, at the advance of the young prince, the Afghan chiefs, when he was yet at the distance of fifteen kòsse, hastily recrossed the Ganges, and retired in dismay towards Hurridewaur, or Hurdwaur. Homayûn pursued in the same direction; and having, partly by force, and partly by milder expedients, established the authority of his father in that quarter, he descended next to Jounpour, which, with the intervening territory, he in like manner brought into subjection, and restored to peace and security. While he was on his return from this successful expedition he was joined at a place called Delmou, by Futtah Khaun Shirwauny; one of the most distinguished nobles under the late monarchy, and whose father had enjoyed under Sûltan Ibrauhim, the title of Auzem Homayûn. He was immediately sent on towards Agrah, attended by Seyud Mehedy Khaujah, and Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, and, on his arrival at the metropolis, experienced from Bâber the most gracious reception; that monarch bountifully bestowing upon him the possessions of his father, together with assignments in addition, amounting to one hundred and six laks of Tankahs.* He was, however, considerably disappointed, that the title of Khaun-e-jahaun should have been conferred upon him, instead of that of Auzem Homayûn, on which he had fixed his expectations. In the mean time, it was thought expedient, for obvious reasons, that his son Mahmûd Khaun should be invited to continue his attendance at court, while he was himself permitted to repair to his jagueir.

On the fourth of the month of Suffur, of the nine hundred and thirty third of the hidjerah,† letters had been dispatched for the recal of Homayûn, who was instructed to commit the government of Jounpour to some of the Ameirs under his orders, and to repair without delay to the metropolis; it having been now ascertained that Ràna Sanka, after collecting together an immense force from different parts of Hindûstaun, was advancing with designs expressly hostile towards the new government. These letters were entrusted to Mahommed Ally, the son of Meir Heyder, one of the royal equerries. In the mean time, Nizam Khaun the ruler of Beiaunah was brought over, through the influence

* 53000 rupees—equal to about £66250 sterling. † 9th of November, 1526.

of Reffeia-ud-dein the Seffavûian, to submit to the authority of Bâber; and that fortress was accordingly placed at the disposal of the Tcheghatâian generals. About the same crisis, Gwaliar was also delivered up, by Tatar Khaun, and Dhoulpour by Mahommed Zeitoun. Each of these obtained a compensation adequate to his wishes, and was happily enabled to secure himself against any impending shock of adverse fortune. The mother of the late Sûltan Ibrauhim Lôdy, had been some time since admitted among the ladies of Bâber's Harram; but having been detected in a plot to destroy him, through the medium of some of the royal cooks, she was on the sixteenth of the former Rebbeia,* not undeservedly, numbered with the dead. Her accomplices were also made to atone for their perfidy under the hands of the executioner.

A. H. 932 933.
A. D. 1526-1527.
Abûl Fazzel.

Consigning the government of Jounpour, as he had been instructed to do, into the hands of Shah Meir Hûsseyne, and Ameir Súltan Jenneid Berlaus, with Kauzy Heya, brought up from early life under the protection of his father, as their counsellor, Homayûn, on receipt of his letters of recal, proceeded with all convenient expedition on his return towards Agrah. Sheikh Bayezzid, one of the Hindûstauny Ameirs formerly mentioned, was, on this occasion, invested with the government of Oude. But, as Kalpy remained still in possession of Aullum Khaun, and it was imperatively expedient, either by arms or negociation, to bring matters with this chief to some species of adjustment, the march of Homayûn was so directed as to pass immediately through the territory under his authority. In short, means were employed to operate so powerfully on the hopes and fears of this personage, that he was finally prevailed upon to submit; and he accordingly consented to accompany the young prince to the court at Agrah, which he reached without further contingency, on the third day of the latter month of Rebbeia.† While, on the other hand, affairs were in this favorable train to the eastward, advices were continually arriving from Mehedy Khaujah, who had assumed the command at Beiaunah, to urge the speedy attention of the sovereign and his ministers, to the ambitious designs, and dangerous progress of Râna Sanka.

In a strain similar to that which arrested the notice of the reader in a recent page, the author again pauses to remark, that the happy mortal

* 20th of December, 1526. † 0th of January 1527.

A. H. 933.
A. D 1527.
Abûl Fazzel.

on whose brows an all-governing providence has fixed the diadem of superior intelligence, and whose exertions are ever directed to execute the divine will of his Creator, cannot, in due time, fail to enjoy the full fruition of every wish—to attain to a pre-eminence in human grandeur, far beyond all that can be estimated in the short sighted speculations of this nether world. Of this, what splendid proofs do we not discover, at every step, in the history of our illustrious Bâber; whose prudence continually advanced in just proportion with his fortune, whose vigilance arose more conspicuously amidst the intoxication of accumulated victory, and whose justice, beneficence, and activity, in the discharge of his imperial functions, supported by an unshaken confidence in the Almighty, had no parallel, nor restraint, but in the consummate wisdom by which they were directed! Hence also, when yielding to the suggestions of an arrogant spirit, the haughty Râna Sanka, elated by an overstrained conception of his own prowess, of the multitude of his troops, and the extent of his resources, began, by proceedings which could no longer be misunderstood, to unmask his daring and ambitious designs, and was making rapid advances towards Agrah, our dauntless Moghûl, erecting his bulwark of defence in the goodness of his maker, and little alarmed at the progress of what he seemed to consider an infatuated mob, on Monday the ninth of the former Jummaudy, of the nine hundred and thirty third of the hidjerah,* drew out of Agrah to put himself at the head of his troops—determined to proceed immediately, in person, in order to crush the designs thus formed in the blindness of presumption, and matured in arrogance and folly.

Having, however, encamped for a period of four days, in the neighborhood of the city, his march was hastened on the fifth, by the reports which continued to multiply upon him, of the progress of the enemy; who had, by this time, possessed himself of the whole of the country round the fortress of Beiaunah, after repulsing, with considerable loss, the garrison of that place, under Mehedy Khaujah, which had made an attempt to restrain his depredations. The royal army now advanced to the plains of Meindahguhr, about midway between Agrah and Sekry. In the vicinity of the latter place, to the name of which a short time afterwards, in acknowledgement of his victory, he gave a Persian

* 10th of February, 1527.

signification, by changing it into Shúkkûry; and to which, at a period long subsequent for a similar reason, was added by Akbar, the appellative of Futtahpour—the city of victory—Bàber was well apprized that there existed a very spacious Talaub, Tank, or pond, and that there was scarcely any other supply of water, within a reasonable distance throughout the whole district, than what was to be found in this Talaub. In order to secure this important position, which he conceived it extremely probable that the enemy might make a rapid movement to seize, the Moghùl monarch hastened forward with the whole of his force, on the fifteenth day of the month ;* dispatching Derwaish Mahommed Sarbaun, [camel driver], with a division in advance, in order to fix upon a convenient spot for the imperial encampment. The banks, of the lake of Futtahpour, here alluded to, and described as an extensive and magnificent expanse of waters, were chosen by that officer for the purpose; and the royal army accordingly took up its ground there, shortly afterwards. Mehedy Khaujah, with the garrison of Beiaunah, was now directed to join the imperial encampment; and Beg Meirek, an officer belonging to the division of Homayún, was employed to procure intelligence of the enemy. On the morning of the following day, the same officer returned with information, that the enemy was encamped one kósse on the other side of Yessaour, and at the distance of eighteen kósse† from the position of the royal army. The same day, Mehedy Khaujah, and Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, with the garrison of Beiaunah, joined the imperial head quarters at Sekry.

A. H. 933.
A. D 1527.
Abûl Fazzel.

From this period, a series of skirmishes daily took place between the Moghûl light troops, and those of the Râna, until the thirteenth of the latter Jummaudy, of the year 933 ;‡ when, the position of the imperial army being now advanced to the neighborhood of of Khanwah, a town at the foot of a hill, belonging to Beiaunah, and at the distance of two kôsse from the enemy, it was announced that Rana Sanka, with the whole of his force was approaching, with the apparent resolution of giving battle.

On the nature of the force assembled against him on this occasion, Bâber, in the narrative of events written by himself, is alleged to state that by the feodatorial institutions of Hindûstaun, every department of

* 16th February. † About six and thirty, or forty English miles. ‡ 16th March, 1527.

A. H. 933. A. D 1527. Abûl Fazzel.

the empire, producing the revenue of one lak [of rupees], was estimated to furnish the contingent of one hundred horse; that which produced a Krour, or Krouh, as it is generally written, or one hundred laks, was considered to furnish ten thousand horse, equipped and armed for service. In other words, that every tenure of the annual value of one thousand rupees,* was bound to furnish one horseman for the service of the state, whenever required. Now the countries immediately subject to the authority of Râna Sanka, were estimated to yield an annual revenue of ten Krour, and the force under his own family standard, on the occasion, might therefore be fairly set down at one hundred thousand horse. But to these must be added, the auxiliaries brought to his support, by a number of very powerful native chieftains, otherwise independent of his authority. These were, in particular, Sùhldy, the ruler of Râisein, Sârungpour, and the neighboring districts, whose quota was settled at thirty thousand horse; Ràowûl Oudy Sing, of Maugry, twelve thousand; Hussun Khaun, of Meivaut, twelve thousand; Bahratmul, of Aydery, four thousand; Nerpet Haudah, seven thousand; Setrûi Ketchy, six thousand; the chief of Jorhel——; Beyram Deou, of Meirtah, four thousand; Nersing Deou Tchohaun, four thousand; and lastly, Mahmoud Khaun, the son of Sûltan Sekunder Lôdy, although without a foot of territory which he could call his own, yet in the hope of recovering the dignity of his ancestors, contrived on this occasion, to bring ten thousand horse into the field of battle—comprising altogether a promiscuous force of not less than two hundred thousand cavalry.

Asssured of the actual approach of the enemy, in such formidable strength, the Tcheghatâian monarch proceeded without delay, to arrange his troops for battle; taking post himself, with those immediately attached to his person, in the Ghoul, which appears to have been in the centre of the rear line. Immediately to his *right*, were the divisions of Tchein Teymûr Sùltan, and Mirza Sûliman, with Khaujah Doast Khâowund, Youness Ally, Shah Munsûr Berlâs, Derwaish Mahommed Sarbaun, Abdullah Ketabdaur, and other officers. To the *left* of the royal station, were Allâ-ud-dein, Sûltan of Behlowulpour, Sheikh Zeyne, of Khowauf, Ameir Moheb Ally the son of Nizam-ud-dein Ally

* £125 sterling, at two and six-pence to the rupee.

Khaleifah, Tereddy Beg, Sheirafkunn the son of Kouje Beg, and many other distinguished commanders. The *right* wing of the first line was placed under the orders of Homayûn, and on his *right* flank, were stationed with their divisions, Kaussem Hûsseyne Sûltan, Ahmed Yússuf Oughlaktchei, Hindû Beg Koutchein, Khossrou Koukeltaush, Kowaum Beg Ordû Shah, Wully Khauzen, Kara Kouzy, Peir Seiestauny, Khaujah Pehlewaun Buddukhshy, and Abdulshûkûr, with many other veteran warriors. To the *left* of the principal division of the right wing, were posted Meirhem, Mahommedy Koukeltaush, Khaujeky Assud Jandaur, and some others. In the right wing were also stationed, the Hindustâuny chieftains, including Khaun Khaunan, Dilâwer Khaun, Melek Dâoud Kerrerauny, and Sheikh Gouhrin. The *left* wing of the first line was consigned to the discretion of Seyud Mehedy Khaujah, with Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, and other distinguished captains; and among these were also distributed, several more of the Hindûstauny chiefs, who had submitted to the Tcheghatâian government; such as Jullaul Khaun, and Kummaul Khaun, the sons of Sûltan Allâ-ud-dein, with Ally Khaun, Sheikh zadah Fermully, Nizaum Khaun of Beiânah, and others not less distinguished for zeal and loyalty, than for undaunted courage. The Toulghama, or Toulaghmah, a designation here applied to the advanced guard of the right wing, and composed entirely of Moghûl troops, was entrusted to Terdeikah, assisted by Melek Kaussem, the brother of Bâba Kushkah; and the same guard for the left wing, consisting of household troops, was committed to Moumen Auttekah, and Rûstum, a Tûrkman officer.

A. H. 933. A. D 1527. Abûl Fazzel.

To complete his disposition, a line of carriages fastened together with iron chains, under the direction of Nizam-ud-dein Ally Khaleifah, was extended, according to the practice of the Turkish armies, along the whole front, in order to cover the matchlockmen, and artillery, which were stationed some distance in advance. After assigning to the principal generals their respective stations in the line, Sûltan Mahommed, the Bukhshy, placed himself near the person of his sovereign, in order to receive his final instructions; which were to be circulated to the different divisions through the Tawatcheis and Yessawuls, [adjutant generals, and exempts]—the commanding generals being forbidden to quit their posts, on any pretence, or to commence action without express orders to that purpose.

A. H. 933.
A. D. 1527.
Abûl Fazzel.

At the conclusion of the first watch in the morning, the battle however commenced, on the part of the enemy, by an attack of their left wing, upon the division on the right of the Tcheghatâian troops, under the orders of Khossrou Koukeltaush, and Melek Kaussem, here, called the son of Bâba Kushkah. But Tchein Teymûr Sûltan, by command of his sovereign, immediately advancing to the support of the division attacked, the enemy were nobly repulsed by him, almost to the very rear of their centre. The honor of the succeeding victory was, therefore, in a paramount degree ascribed to him, in consequence of this well executed and successful operation. The artillery of Homayûn's division being, at the same time, carried forward by Mùstafa, the Turkish officer in charge, occasioned dreadful havoc and no small confusion, in the ranks of the enemy by its well directed fire. But, as the enemy continued, however, to maintain the conflict, by perpetually bringing up fresh troops to the support of their broken squadrons, Bâber found it necessary to employ the same expedient, in order to defeat them; and for this purpose, Kaussem Hùsseyne Sûltan, Ahmed Yùssuf, and Kowaum Beg; and after them, Hindû Beg Koutchin, and Mahommedy Koukeltaush, and Youness Ally, and Shah Munsûr Berlâs, and Abdullah Ketabdaur, and Mahommed Khaleil Akhta Beggy, and many others, were ordered in succession to sustain the divisions engaged, and to repel the efforts of their adversaries. In the mean time, the right of the enemy was by no means unemployed, having made repeated attempts upon the left wing of the Moghûl army; in which it was as repeatedly foiled with infinite loss, by the equal firmness and skill of the opposing divisions. On this side they were also successively resisted by Moumen Auttekah, and Rûstum the Tûrkomaun, supported by Moulla Mahmûd, and Ally Auttekah Pashleik, belonging to the division of Ally Khaleifah; and, latterly, by Mahommed Sùltan Mirza, Auddel Sûltan, Abdulazziz Meir Aukhor, or master of the horse, Kûtlûg Kuddum Kerawul, or captain of videttes, Mahommed Tchengcheng, and many others who eminently signalized themselves on this memorable occasion.

When the fate of the battle had been, however, thus held in suspense to a late hour in the day, through the superior numbers of the enemy, the household troops of the empire, who, like tigers in their chains, had

A. H. 933.
A. D. 1527.
Abûl Fazzel.

been hitherto kept in reserve, behind the line of carriages, received orders to defile by the right and left of the centre division, and, leaving the station of the harquebussiers also on either hand between them, to advance and take their part in the conflict. Finding themselves at length let loose from restraint, these chosen warriors hastened accordingly to indulge their eagerness for blood, and threw themselves like beasts of prey among the squadrons of the enemy; while Ally Kûly, that miracle of the age, with his artillery immediately in advance of the imperial station, opened a tremendous discharge of all the materials of destruction upon their thickest ranks. Such was the crisis of affairs, when orders were also issued that the guns of the centre division should be moved forward, Bâber, in person, at the same moment, advancing directly upon the front of the enemy; and this decisive movement being observed by the remainder of the Tcheghatâian troops, the whole at once now rushed forward, eager to share in the sanguinary strife.

Before the day had finally closed, the two wings of the enemy's army were so completely beaten back by the Tcheghatâians, that they were thrown together, in one confused and unwieldy mass, upon their centre; in which state they were so vigorously pressed by their victorious antagonists, that, deriving courage from despair, they made a furious effort to disengage themselves. In their turn, they were, for a moment, eminently successful, having borne down upon the flanks of Bâber's centre division, in such a manner as to be at one time extremely close upon his person. But no effort could prevail over the unshaken firmness, and intrepid resistance of the monarch and his veteran bands. The enemy, no longer permitted to rally, were left without alternative, and finally quitted the field of battle in the utmost consternation.

The contest having thus terminated in victory to the standard of the Moghûls, and the enemy been dispersed, like the sands of the desert before the whirlwind of the storm, Bâber, after offering up to the divine majesty the usual tribute of thanksgiving, and pursuing the fugitives in person to the distance of about a kôsse from the field of battle, some time after night fall returned to his camp; having dispatched Mahommedy Koukeltaush, Abdulazziz, master of the horse, and various other

A. H. 933.
A. D. 1527.
Abûl Fazzel.

commanders, to continue the pursuit of Râna Sanka, who had contrived to effect his escape from the scene of consternation. The slaughter of the enemy, during the battle and pursuit, was very considerable; and many thousands of their wounded were trampled to death, by the cavalry of the victors. Of their chiefs, in particular, Hussun Khaun Meivauty fell by a musquet shot; and Raowul Oudi Sing, Maunektchund Tchohaun, Rài Tchunderbaun, Velpet Rái, Gungû, Kerem Sing, Dounger Sei, with many others of distinguished rank, were also numbered with the slain.

Since it was not in the destiny of the fugitive Ràna to fall into the hands of his pursuers, the officers employed on that service returned without their object, and Bâber expressed some dissatisfaction, as if they had not sufficiently exerted themselves on the occasion; but, more especially, regretting that he should have suffered an opportunity so singularly favorable to escape, by entrusting that to the execution of others, which he could have so easily undertaken in his own person. Sheikh Zeyne, the Suddur, a man of distinguished talents in the court of Bâber, has recorded the date of this important victory in the sentence "Futtah-Padshah-isslaum—" The monarch of the true faith triumphant—" the Persian characters of which numerically applied will furnish the total 933; and what is considered further remarkable, the very same discovery was made at Kabûl, by Ameir Gaissou. According to a statement of the emperor's in the commentaries written by himself, a similar circumstance occurred after the conquest of Dibalpour; two different persons, at a considerable distance apart, having recorded the date of that event in the same sentence. Be this, however, as it may, the victory of *Khanwa* was considered of sufficient importance, to terminate for the present all operations against Rana Sanka and the countries subject to his authority, for the more immediate purpose of reducing Meivaut.

In the mean time, it was found expedient to detach a body of troops under Mahommed Tchengteheng, Sheikh Gouhrin, and Abdulmulûk Kourtchei, against Eliauss Khaun; who was at the head of an insurrection in the countries between the Jumna and Ganges, had taken possession of the town of Koul, perhaps Coel, and laid the governor, an officer of the name of Gunjuk Ally, in irons. On the approach of

the Moghûl detachment, the insurgent, however, thought fit to abscond without opposing any resistance; but by the time that the imperial standard had returned to the metropolis of Agrah, he had fallen into the hands of his pursuers, and being conveyed to the presence of Bâber, was immediately condemned to suffer the punishment of rebellion. There was nothing further, now, to divert the attention of the Tcheghatâian monarch from his previous design against Meivaut, which he proceeded to carry into execution without delay. He accordingly again quitted Agrah for that purpose; and on the sixth of Rudjub, of the year nine hundred and thirty-three,* he encamped at the head of his army, in the neighborhood of Alour, or Alwer, the then seat of government of the Khauns of Meivaut. The whole province was reduced, shortly afterwards, without apparent difficulty, being destined as an augmentation to the territorial possessions already conferred upon Homayûn. Bâber then returned to Agrah, his attention being next required towards the countries on the Ganges, eastward; where his authority had as yet been very imperfectly established.

A. H. 933. A. D. 1527. Abûl Fazzel.

It being, however, still imperative upon the sovereign to provide, under every change, for the security of his more distant governments of Kabûl and Budduk hshaun, and the latter having in effect been conferred upon Homayûn, ever since the natural demise of Khaun Mirza, in the 917th of the hidjerah, that prince, on the ninth of Rudjub of the current year,† when within three kôsse of Alwer, was permitted to take his departure for the countries to the westward of the Indus; and, on the same day, his royal father completed his arrangements towards repressing the insolence, and extinguishing the power of Beyn, the refractory Afghan, who had contrived, during the recent hostilities with Râna Sanka, to make himself master of Luhknou. For the execution of these measures, Kaussem Hûsseyne Sûltan, Melek Kaussem the son of Bâba Kushkah, Abûl Mahommed Neizabauz, and Hûsseyne Khaun, together with the Hindûstauny Ameirs, Ally Khaun Fermully, Melek Dàoud Guerrerauny, and Tatar Khaun, entitled Khaun-e-jahaun, were shortly afterwards, dispatched under the orders of Mahommed Sûltan Mirza. The Afghan chief, however, no sooner heard of the march and destination of these commanders than he instantly

* 7th of April 1527. † 10th of April.

A. H. 933-935.
A. D. 1527 1528
Abûl Fazzel.

determined on abandoning his usurpations, and he accordingly betook himself again, for some time at least, to the life of a wanderer.

Towards the conclusion of the year, Bâber amused himself in making a circuit of the country about Futtahpour and Baury, after which he returned to Agrah; and in the beginning of the nine hundred and thirty-fourth of the hidjerah, he proceeded on an excursion towards Koel, and from thence to the sporting country of Sumbul, the romantic mountainous district of which he explored with sensations of peculiar delight. On his return to Agrah, soon afterwards, we find him proceeding, on the twenty-eighth of Suffur,* in his yacht along the Joun, or Jumna, to meet the princesses Fakher-e-jahaun Begum, and Khadeijah Sûltan Begum, who were on their way to his presence from Kabúl. In the mean time, reports were continually conveyed to him of the force collecting under Meydeny Râi, the Rajah of Tchundeiry, and of the formidable preparations making, after all, by Râna Sanka, for the renewal of hostilities; and hence his determination, without further delay, to turn his arms once more to the southward. A force of about eight thousand men, under the orders of Tchein Temûr Sûltan, from Kalpy, was accordingly employed, in the first instance to attack the fortress of Tchundeiry; and on the seventh of the former Jummaudy,† the reduction of that place was accomplished with circumstances briefly stated to have been satisfactory to the mind of the conqueror—that is to say, according to Ferishtah, after the exhibition of one of those appalling acts of self-devotion, so frequently ascribed to the superstitious Radjpouts. The town of Tchundeiry, with the territory dependent upon it, was immediately bestowed upon Ahmed Shah, the son of Súltan Nausser-ud-dein, formerly sovereign of Malwa; and on the eleventh of the month, Bâber with his court returned towards Agrah.

On the authority of certain writers of the highest respectability, we are here informed that previous to the departure of the imperial standard for Tchundeiry, on this occasion, the Rana, that is Rana Sanka, of Oudipour probably, was preparing to lay siege to Eiritch, Ebritch, or Ebreije, it is difficult to say which, an officer in the service of Bâber having taken the precaution to secure the place against him. Just, however, as the Râna was about to break ground against the defences of

* 22d of November. † 28th of January.

the town, one of the sages of ancient times appeared to him at night in a dream, and in a form so terrific, that he awoke in the utmost dismay, and instantly raised the siege. From the effect of this affright, he never recovered, and he died not long afterwards.

A. H. 933 935.
A. D. 1527 1528.
Abûl Fazzel.

The imperial troops had crossed the river of Bûrhanpour, one of those probably, which run into the Jumma, south of the Tchumbul, when intelligence reached Bàber that Marrouf, and Beyn, and Bayezzid, the Afghans, were again in arms on the Ganges; and that the royal officers had abandoned Kanouje, and withdrawn to Raibery. In consequence of this retreat, the Afghans had been encouraged to advance, and had taken the fortress of Shumsabad from Abûl Mahommed Neizabauz. It became, therefore, necessary that the march of the imperial troops should be immediately directed to that quarter. But the moment the advanced parties of the troops appeared in sight, the son of Beyn, who was in command at Kanouje, thought fit in his turn, to abandon that ancient city to its fate; whilst the father, and his associates in rebellion, on information that the Moghûls were approaching, suddenly crossed the Ganges to the left, or eastern bank; and taking post opposite to Kanouje, prepared to defend the passage against the imperial armies. On the third of Mohurrem, of the year nine hundred and thirty-five,* Mirza Askery, who had been summoned from Kabûl previous to the expedition against Tchundeiry, joined the army on its march to the north-east; and on the tenth of the same month, the royal standard was displayed at Gwaliar. Bâber devoted the forenoon of the day on which he arrived, to survey the several structures erected by the Rajahs Bikramajit, and Maun Sing, and the curious antiquities formerly to be seen about that celebrated fortress. On the twenty-fifth of month, he reached the metropolis of Agrah.

There appeared now at the seat of government, a more than ordinarily numerous assemblage of nobility, both Moghûl and Hindùstauny; and Bâber, anxious to repress the growing refractory spirit, and to restore tranquillity in the provinces to the eastward, gladly embraced the opportunity of holding a grand council of state, in order to deliberate on the measures best calculated for the attainment of an object so de-

* 16th of September 1528.

A. H. 935. A. D. 1529. Abûl Fazzel.

sirable. And it was, on full discussion, here determined, that Mirza Askery, at the head of a powerful division of troops should, in the first instance, be dispatched in that direction; and that the officers already serving on the other side the Ganges, should be instructed to co-operate with him, with all the force at their disposal. In concurrence with these views, Mirza Askery received his dismission from court on the seventh of the latter Rebbeia, of this year;* Bâber himself proceeding, at the same time, on a hunting party towards Dhoulpour. But, on the third of the former Jummaudy,† receiving intelligence that Mahmùd, the son of Eskunder Lôdy, had taken possession of Bahar, and was otherwise engaged in designs of hostile and turbulent ambition, he suddenly relinquished the amusements of the chase, and returned to Agrah, resolving to proceed immediately, in person, to the territory on the Ganges.

In the mean time, dispatches from Buddukhshaun arrived to announce that Homayûn, accompanied by Sûltan Aweiss, and an army of nearly fifty thousand men, assembled from different quarters, was preparing to march against Samarkand; but that a negociation for peace was still on foot between the contending parties. Without a moment's delay, a letter was transmitted from his father to the prince, enjoining him, if matters had not already been carried to an extremity which precluded accommodation in any shape, to agree for the present to any sort of terms that might be attainable; until an adjustment of his differences with the powers of Hindûstaun, of which there was no distant prospect, should enable him to vindicate, in person, his just right to the dominions of his ancestors. And for this purpose, Homayûn was further instructed to keep the troops of his government in constant readiness to join the imperial standard, immediately on its arrival. These dispatches were accompanied by a mandate requiring the immediate presence of Hindal Mirza in Hindûstaun, and an ordinance including the province of Kabul, among the departments more immediately attached to the imperial exchequer.

On the seventeenth of the same month of Jummaudy,‡ Bâber crossed the Joun, or Jumna, on his march to the eastward; and on the same day, the agents of Nussrut Shah prince of Bengâlah, were introduced

* 18th of December 1523. † 10th of January. ‡ 26th of January.

to him, with some very valuable presents, and assurances of homage and attachment, on the part of their master. On the nineteenth of the latter Jummaudy,* Mirza Askery joined the imperial standard, now planted on the banks of the Ganges; and he received orders to proceed with his division downwards along the opposite, or left bank, of that river. In the neighborhood of Kurrah, intelligence was happily announced of the entire subversion of the ephemeral power erected in Bahar, by the son of Sûltan Eskunder Lôdy. The imperial army continued, however, to prosecute its march through the territory of Ghâzipour, finally encamping at Bhoujepour and Patnah. Having determined here to confer the government of Bahar upon Mirza Mahommed Zemaun, the mind of Bàber appears to have been set at rest, with respect to the affairs of that province and of Bengal; and we find him accordingly, on the fifth of Ramzaun,† directing his march to crush the ambitious projects of the two rebellious Afghans, Beyne and Bayezzid. For this purpose he proceeded towards Seirdâr, in the territory of which the rebels appear to have given battle to the imperial army, and to have been signally defeated; after which, having surveyed, or made a tour through, Jereid and Sekunderpour, and satisfactorily adjusted all his affairs in this quarter, Bàber again returned towards Agrah.

A.H. 935. A. D 1529. Abûl Fazzel.

When the heir apparent, Homayûn, had continued for a twelvemonth to reside in his government of Buddukhshaun, he became suddenly seized with an inclination, which he could no longer resist, to return to the presence of his father. Leaving that province, accordingly, in charge of Meir Sûltan Aweiss, who was the father-in-law of Mirza Sûliman, he proceeded on his journey with so much celerity, that he reached Kabûl in one day. There, at the Eidgah, he met with Mirza Kamraun, who had also unexpectedly arrived from Kandahaur, on the same day, and to whom, on expressing some surprise at his appearance, he alleged the irresistible impulse by which he felt himself driven to return into Hindûstaun. Previously dispatching Mirza Hindal from Kabûl, notwithstanding his recent instructions, to superintend the safety of Buddukhshaun, Homayûn then prosecuted his journey towards Agrah, which he also reached with more than ordinary expedition; entering the presence of his father and mother, at a moment

* 27th of February. † 12th of May.

A. H. 935. A. D. 1529. Abûl Fazzel.

when, little aware of his approach, they were conversing on the subject of their favorite son. His presence appears to have produced the most sensible pleasure; and although, with the monarch on the throne, every day may be considered as a day of festivity, that of his arrival on this occasion, became one of unprecedented rejoicing, and of a most sumptuous general entertainment, in the royal palace of Agrah.

On this subject, we are however informed, on the testimony of Mirza Heyder the author of the Tarikh-resheidy, that Homayûn did not, as generally represented on the occasion, quit his province without permission; but, as appears most probable, that he received his father's orders to repair into Hindùstaun, leaving his government in charge of Fakeir Ally, one of his subordinate Ameirs. But, at all events, as the death of Mirza Anwar, one of his sons, had occurred just at the same crisis, the arrival of Homayûn afforded the most seasonable consolation to the afflicted father; and would in all probability have been hailed with welcome, even though he might have presented himself an uninvited guest at his father's gate. He continued to reside for some time at court, the almost inseparable associate of his father's cares and enjoyments; and the elder prince was often heard to declare, that as a companion, Homayûn was without his equal. Indeed it has been acknowledged, that perfect humanity, politeness, or courtesy, is a phrase that in one word would exactly comprehend the character of this illustrious prince.

It became, however, no sooner known that he had quitted Buddukhshaun for India, than Sùltan Sâeid Khaun, one of the princes of Kashghâr, although connected by the ties of blood, and although he had partaken most liberally in the hospitalities of Bâber's court, could yet be prevailed upon, at the invitation of Sûltan Aweiss, and other nobles of the province, to undertake an expedition into that country; committing his capital of Yaurkenn, or Yaurkund, to the care of one of his officers of the name of Khorsheid Khaun. Fortunately, before he could enter Buddukhshaun, Mirza Hindal had arrived, and throwing himself immediately into the fortress of Zuffer, there for three months successfully resisted all the efforts of the Khaun, to reduce him. In short, the invader finding his views thus early anticipated, was constrained to return into Kashghâr soon afterwards, without deriving the

smallest advantage from his exertions. In the mean time, a report had been circulated at Agrah, that the troops of Kashghâr had succeeded in obtaining possession of Buddukhshaun; in consequence of which, Khaujah Khaleifah was directed to proceed immediately into that province, in order to re-establish the authority of his master. But as that officer through some plea of inexperience, or misconception, demurred to the undertaking, Bâber conceived it of sufficient importance, and perhaps from a consideration that it had been lost through his dereliction, to be proposed to Homayùn, who still resided with his father. The prince, however, thought proper also to decline it; alleging that after having already suffered so severely from the sorrows of separation, he had made a vow never more, with his consent, to quit the royal presence. He added, nevertheless, that if his interference was still considered indispensably necessary, he had no alternative but obedience.

A. H. 937.
A. D 1530.
Abûl Fazzel.

Such obstacles having occurred in his previous selection, Bâber ultimately fixed upon Mirza Sùliman the son of Mirza Khaun, who was accordingly dispatched, without delay, towards Buddukhshaun; letters being, at the same time, transmitted to Sûltan Sàeid Khaun, expressive of surprise and regret at a conduct, on his part, so repugnant to the claims of former friendship. They further announced that, Mirza Hindal being now recalled, Mirza Sûliman had been sent to supersede him, with a demand that if the Khaun yet retained any regard for the obligations of good faith, he would immediately deliver the province into the hands of the said Mirza Sûliman, for whom the Moghûl prince professed a father's affection. On the other hand, should the destiny of the Khaun unfortunately lead him to persist in his scheme of usurpation, Bâber, on his part, formally declared, that he had resigned all pretensions of his own, in favor of the claims of hereditary succession; and for the residue, the Khaun must of course judge for himself. The province of Buddukhshaun, as we have already seen, had, however, been entirely relieved from the presence of the invader, even before Mirza Sûliman could reach Kabûl; so that, on his actual arrival in the country, he was immediately put in possession of the government, by Mirza Hindal, in exact conformity with the imperial instructions; after which the latter prince, without further delay, took his departure for Hindûstaun.

A. H. 937.
A. D. 1530.
Abûl Fazzel.

We come now to the concluding events of the reign of Bâber. Having continued, for a period of some duration, to reside with his father, Homayûn at last obtained permission to proceed to his jâgueir; the territory of Sumbul, on the other side of the Ganges almost due east of Dehly. Here, after an agreeable and pleasing abode of six months, he was, however, at the expiration of that period, seized with a debilitating attack of fever and ague; and as the disorder threatened to be of tedious duration, his father became considerably alarmed at the intelligence. In these circumstances, he sent to desire that the prince would return without a moment's delay to the city of Dehly; from whence he would be able without either inconvenience or fatigue, to complete his journey to Agrah by water, on the Jumna. The prince repaired, accordingly forthwith, to Agrah, in the hope of deriving that aid in the removal of his complaint, which was to be expected from the superior and united skill of the physicians of the metropolis; but all appeared unavailing to produce the desired relief.

Still anxious, to the last degree, for the restoration of his son to health, Bâber, accompanied by some of the most intelligent members of his court, had seated himself one day on the bank of the Jumna, opposite to the city—his thoughts and conversation exclusively bent on the possibility of yet devising some expedient to bring about what had hitherto so cruelly baffled all their efforts. Meir Abûlbukka, distinguished for his genius and acquirements among the most learned men of the age, here ventured to suggest, that in his researches among the works of ancient writers, he had seen it some where or other recommended, in cases of malady which had otherwise defeated the exertions of human skill, by the formal oblation of something pre-eminently valuable among the possessions of this world, to endeavour to propitiate the aid of omnipotence. The affectionate parent immediately remarked, that in the eyes of Homayûn, he did not believe there existed on earth, any consideration more valuable than the life of his father. That life he expressed himself at any time perfectly prepared to sacrifice for his preservation; and it was therefore, on his part, no extraordinary effort of paternal zeal, if without a moment's hesitation, he now solemnly offered it up before the throne of God's glory, in the hope that it would not be unaccepted of in propitiation for the safety of Homayûn. Khau-

jah Khaleifah, and the other courtiers, upon this proceeded to observe that, under the blessing of providence, there could yet be little doubt of the prince's final restoration to health, and of his attaining to the utmost limits of the age of man, without abstracting, in any degree, from the life of his royal father. They therefore remonstrated in dutiful language with their sovereign, on the severe and melancholy turn which he had been induced to give to the suggestions of Abûlbukka; which they could assure him, indicated nothing further than the appropriation to religious purposes of some article, in treasure or jewels, adequate, in some degree, to the value of what he was so naturally anxious to preserve. And in this view they ventured to demand, what, as an oblation could be better calculated than that inestimable jewel, the *diamond* which had become his property, on the defeat of Sûltan Ibrauhim; and which he had, with such parental indulgence, consigned to Homayûn?

A. H. 937.
A. D. 1530.
Abûl Fazzel.

The filial tenderness of the monarch was, however, not to be withdrawn from its object—he persisted in maintaining that no earthly possession could be put in competition with the health of Homayûn—that he could no longer remain a patient witness of his sufferings—and that his resolution was unalterably taken, to make the solemn tender of his own life, as a willing sacrifice for the preservation of his son's. But in order to prove himself as good as his word, he immediately retired from the circle, and betaking himself to his oratory, or chamber of prayer, he there, after having performed the course of devotions prescribed, perhaps, on an occasion so solemn, made a formal and humble offer to resign himself immediately into the hands of death, in exchange for the restoration of his son. He concluded the singular ceremony by passing, with slow and solemn step, three times round the couch of Homayûn; and it is asserted, that in the effect produced upon himself, he experienced instant proof that his vows were accepted; and that a change, as sudden as favorable, taking place in the complaint of Homayûn, he was very shortly afterwards restored to perfect health.

Subsequent to this act of parental self-devotion, the health of Bâber manifestly declined; until at last, perceiving that the symptoms of dissolution were rapidly advancing upon him, he thought he could no longer defer calling together the principal officers of state, in order to re-

A. H. 937. A. D. 1530. Abûl Fazzel.

ceive his final instructions. In their presence taking the hand of Homayûn, he then publickly declared that prince sole heir to his crown, and all that belonged to it; at the same time, placing him upon the throne, and causing himself to be laid on his couch at the foot of it. After this, addressing himself to Khaujah Khaleifah, Kûmber Ally Beg, Tereddy Beg, and Hindû Beg, and in general to the whole concourse of Ameirs assembled on this occasion, he employed every argument that wisdom could devise, and experience suggest, to promote their welfare both here and hereafter. Above all things he admonished them, by a strict and uniform administration of substantial justice; by a liberal attention to the demands of the distressed, and the claims of the deserving; by a paternal regard and unceasing watchfulness over the happiness of the people; by a generous indulgence towards the errors of the repentant, a merciful forbearance towards the crimes of guilt, and an attentive encouragement to the assiduity of all entrusted with the business of the state—and, finally, by depressing the insolence of pride, and disarming the hand of the oppressor, to ensure the blessing of omnipotence upon all their undertakings. To Homayûn, in particular, as a circumstance of vital importance to the prosperity of his government, he strenuously recommended, however deeply he might find himself injured by their conduct, to beware of prosecuting any design of vengeance against his brothers; and to this particular in his father's dying injunctions is, indeed, to be ascribed that singular forbearance, under repeated aggression, with which, to the last, Homayûn continued to demean himself with respect to those brothers; as will be distinctly seen hereafter, when we come to treat of the events of his reign.

It appears, in the mean time, that while the dying monarch was languishing in the last stage of his illness, Meir Khaleifah, haunted by his apprehensions of the ill-will of Homayûn, employed the whole of his influence and authority, in order to secure the throne of Hindûstaun for Mehedy Khaujah; who, on his part, from that avidity for power so deeply implanted in the human mind, seemed sufficiently disposed to enter into his views. But, yielding before it was too late to the wiser counsels of those who were qualified to look deeper into futurity, Meir Khaleifah was afterwards induced to abandon his visionary designs. The Khaujah was, however, interdicted from appearing at court, the peo-

ple were, by public proclamation, forbidden to frequent his house, and justice was ultimately allowed to take its course in favor of legitimate succession. A. H. 937. A. D. 1530. Abûl Fazzel.

That event which had, however, been for some time anticipated, at last came to pass in the death of Bâber; who finally bid adieu to this world, with all its perfidious follies and unsubstantial glories, on the sixth of the former Jummaudy, of the nine hundred and thirty-seventh of the hidjerah,* at one of the villas erected by him on the banks of the Jumna. The phrase "Homayûn was the heir to his dominions," exhibits in Persian characters, precisely the era of his demise: but to unfold the catalogue of his various excellencies would, according to our author, require many a volume. To bring, however, his manifold virtues within the compass of a few words, it is alleged, that he possessed in the highest perfection the *eight* primary qualities essentially necessary to the support of imperial power. These were, in the first place, ascendancy of fortune. 2ndly, magnificence in design. 3rdly, talents to concert, and vigor to execute any plan of conquest. 4thly, opulence. 5thly, indefatigable zeal in promoting the general prosperity of the countries subject to his power. 6thly, genuine, and unaffected anxiety for the repose and welfare of his people. 7thly, the faculty of rendering his soldiers contented with their lot. And 8thly, firmness to restrain them from violence. With respect to his several acquirements, in whatever was useful, or ornamental, it is stated, in the first place, that he was pre-eminently skilled in the art of penmanship, according to the different methods then in practice; and his talents for composition, both in verse and prose, were of the very highest order, but more particularly in Turkish poetry; in which he wrote a Diwaun, or collection of odes, distinguished for peculiar elegance and harmony of style, and furnishing a variety of thoughts equally striking and original—or, perhaps this was a separate tract, included in the collection, under the title of Mûzaumin-e-tauzah. The Messnûi-moubein, or Messnûi illustrated, a poem of the didactic class eminently esteemed by the learned, has also been ascribed to him; and the Ressaulah Waleidiah of Khaujah Ehraur, an admired moral treatise, the father's legacy perhaps, was rendered by him into very pleasing and elegant verse. Last of all, it is

* 25th of December 1530.

A. H. 937. A. D. 1530 Abûl Fazzel.

not to be forgotten that in a series of commentaries, and in a style not less eloquent than elaborate, he wrote the memoirs of his own reign, from his accession to the period of his demise; which, in the judgment of his panegyrist, might well serve as a permanent model for the imitation of every sovereign, of every age and country—an exemplar, which from its accuracy of reasoning, and the justness of its conceptions, must ever continue eminently useful to all that may be any way ambitious to profit by the lessons of experience, and the admonitions of genuine wisdom. This instructive performance, so admirably calculated to point the way to every gradation of human grandeur, was afterwards translated into Persian by Mirza Jaun, the son of the celebrated Beyram Khaun, in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Akbar; by command of that illustrious monarch, on his return from an expedition to Kabûl and Kashmeir. Bâber was, moreover, a considerable proficient in music; and there were, in the time of the author, some Persian songs composed by him in a very pleasing style.

In proof, it may be supposed, of his convivial disposition, we are further told, that on the side of a hill, a little way from the city of Kabûl, he formed a small tank, or cistern, of red granite, which he frequently caused to be filled with wine, while the most beautiful maidens were engaged to sing and dance around it. On the sides of the cistern were sculptured some lines in Persian, to the following purport: "Sweet is the return of the new year"—"Sweet the smiling spring"—"Sweet is the juice of the mellow grape"—"Sweeter far the voice of "love"—"Strive O! Bâber to secure the enjoyments of life"—"which, "alas! once departed, will never more return"

As an instance of intuitive sagacity in this illustrious prince, Ferishtah also relates, that when Sheikh Zeyne the Suddur,* to a question with respect to his age, quaintly replied, that seven years since, he was forty, five years afterwards he was still forty, and that he was yet not less than forty years of age, the monarch alone instantly comprehended his meaning; which implied nothing more, than that the smaller must always be contained in the larger number. By the same author, we are at the same time informed, that to the practice introduced by this intelligent monarch of measuring the distances from place to place,

* Metropolitan.

during his frequent marches, and hunting excursions, India was indebted for a more accurate knowledge on that head, and for the means of acquiring that knowledge. This he obtained by making use of a Tennaub, or surveying cord, forty guzz, or eighty feet in length, one hundred such Tennaubs making the royal kôsse, or Indian league, of those days; which continued the statute admeasurement to the commencement of the reign of Jahangueir—and, estimating the guzz* at twenty four inches, would be about equal to one English mile, a half, twenty six yards, and two feet, at 1760 yards to the mile. A.H. 937. A. D. 1530. Abûl Fazzel.

Bâber left four sons, and three daughters, whose names are preserved in the following enumeration: Mahommed Homayûn who succeeded to his power—Kamraun Mirza—Asskery Mirza—and Hindal Mirza. The daughters were Gûlrung Begum—Gûltchehrah Begum—and Gûlbuddun Begum—all three by the same mother. We shall finally remark that he concluded his earthly career at the age of forty seven years, ten months, and ten days; and that he reigned altogether, from the demise of his father, for a period of thirty six years, six months, and eighteen days; of which, from the date of his victory at Paunipet, he held the sceptre of Hindûstaun for four years, eight months, and six days.

With our author, we shall now proceed to describe with all reasonable brevity, the events which distinguished the succeeding turbulent reign of *Nusseir-ud-dein Mahommed Homayûn*, the son of Bâber, who is usually referred to, in the figurative language of subsequent writers, under the posthumous designation of Jahaunbauny Jennet-ashauny—the founder of the world, whose nest is in heaven; as his father is under that of Gueity-setauny Ferdous-makauny—the conqueror of the world, whose abode is in paradise. It has already been slightly noticed, that this prince was born, of the princess Mauhem Begum, in the castle of Kabûl, on Tuesday the fourth of Zilkaudah, of the nine hundred and thirteenth of the hidjerah;† and he was therefore approaching to the twenty fourth year of his age, when he succeeded to the empire of Hindûstaun. His mother is stated to have been, in some degree or other, related to Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne, espoused by Bâber, when at the request of the children of that prince, he entered Khoras-

* In a note at the conclusion of the reign of Homayûn, in my copy of Abûl Fazzel, the guzz is estimated at 37 inches; which will make the kôsse equal to 2 miles, 591 yards, 4 inches, English measurement.

† 5th of March 1508.

A. H. 937.
A. D. 1530
Abûl Fazzel.

saun, on the occasion described in a former page. It was on the third day after his father's demise, namely, on the ninth of the former Jummaudy, of the year nine hundred and thirty seven,* that Homayûn publicly ascended the throne at Agrah; and some days afterwards, he appeared in great state in the imperial yacht on the river Jumna, when an entire boat load of treasure was distributed to the multitude which lined the banks of the river—thus, as it well became him, establishing the foundation of his power in gold; for, whom providence selects for the government of states and empires, it first ennobles with a disposition to be just and liberal. It is not always, indeed, that superiority of station confers nobility of mind. He alone is truly noble who employs his power to the good of his fellow creatures. It was for his surpassing hospitality that the wild beasts of the forest chose the lion for their monarch. But, from the hour of his birth to that of his elevation to the throne, the actions of Homayûn uniformly bespoke his glorious destiny; neither ought this in any degree to be considered a matter of surprise, since he was no more than the depositary of that divine light, which was to shine out with such meridian lustre in the renowned and beneficent Akbar—the same light that diffused its glories over the victories of Bâber—that irradiated the exploits of the invincible Teymûr—that indicated the supernatural pregnancy of the spotless Alankoua. In short it was that portion of the divine essence which transmitted through Adam to Noah, and subsequently to the prophets and patriarchs of every age, hath shed their brightest splendor upon the annals of mankind.

To the majesty of Alexander uniting the prudence of Aristotle, Homayûn therefore resolved on assigning to each of his brothers, for whom no provision was made by the will of their father, an establishment worthy of his birth, and to continue to the dignitaries of his father's court without alteration, all that they had hitherto enjoyed. Pursuant to this plan of liberal policy, the provinces of Kandahaur and Kabûl were allotted in jagueir to Mirza Kamraun; the government of Sumbul to Mirza Asskery; and that of Alwer to Mirza Hindal. Mirza Sùliman was confirmed in the government of Buddukhshaun; and the liberality of the young monarch was extended, at the same time, to all without ex-

* 28th of December 1530.

ception who had served in any capacity, either in the court or army, under the late sovereign, even to the most ordinary individuals; all of whom he thus endeavored to attach to his authority, by the most powerful of motives, that of self-regard. He even contrived, for some time, to retain the allegiance of his brother-in-law, Mahommed Zemaun Mirza, the son of Baddeia-uz-zemaun Mirza, son of Abùlghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne of Khorassaun; who had married one of the daughters of Bâber, and who had recently manifested a disposition to be refractory.

A. H. 937-939.
A. D 1530-1532.
Abûl Fazzel.

But to proceed with the narrative; about six months subsequent to the period of his accession, Homayùn led his troops to the attack of Kalinjer, then an important fortress, about one hundred miles to the south-westward of the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. When, however, after a siege of one month, the garrison had been reduced to considerable distress, he suffered himself to be prevailed upon, by a peishkesh of twelve maunns of gold,* and other valuable considerations, to withdraw from the siege. From thence he directed his march towards Chunaur, another celebrated fortress, on the Ganges. This place was among the possessions formerly belonging to Sùltan Ibrauhim Lôdy, and was held, under his authority, by an officer of the name of Jummaul Khaun, until, on the defeat and death of that monarch, Jummaul Khaun was cut off by the perfidy of an unnatural son. It was at such a crisis that, by engaging the affections, and espousal, of Lauzhmelek the widow of the murdered chief, a woman of singular attractions and masculine understanding, the celebrated *Sheir Khaun* became master of the fort. On receiving intelligence, however, of the approach of Homayùn, consigning the care of the place, with a garrison in whom he could confide, to his son Jullaul Khaun, Sheir Khaun retired from Chunaur; at the same time, dispatching a deputation selected from among the most intelligent of his followers, to treat with the Tcheghatâian monarch; upon whom, already sufficiently disposed to temporize through their address, he finally prevailed to consent to an accommodation. In consequence of this arrangement, Abdurresheid, another of the sons of Sheir Khaun, the more effectually to avert the fury of the imperial armies, received his father's instructions to attend the presence of Homayún; as a sort of honorary pledge for the perform-

* 28lb to the Maunn, this would be about 300 weight.

A. H. 939-940.
A. D. 1532-33.
Abûl Fazzel.

ance of his engagements, until such time as the plans of usurpation and aggrandizement, which he had been long hatching, should be ripe for execution. Abdurresheid continued his services at court, accordingly, to the period at which Homayûn became engaged in his expedition into Malwah, in order to check the arrogance of Sûltan Bahauder of Gûjerat; when, availing himself of a convenient opportunity, the Afghan thought fit to abscond.

These events have brought us to the nine hundred and thirty-ninth of the hidjerah,* when the presence of Homayûn was again required to the east-ward, in order to quell an insurrection afresh excited among the Afghans, by the noted chieftains, Beyne and Bayezzid. But the latter chief perishing in a conflict against the superior prowess of the Moghûl troops, the more ignoble class of the insurgents was effectually swept from the land, and the province of Jounpour, with the whole of the territory in that quarter, was now conferred upon Súltan Jenneid Berlaus; after which, Homayûn returned to Agrah. In the mean time, the fame of his victories had been loudly proclaimed to the extremities of the Indian Peninsula; which produced, some time during the year nine hundred and forty, a formal embassy, with proposals of amity, from Sùltan Bahauder, the independent sovereign of Gûjeraut, which met with a very gracious reception; and letters were transmitted by Homayûn, in return, of a nature to dispel the apprehensions which had already been excited in the mind of that restless monarch. In the course of the same year, [940], contiguous to one extremity of the city of Dehly, on the Jumna, Homayûn laid the foundation of a new town, on which he bestowed the appellation of Deinpunnah—the bulwark of the faith. It is added that the Persian characters of the sentence, "Sheher-e-Padshah-e-Deinpunnah"—the city of the great king, the asylum of the faith," numerically applied in the usual way, precisely exhibits the sum total 940, the era of its foundation.

Not long afterwards, Mahommed Zemaun Mirza, with Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, another grandson of Abúlghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne, by a daughter, and his son Olûgh Mirza, openly revolting against the authority of Homayûn, that monarch proceeded without delay, to check the progress of this audacious and ungrateful rebellion. Encamping,

* Commencing 2d of August 1532.

however, on the Ganges, in the neighborhood of Boujepour, he contented himself with dispatching Yadgaur Nausser Mirza at the head of a strong division of the army, across the river, with orders to attack the rebels. In a battle which ensued, the latter were totally defeated, and the three principals, Mahommed Zemaun Mirza, Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, and Wully Khoub Mirza, fell alive into the hands of the conqueror. Of these, the former was conveyed to the fortress of Beiaunah; from whence, by making feigned professions of allegiance, he some time afterwards gained an opportunity of effecting his escape to Sûltan Bahauder, of Gújeraut. The two latter were condemned to be deprived of sight, and degraded from all their employments.

A. H. 939-940.
A. D. 1532-1533.
Abûl Fazzel.

The beautiful and productive region of Hindûstaun, from the Ganges to the Indus, and from the mountains of Srinuggur to the Chumbul, which, from the pressure of adverse circumstances, the father had never been able to subdue, is, at this period, pronounced to have been generally compelled to submit to the more fortunate ascendancy of the son.

It appears, however, that the demise of his father became no sooner known to Mirza Kamraun, than, dispensing, as usual, with the claims of natural affection, that prince resigned the government of Kandahaur to his brother Mirza Asskery, and suddenly directed his course towards Hindùstaun; conceiving that he should there find an opportunity of developing his selfish and unwarrantable designs to greater advantage. But, the lessons of experience have already sufficiently taught us, if that were of any avail, how absurd and ineffectual the attempts of misguided ambition, against that man whose power is established through the influence of an august destiny, overlooked by the ever-watchful care of an Almighty providence; and how naturally the proceedings of him, whose objects are evil, should terminate in disappointment and disgrace. At the period under consideration, the government of Lahour was administered by Meir Youness Ally, who had received his appointment under the authority of the emperor. In order to circumvent this personage in his trust, Mirza Kamraun, who had resolved to omit no stratagem, that could in any shape contribute to favor the attainment of his ambitious views, had recourse to the following very simple expedient. One evening, shortly after he had finally determin-

A. H. 939-941.
A. D. 1532-1534.
Abûl Fazzel.

ed on the execution of his design, and in conformity with the plan concerted between them, he affected extreme displeasure with Karautchah Beg, a very distinguished officer attached to his interests, whom, in the presence of his associates, he proceeded to abuse in the grossest and most insulting language. Pretending, on his part also, to be injured beyond forgiveness, Karautchah, the very next night, with the whole of his followers, privately withdrew from the camp of the Mirza, and made the best of his way to Lahour. At that place, on his arrival, he experienced the most welcome reception from Meir Youness, by whom he was immediately entertained with the most confidential and unsuspecting hospitality; and the insidious guest was not long in want of an opportunity to carry his plan into execution. For, one fatal evening, at a private entertainment, while the forbidden goblet was freely circulating, and the best troops of the government had been unwarily dismissed to their jagueirs, he suddenly arrested the person of his host, and placed his own followers in possession of the gates of the town, instantly dispatching a messenger to announce the success of the undertaking to Mirza Kamraun.

That prince, who only delayed his march in expectation of the result, now conveyed himself with the utmost expedition to Lahour; of which important city, he thus obtained possession, without further difficulty. His first step was to enlarge Meir Youness from all restraint; offering, with many apologies for the proceeding which he had been compelled to adopt, to re-instate him in full possession of his government, provided he found himself at all disposed to remain in the province. This he however, declined, chusing rather to avail himself of the permission which was at the same time granted, to repair to the presence of Homayûn. On the other hand, Mirza Kamraun hastened without a moment's hesitation, to establish his own agents in every district through the Punjaub; quietly extending his authority to the very banks of the Setleje, at this period more generally known by the appellation of the river of Lûdianah, from the name of a town by the side of it. Faithful to his system of deception, he then dispatched some intelligent persons to assure Homayûn of the sincerity of his attachment, and the purity of his intentions, soliciting, at the same time, to be confirmed in possession of the territory which he had thus usurped; and Homayûn,

actuated no less by the natural generosity of his disposition, than by his determination to abide by the injunctions of a dying father, was induced to comply, continuing to his perfidious brother in the patent now transmitted to him, and in addition to the government of Lahour, those, which he formerly held, of Kandahaur and Kabûl. A. H. 939 941. A. D 1532-1534. Abûl Fazzel.

In return for concessions so liberal, so far beyond any thing he was authorised to expect, and by which, in the great essentials of power, —men, horses and arms—he was placed on an entire equality with his elder brother. Mirza Kamraun did not omit to convey to Homayûn some very valuable pledges of future allegiance; and he continued long afterwards to maintain with him the most friendly intercourse by letter; in which the praises of this indulgent brother never failed to be the favorite and prevailing theme. On this subject he transmitted, on one occasion, the following effusions addressed to Homayûn. "Be the "graces of thy person every hour more attractive.—Be thy destiny "ever prosperous, ever august.—Be every affliction that crosses thy "path—the source of sorrow to the eyes of thy brother.—Does the "moss, and the thistle, overgrow the path of Leyly—where can it be "planted with greater propriety than in the eyes of Medjnoun.— "May he who neglects to signalize himself in thy cause— be speedily "excluded from the circle of existence—while Kamraun retains any "portion on earth—may the empire of the world have no other master "than Homayûn." And in strict truth, although he neither foresaw, nor perhaps designed it, the wishes thus ardently expressed were fulfilled almost to the letter towards himself; since overtaken, even in this life, by a just retribution for such unparalleled duplicity, after forfeiting the esteem of all good men, he was in the issue excluded from existence, as will be more fully explained in its proper place.

In the mean time, regarding the exterior only of these specious professions, Homayûn, in the unsuspecting benevolence of his own mind, proceeded to load his brother with favors of every description, to an unlimited degree; and in token of his extraordinary gratification on the receipt of the precious effusion of pretended fraternal affection explained above, he further conferred upon him the favorite government of Hessaur Feyrouzah. Kamraun, on his part, remained to all appearance, steady in his attachment to the authority of Homayûn for some

A. H. 941. A. D 1534. Abûl Fazzel.

time; continuing to experience from that prince, without interruption, the same course of liberality, kindness, and forbearance, much longer than he seems to have deserved it. But it is not to be forgotten that the circumstances which have above engaged the attention of the reader, took place previous to the 939th of the hidjerah; under which date it is here related that, displeased with his brother Mirza Asskery, in consequence of a defeat which he had sustained from some of the Hazaurah tribes, on his march from Kandahaur towards Kabûl, Mirza Kamraun thought fit to transfer the government of the former province, from that prince, to Khaujah, or Khoujah, Kullan Beg.

To proceed, however, with the narrative thus necessarily suspended, Homayûn, in the early part of the year nine hundred and forty-one,* conceiving that the security of his hereditary possessions had been now well established, determined to employ the resources of his power once more to the east-ward, in order to extend his authority over the opulent territory of Bengal. But the imperial standard had no sooner reached the town of Ketaur, or Kenaur, in the neighborhood of Kalpy on the lower Jumna, on this occasion, than intelligence was announced that Sûltan Bahauder of Gùjerat, had invested the important fortress of Tcheitour, between that country and Adjmeir; had dispatched a large force even further in advance under Tatar Khaun; and moreover, that neither this latter personage, nor his employer, seemed disposed to set any limits to the views of a pestilent and ungovernable ambition. In consequence of this information, yielding to the suggestions of a more auspicious destiny, or, more humanly speaking, to the obvious dictates of common prudence, Homayûn at once resolved, before he engaged in any other undertaking, to prevent the hostilities with which he was threatened from that quarter; and for this purpose, some time in the former month of Jummaudy,† he returned accordingly towards Agrah.

But, with all our anxiety to hasten to a conclusion, the genius of digression here fastens upon us again, in order to explain, that although Sûltan Bahauder, from having too early suffered the canker of ambition to take root in his breast, was of a nature sufficiently disposed to be aspiring, yet from some experience in the superior prowess of the Moghûls, and particularly in the decisive battle which terminated in the de-

* Commencing 12th of July, 1534. † November, 1534.

feat and death of Sûltan Ibrauhim Lôdy, to which he had been a sorrowful eye witness, before he had ascended the throne of Gûjerat, and while yet an undistinguished adventurer, he could not, without the greatest repugnance, finally determine to hazard a contest with the house of Teymûr. It had, however, been the subject of frequent discussion with those in whom he most confided; and this was the state of his mind, when Tatar Khaun made his appearance, omitting neither argument nor importunity to persuade him, that there could be little risk in violating his engagements with Homayûn. After having, for some time longer, affected to disregard the dangerous counsels of this chief, Sûltan Bahauder, at last, threw off the mask; declaring that, since it was but too well established that the troops of Gûjerat could not be prudently exposed to an open conflict with the Tchegha-tâians, it must be his business, by some plan of address, or superior policy, to balance this formidable inequality. And thus resolved, he cast open, without further delay, the gates of his treasury; and, by a liberal distribution of its contents, soon levied, in addition to the ten thousand already in his pay, a multitudinous force of every description, to a very great amount. A.H. 941. A. D. 1534. Abûl Fazzel.

It was at this important conjuncture, that Mahommed Zêmaun Mirza, accompanied by the guards who had facilitated his escape from Beiaunah, presented himself at the court of Gûjerat; where, in consequence of the rash schemes of ambition now forming in the mind of the Sûltan, he also experienced the most favorable and distinguished reception. Such circumstances could not, however, be long concealed from Homayûn; and a message was accordingly dispatched by that monarch, to request, that in conformity with subsisting treaties, Sûltan Bahauder would immediately seize, and convey to court, or at all events dismiss from his protection, the fugitives who had so flagrantly betrayed their allegiance, and withdrawn themselves into the countries subject to his authority—in doing which he would furnish to the world a manifest and substantial proof of the amicable relations, by which the two states were still united. To this, from a blind misconception of the means best suited to promote his welfare, and the security of his power, and not less in the intoxication of his imagined grandeur, the Sûltan wrote in reply, that if an individual of exalted birth had obtain-

A. H. 941.
A. D. 1534.
Abûl Fazzel.

ed at his court, that asylum to which in the hour of distress he was entitled, it could not in fair reasoning, surely, be considered an infraction of treaty, or in any shape essentially prejudicial to subsisting engagements. In support of this he should appeal to what happened in the time of Sûltan Sekunder Lôdy; when, notwithstanding the perfect harmony which subsisted between that monarch and Sùltan Mùzuffer, not only his brother Allâ-ud-dein, but many other princes of the blood royal who had fled from Agrah and Dehly, never failed to experience in Gûjerat, without producing the slightest interruption in the existing relations, all that could be required from the most liberal and generous hospitality.

Homayûn now rejoined at considerable length in nearly the following terms. He announced to the Sûltan, in language not to be misunderstood, that the surest proof which he could give that he was sincere in his desire to preserve unbroken the relations of peace and good neighborhood, was to abstain most scrupulously from every circumstance, that might have a tendency in the remotest degree to disturb them; for thus, alone, would he be able to avert the injury, to which the friendly intercourse that had for some time so beneficially subsisted between them, seemed otherwise likely to be exposed. "Thou," said he in a short stanza embodied in his letter"—thou that boastest so loud-"ly that thy friendship is from the heart—happy will be thy lot if thy "professions and thy designs are in harmony—deeply plant the tree of "amity in thy breast, for its produce will be the fruition of all that thy "soul can desire—quickly uproot the thorn of animosity, for innumer-"able are the woes with which it is pregnant. He admonished him again and again, and a thousand times, not to disregard his counsels; either to expel the odious fugitive from his dominions, or send him without further delay to Agrah: for what other pledge could be now accepted that his designs were friendly? He could not, at the same time, forbear to express, that he felt no ordinary degree of surprise that any attempt should be made to bring the occurrences of a government such as that of Súltan Sekunder into a comparison with any event of his reign; for with what justice, indeed, could any resemblance be alleged to exist between things so extremely different in their nature and importance! the modes of thinking which then prevailed, being as totally distinct from

the system now acknowledged, as any two circumstances the most opposite in their principles. From his knowledge in the history of former times, Sûltan Bahauder could not fail to remember that the august and invincible Teymûr, notwithstanding repeated aggressions, was long withheld from entering into a war with the Turkish Sûltan Bajazet, from the consideration alone of the hostilities which that monarch perpetually carried on against the infidel nations of Europe; and that his endurance was not exhausted, until Kâra Yûssuf, and Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd, had found an asylum at the court of Iconium, and repeated demands for their expulsion had been disdainfully rejected. The issue was too memorable to be forgotten—that triumphant conclusion came to pass, with which his fortune seemed invariably delighted to crown the designs of that invincible conqueror. A. H. 941. A. D. 1534. Abûl Fazzel.

All this proved, however, unavailing; since nothing could be obtained from Sûltan Bahauder in reply, but what was conceived in terms equally rash, inconsiderate, and unseasonable; and the refractory Tatar Khaun interposing, at the same time, with those pernicious counsels, by which the unwary have been so frequently seduced to their destruction, and affirming, in support of his arguments, that the Tchegatâian troops, devoted to their pleasures and enervated by repose, were no longer the hardy soldiers whose prowess the Sûltan had so highly estimated, finally urged that he might, without further delay, be permitted to proceed towards the frontiers of the Moghûl dominions in Hindûstaun. Thus harrassed with importunities, Sûltan Bahauder yielded at last, altogether, to the suggestions of turbulent and factious men, and hastened to expedite the equipment of the force destined to act under Tatar Khaun. For this purpose, the sum of twenty Krour, or two thousand laks, of the ancient gold coin of Gûjerat, equal, according to our author, to twice the sum in the then currency of Dehly, was immediately remitted to Rentempour, to be employed at the discretion of the same Tatar Khaun, in the levy of a fresh army. Sûltan Allâ-ud-dein, the father of that chief, at the head of a considerable force, was dispatched, at the same time, towards Kalinjer, in order to invigorate the disturbances already existing in that quarter; while Bûrhaun-ul-mûlk Beiauny, with another division composed of natives of Gûjerat, proceeded through the territories of Nagour and Bikkaneir,

A. H. 941.
A. D. 1534
Abûl Fazzel.

to menace or excite alarm in the provinces of the Punjaub. The object of these several expeditions on points so remote from each other, was, as he vainly imagined, to harrass, and distract the attention of the Moghûls; whereas the advice of, in the opinion of our author, the more judicious and experienced men was, instead of separating, as much as possible to concentrate, or unite his force together, within the compass of mutual support. Neither did the more honest advisers of the Sûltan omit to set before him in the clearest light, however without success, the unfavorable conclusions that would be drawn from his infraction of treaty; nor to assure him that the sole design of the Lôdies, both father and son, was directed to recover the sovereignty of Hindústaun. And lastly, that though the failure of their object could be productive of little injury to the Sûltan, while he continued faithful to his engagements, the consequences of any violation on his part were, on the other hand, neither uncertain nor very remote. In the mean time, Tatar Khaun hastened to carry into execution his ill-advised expedition towards Dehly; while Sûltan Bahauder proceeded in person, to form the siege of Tcheitour—in order at once to attempt the reduction of that important fortress, and be at hand, if necessary, to support the operations of his allies of the race of Lôdy.

It may be desirable here to explain, that Súltan Allà-ud-dein was the brother of Sùltan Sekunder Lôdy, and uncle to Sûltan Ibrauhim, the last of the monarchs of Dehly of this race. Originally, he bore the name of Aullum Khaun; but on the death of Sûltan Sekunder, opposing the authority of Sûltan Ibrauhim, and usurping the royal dignity in the territory of Serhind, he assumed the title of Allâ-ud-dein. Shortly afterwards, supported by a body of Afghans, long since notorious for their perfidy and double dealing, he advanced towards Agrah. Sûltan Ibrauhim, however, issuing immediately from that place to give him battle, the rival monarchs came within a convenient distance of each other, near the station called Houdel; and Allâ-ud-dein discovering, on a sudden, that the force at his disposal was unequal to a regular conflict with his nephew, in fair day-light, conceived it might be accompanied with less hazard to make an attempt to surprise his camp, under cover of the night. In this attempt he was defeated; and withdrawing afterwards to Kabûl, he from thence, with that turpitude of disposi-

tion which was, it seems, implanted in his nature, did not hesitate to accompany the adventurous Bâber in that expedition, the object of which was to subvert the power of his own family; and in these circumstances was he engaged on the side of the Moghûl army, in the battle which terminated the life and reign of Sûltan Ibrauhim. Some time afterwards, his son Tatar Khaun, from motives which are not explained, took an opportunity of retiring into Gûjerat, where he was hospitably received by Bahauder; and Bâber, on securing his conquest of Dehly, being well apprized of the unsteadiness of the man's character, deemed it expedient to convey the father into Buddukhshaun, where he was confined in the fortress of Zuffer. But, effecting his escape from thence, after all, through the assistance of some Afghan traders, Allâ-ud-dein took refuge in the territory possessed by that nation to the north-west of the Indus; and finally proceeding through the country of the Beloutchies, found his way at last, also, into Gùjerat.

A. H. 941.
A. D 1534.
Abûl Fazzel.

But, at the period when it was irrevocably determined in that country to enter on hostilities against the Moghûl government, and Tatar Khaun had, in a very short time, by a liberal distribution of the treasure at his disposal, augmented the troops under his orders to a force of nearly forty thousand men, composed of Afghans, and other different tribes, that chieftain was, not long afterwards, enabled to invest, and without any great difficulty, to make himself master of Beiaunah. His triumphs were, however, destined to terminate here; for, when intelligence of his progress was communicated to Homayûn, then on his march towards the provinces on the lower Ganges, that monarch returned, as formerly intimated, with the utmost expedition to Agrah. From that metropolis, the Mirzas Asskery, Hindal, and Yadgaur Nausser, together with Kaussem Hûsseyne Sûltan, and some other distinguished commanders, were now dispatched, at the head of eighteen thousand horse, for the immediate purpose of repelling this invasion, against which, since the object of it was known to be nothing short of the reduction of Dehly, they were instructed to point their utmost effort; Homayûn expressly pronouncing that the discomfiture of the division under Tatar Khaun, would be naturally followed by the annihilation of every other division of the enemy's force.

In fact, when the Moghûl troops drew near to his division, Tatar

A. H. 941.
A. D. 1534
Abûl Fazzel.

Khaun became unaccountably alarmed; and the sudden and extensive desertion by which, in a very few days, they were reduced to an appaling remnant of three thousand men, was not by any means calculated to diminish that alarm. Reflecting, moreover, on the care and diligence which he had devoted to the selection of, and on the enormous expence at which he had equipped his army, the unfortunate chief found himself, for some time, incapable of deciding whether he should immediately attempt to retreat, or abide the issue of a battle, under such fearful disadvantages. At last, however, resigning himself to despair, he ventured to hazard a conflict with the Mirzas of the house of Teymûr, at the place called Mendrâeil; where, after performing all that was to be expected from the courage of a brave man driven to desperation, he finally perished, together with the greater part of those who remained attached to his destiny. And, precisely as had been reckoned upon by Homayûn, the other divisions of the enemy no sooner became advertised of the fate of that on which they had reposed their fairest hopes of success, than they dispersed in every direction, dismayed at the very rumour of the triumphant progress of the Moghûls.

Although Homayûn were even disposed, on his part, to forego the subjugation of Gùjerat, and the ruler of that noble country might, on all occasions, have evinced a desire to continue the relations of friendship unimpaired, which, as we have already seen, was very far from being the case; yet, when it comports with the scheme of a wise and over-ruling providence, to transfer the destinies of a particular nation from one power, to another which is formed on principles of stricter justice—the means being ever ready, nothing in the scope of human agency can avail to counteract the designs of omnipotence. Of this, a fresh example is now exhibited in the case of Sûltan Bahauder; when, seduced by the voice of flattery, and the intoxication of imaginary grandeur, he suffered himself, without a provocation, and in direct violation of his engagements, to be involved in a war with the Moghùl monarch. And it was doubtless from the operation of the same over-ruling causes that, baffled in his endeavors to accommodate, Homayùn finally determined on leading his troops towards Gùjerat; and for that purpose, in the beginning of the former Jummaudy, of the nine hundred and forty-first of the hidjerah,* he accordingly took his departure from Agrah. The di-

* November, 1534.

rection of his march on this occasion, appears to have carried him through the territory of Râeisein; the garrison of which sent out a deputation to assure him, with the utmost submission, that as soon as his dispute with Sûltan Bahauder should have been decided, that fortress with all it contained, should be entirely at his disposal. And in truth, the reduction of Gûjerat being the object which, at this moment, most materially engaged his attention, he prosecuted his march towards Malwah, without suffering it to be interrupted by objects of minor importance; and not long afterwards, the head-quarters of the imperial army were established at Sârungpour.

A. H. 941. A. D. 1535. Abûl Fazzel.

In the mean time, the progress of Homayûn, even to the minutest particulars, was regularly reported to Sûltan Bahauder, at this crisis engaged in the siege of Tcheitour, and his delirium of fancied greatness and security became gradually dispelled. At a council of war to which, in these circumstances, he had early summoned his principal officers, it was proposed by several, since it would be at all times in his power to resume his operations against Tcheitour, to raise the siege; and proceed without delay, to oppose the further advance of the Moghûls. But Suddur Khaun, who held the most distinguished place among the men of letters of the court of Sûltan Bahauder, and who had long since been promoted to the highest command in his army, urging, on the other hand, with greater alleged acuteness of discernment, the expediency of prosecuting to its close a design, which had already been brought so near to a successful termination, particularly, when there existed strong reasons for a belief, that while engaged in a common cause against infidels, a Mussulman prince would never think of attacking them; but at all events, should he otherwise determine, that there would then be nothing wanting to justify them in drawing their swords against him—this opinion prevailed with the Sûltan. The operations of the siege were, accordingly, pressed with so much vigor, that on the third day of Ramzaun, of the year 941,* Tcheitour submitted to the power of Sûltan Bahauder; immediately after which, that monarch led his troops towards the quarter in which he expected to find the Moghûl army, now encamped in the neighborhood of Oujein.

As soon as he became apprized of this extraordinary forwardness on

* 7th of March, 1535.

A. H. 941. A D 1535. Abûl Fazzel.

the part of the Súltan, Homayûn broke up from his encampment, and advanced also with considerable celerity, towards Mundsour, a dependency on the province of Malwah; in the neighborhood of which former place, by the side of a deep and spacious tank, or fresh-water lake, he again encamped his troops, while those of his adversary took up their ground on the side opposite to him. A skirmish having however taken place, as was likely to happen on such an occasion, between the advanced guard of the Moghûls, and that of Sûltan Bahauder, in which the latter sustained some serious loss, he became suddenly disheartened; and yet his generals, Tauje Khaun and Suddur Khaun, conceived this a fit opportunity to urge that his troops, being yet flushed with their success against Tcheitour, and not materially affected by any recent experience of the valour and discipline of the enemy, might be led to give battle without delay, while their minds were yet sufficiently firm to abide a conflict with some reasonable prospect of victory. On the other hand, his general of artillery, Roumy Khaun,* an officer at this period of considerable reputation in India, reminding him of his formidable and superior equipment of ordnance, strenuously insisted on the folly of relinquishing so manifest an advantage, for the precarious hazards of a combat hand to hand. What he proposed, on the contrary, was to form an enclosure round their camp, with the waggons and other carriages; and, having further strengthened their position with a sufficient ditch, from thence to employ those powerful means of distant annoyance, with which they were provided, in order to diminish the numerical strength of the enemy; after which, an opportunity would not be want-

* This officer, originally a Turkish or Tartar slave, of the name of Soghrauk, and successively dignified by the princes of Gûjerât, with the titles of Khodawund Khaun, and Roumy Khaun, was, as is well known, the founder of the castle of Surat; over the old entrance of which was formerly this inscription, indicative of the year in which it was erected; Sedd bûd ber seinah wo jaun-e Ferengi ein binna—that is to say, "against the bosom and lives, the ambition and rapacity, of the Portuguese be this fabric an effectual bulwark," exhibiting in the Persian characters numerically applied the total 937—that being the year of the hidjerah assigned to the erection of this fortress, corresponding with the year of Christ 1530, commencing the 1st of August. But rejecting the *wau* in this inscription, between Seina and jaun, we should carry the date of the erection six years further back. Roumy Khaun subsequently enrolled himself in the service of Homayûn—was particularly instrumental to the reduction of Chunaur—and lies buried in the Merjan Shaumy mosque, at Surat.

ing to make use of their swords, with that confidence which must arise from observing the havoc conveyed through the ranks of the enemy, by the superior management of their artillery. This opinion receiving the support of other respectable commanders, a corresponding plan was adopted on the spot, and immediately carried into execution; and active hostilities shortly afterwards commenced, generally however, to the disadvantage of the troops of Gûjerat.

A. H. 941. A. D. 1535. Abûl Fazzel.

But the catastrophe is described to have been accelerated by the following incident, although not without frequent example in the history of warlike events. One day, in the absence of other employment, while some ardent spirits impatient of delay, and of the salutary restraints of discipline, were discoursing over the convivial goblet, and each in his turn reciting the story of his exploits; one of them, whose judgment had more easily yielded to the effects of the compotation than his associates, suddenly interrupted the conversation by demanding, how long they proposed to amuse themselves with this bootless and unprofitable discussion of the past! What fairer opportunity to bring their individual prowess to the test, than that in which the enemy were under their very beards; and when it was in their power to achieve a noble enterprize, before the main body of the army could be aware of any such design? Instantly, the whole party to the number of two hundred persons, glowing not less with the ardour of intoxication perhaps, than with the ambition of renown, proceeded to arm themselves, and mounting their horses, hastened immediately towards the encampment of the enemy. On their approach, one of the Sùltan's generals employed with a body of nearly four thousand men, on the outskirts, to guard the avenues to the position, drew out his division in formidable array, to oppose them; and a conflict of more than ordinary fierceness immediately ensued. But the troops of Gûjerat, equally astonished and dismayed at the singular intrepidity of their assailants, were, after a short resistance, shamefully defeated, and driven in disorder, to take shelter within their intrenchments; while the conquerors returned in triumph to their camp, to tell over the exploits of the day. In short, the reports of this bold adventure produced so unfavorable an impression upon the troops of Sûltan Bahauder, that scarcely any of them dared to risk themselves afterwards without their barricade of carriages; while, on the other

A. H. 941.
A. D. 1535.
Abûl Fazzel.

hand, the country in every direction around, was so completely overrun by the Moghúls, as to prevent all possibility of supply, and the utmost scarcity became soon apparent, in consequence, throughout the encampment. And it was in this extremity that, on the first day of Shavaul,* at the breaking up of the fast of Ramzaun, Mahommed Zemmaun Mirza, at the head of five hundred of his followers, ventured out of the position, and approached a body of Homayûn's troops, who, on their part, with their usual confidence, immediately advanced to receive him. But, having made two or three discharges of their bows, Mahommed Zemmaun and his followers, designedly retired, until they drew their pursuers within reach of the artillery of the camp; which then opening at once upon the Moghûls, produced considerable execution among them, before they could withdraw from the danger.

Seventeen days subsequent to this not very important check, a favorable position of the heavenly bodies having been carefully calculated by the astrologers, for the very day, it had been determined by Homayûn to risk a general assault upon the camp of the enemy; but the situation of the Gûjeratties having, in the mean time, become hourly more critical, and every thing manifestly tending to some fatal catastrophe, Sûltan Bahauder, on the night of the twenty-first of Shavaul,† took the final resolution of abandoning his army to its fate. For that purpose, having given directions that his guns should be filled with powder, and blown to pieces, he, in the course of the same evening, accompanied by Meiran Mahommedan Shah, and five or six others of those in his more immediate confidence, secretly withdrew through an opening in the rear of his tents; it being his design to take the road towards Agrah, although, by some mistake, it turned out that he was on the way to Mandou. About the same hour, Suddur Khaun and Emmaud-ul-mûlk, with twenty thousand horse, proceeded also together to the right, directly for Mandou; while Mahommed Zemmaun Mirza, with another body of fugitives, drew off towards Lahour, with the design of raising commotions in that province. The tumultuous clamours, and horrible uproar which filled the camp of the Sùltan, in consequence of the explosions of the artillery, and the base desertion of the monarch

* 4th of April 1535.

† 24th of April 1535—it was probably the night previous to the intended attack.

and his generals, surpassed all description, and excited no small astonishment in that of the Moghûls yet unacquainted with the cause; Homayûn himself, indeed, with thirty thousand horse, remaining in arms, and in order of battle, the whole of the night, to await the eventful disclosure. About an hour after daybreak, it was, however, made known that Sûltan Bahauder had fled; and the Moghûl troops proceeded immediately, without resistance, to pillage his camp, where an immense booty was the compensation of their exertions. Khodawund Khaun, who had been successively the preceptor, and prime minister, of Súltan Mûzuffer late king of Gujerat, became the prisoner of Homayún, who retained him immediately about his person, and otherwise treated him with extraordinary kindness. Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, with the Ameirs Kaussem Sûltan, and Hindú Beg, and a powerful division of the army, was now dispatched in pursuit of the flying enemy towards Mandou.

A. H. 941. A. D 1535. Abûl Fazzel.

The designs of that man, observes our historian, cannot fail to terminate in evil, whose misfortune it is to associate with evil counsellors; and the more indubitably so, if led into a violation of engagements with a monarch so manifestly the favorite of heaven, as the renowned Homayûn. That this ought to be so, no one will probably be disposed to dispute; but that it may sometimes otherwise happen, we shall peradventure find a remarkable instance, in the history of Homayûn himself. But at all events, when, as we have just described, Suddur Khaun, and Emmaud-ul-mûlk, withdrew from the camp near Mundsour, their course was directed straight towards Mandou, into which, on their arrival, they immediately threw themselves; and thither they were as immediately pursued by the victorious Moghûls, under Homayûn in person, who encamped shortly afterwards, at the station of Naltcheh; or perhaps it was a ravine, or hollow, in the vicinity, from whence he might, with greater confidence, superintend the investiture of the place, which was, accordingly, at once surrounded on every side. Roumy Khaun, the officer of whom we have already spoken here, joined the standard of Homayûn, from whom he experienced a favorable reception. On the fourteenth day, of the investiture possibly, Súltan Bahauder through the bye roads of the country, also found his way into Mandou, which he entered though the Jouly-Mehiser gate; and shortly af-

A. H. 941.
A D 1535.
Abûl Fazzel.

terwards, he sent to propose an accommodation with his besiegers, on the basis that Gûjerat and Tcheitour, being yet in undisturbed possession, should remain as at present; but that Mandou, and its dependencies, should be ceded without further contest to the officers of Homayûn's government. On these terms, Moulana Mahommed Bergholy, and Sudder Khaun, on the part of Homayûn and the Sûltan, respectively, met at the station of Neili-sumbul, in order to arrange the articles of a regular treaty; but towards the latter part of the night on which they were under discussion, the garrison being worn out with fatigue and watching, about two hundred of the Moghûls availed themselves of an opportunity to scale the walls of the place from the rear; and letting themselves down from the ramparts within, succeeded in making themselves masters of one of the gates in that direction, which they immediately threw open. Here their horses were brought to them, and they were joined, shortly afterwards, by a number of the imperial troops from without.

At this moment, Mellou Khaun Mandouly, who bore the title of Kauder Shahy, and who commanded at a tower close by, perceiving what had befallen, hastily mounted his horse, and galloped off to the headquarters of Sûltan Bahauder. Roused at the summons of Kauder Shahy, but scarcely yet awake, the Sûltan betook himself immediately to flight, accompanied by not more than half a dozen of his domestics. On his way he was, however, fortunately joined by Bhowunt Râi, the son of Sohldy Râi, one of his most intimate friends, with twenty men on horseback; but on reaching the gate which opens to the plain below the fort, he found not less than two hundred Moghûl cavalry, ready drawn up to intercept his progress. Aware that this was not a time to deliberate, the Sûltan precipitated himself without hesitation, the first man, into the thickest of his adversaries, and being immediately followed by his attendants, fortunately succeeded in cutting his way through; Mellou Khaun abovementioned, and one more, being all that were now left to accompany him in his flight, to Soungurr, where he soon afterwards arrived without further accident. From thence he was constrained to effect his escape by letting himself down to the foot of the works, by means of ropes, some horses being also conveyed to him by the same means, and he was thus enabled to continue his flight; which

is, indeed, described to have been materially facilitated by the obstinate incredulity of Kaussem Hûsseyne Khaun, one of the Moghûl commanders who had, by this time, appeared before the place, and to whom information was early communicated by an Ouzbek deserter, formerly in the service of the Sûltan, whose person had been recognized. On his arrival at Tchampaneir, at this period the capital of Gûjerat, Sûltan Bahauder had, however, again collected a force of about fifteen hundred men; but not conceiving himself by any means sufficiently secure at that place, he determined to provide against the worst, by removing all that was possible of his treasure and most valuable effects, to the well-known port of Deib, or Diu, already in the possession of the Portuguese.

A. H. 941. A. D 1535. Abûl Fazzel.

To return to the proceedings at Mandou; it would appear that no positive information of the success of his troops, in the surprise of that fortress, was communicated to Homayûn, until the close of the second watch in the morning; when he also mounted his horse, and passed into the place by the gate of Dehly. Suddur Khaun, although severely wounded, continued, however, with his retainers, to make an obstinate resistance, before the entrance of his own house; but being at last forced away by some of his principal officers, he took the road towards Soungurr; whither being accompanied by a great part of the garrison of Mandou, he was there enabled to place himself in a state of security against any sudden attempt of the conquerors. Súltaun-e-Aullum, another distinguished officer of the court of Gûjerat, was among those who threw themselves into Soungurr on this occasion. In the mean time, after the Moghûl troops had been for three days permitted at discretion, to pillage the dwellings of the wretched inhabitants, a mandate was at length issued to restrain them from further violence; while some confidential agents were dispatched by Homayûn, to mollify the hostile spirit, and appease the apprehensions of Sûltan Bahauder's generals, who had taken refuge at Soungurr. After considerable discussion, Suddur Khaun, and Sûltaun-e-Aullum, the two principal commanders, were finally persuaded to accept of a capitulation; and being upon this conducted immediately to the imperial head quarters, the former experienced from Homayûn a kind and favorable reception: but as this was, it seems, not the first instance in which Sûltaun-e-Aullum,

A. H. 941-942.
A. D. 1535-1536.
Abûl-Fazzel.

had given proof of his hostile and turbulent disposition, he was, notwithstanding the capitulation, punished with the loss of both his feet, and then set at large to prosecute, at will, the schemes of ambition and revenge.

When, by these preliminary successes, the road had been sufficiently laid open for him, Homayún, with ten thousand of his cavalry, proceeded without further delay, to enter Gûjerat; leaving instructions with the main body of the army, to follow him by easy stages. In the neighborhood of Tchampaneir, and by the side of the Tank of Emmaud-ul-mûlk, a noble piece of water described to be three kôsse* in circumference, in the direction of the gate of Panelly, the Moghûl troops were drawn out to offer battle to the enemy. On the other hand, receiving intelligence of their approach, and having already amply provided the fortress of Tchampaneir, situated on the adjoining hill, with the means of defence, Sûltan Bahauder withdrew through the opposite gate, leading towards the Lushker-tullàou, another tank in the neighborhood; and retired, with some precipitation, in the direction of Kambâeit, or Cambay, leaving orders to set fire to the town of Tchampaneir, immediately on his departure. But Homayùn entering the place very shortly afterwards, the proper means were employed, under his direction, to extinguish the conflagration; after which, at the head of one thousand horse only, he hastened in pursuit of the Sùltan, while Ameir Hindù Beg, with the remainder of the division, continued on the spot; in order to straiten the communications, and watch the movements of the garrison in the fortress above. Súltan Bahauder had, in the mean time, remained at Cambay no longer than was necessary to set fire to one hundred armed Graabs, or gallies, which had been equipped for the purpose of restraining the obnoxious power of the Portuguese, and of which he thus prevented his enemies from availing themselves in tracing his flight, when he continued his retreat towards Diu. On the evening of the day on which the Sùltan took his departure, Homayûn arrived at Cambay; and, for the first time in his life, beheld an arm of the trackless ocean. From hence he dispatched a part of his cavalry to arrest the flight of Sûltan Bahaudér, who finally succeeded, however, in making good his retreat into Diu; from the neighborhood

* At least five miles.

of which, with no inconsiderable booty, the Moghûl troops now returned to the presence of their sovereign at Cambay. And thus, in the nine hundred and forty-second of the hidjerah,* according to our author, was accomplished the first conquest of Gùjerat by the Moghûls.

Towards the conclusion of the former year, the fortress of Kandahaur, that we might not be left entirely ignorant of what was passing on the most distant extremity of the empire, had been closely invested by Saum Mirza, the brother of Shah Tahmasp king of Persia, at the head of an army of Kuzzulbaush, or redcaps—the appellation assigned to the Persian soldiery under the authority of the Seffies, and who were, on this occasion, gallantly opposed by Khaujah Kullan Beg, the governor for the house of Teymùr. At the termination of about eight months, the garrison were, however, seasonably relieved by the advance of Mirza Kamraun, who had early proceeded from Lahour to their assistance; and on the first day of Shabaun, of the nine hundred and forty-second of the hidjerah,† not far from Kandahaur, he succeeded in gaining a signal victory over the besiegers, who were defeated with considerable loss—Agher Nowauz Khaun, the Ataleik, or preceptor, of the Persian prince, and one of the most distinguished commanders, being made prisoner in the action, and put to death immediately afterwards. Mirza Kamraun then returned with the utmost dispatch towards Lahour, which he reached at the very crisis to arrest the progress of Mahommed Zemmaun Mirza, in the midst of the commotions which he had excited in the Punjaub. On the dispersion of the army of Súltan Bahauder, at Mundsour, this personage had, as we have already related, withdrawn himself to the westward; with the design of availing himself of any advantage that might occur in the country among the branches of the Indus. When he reached the borders of Sind, he was further encouraged in his views by Shah Hûsseyne, the son of Shah Beg Arghûn, the independent prince of that territory; who, without admitting him one step within the limits of his authority, coolly pointed out the opportunity, at that moment presented by the absence of Mirza Kamraun, on his expedition to Kandahaur, for the occupation of the fertile province of Lahour. With the expectation that he should find the country entirely without defence, he accordingly appeared before

* Commencing 1st July, A. D. 1535. † 24th January, 1536.

A. H. 942. A. D. 1536. Abûl Fazzel.

the city of that name, to which he immediately laid siege. But while he was yet engaged in the undertaking, Mirza Kamraun, flushed with the triumph of his victory near Kandahaur, appeared in the neighborhood of Lahour; and Mahommed Zemmaun, like one stricken with a panic, suddenly raised the siege, and, as the only alternative, made the best of his way back again into Gùjerat. Not long afterwards, Mirza Heyder Gúrekan, the son-in-law, having through some discontent or other, quitted Kashghar, and withdrawn through Buddukhshaun, to Lahour, there presented himself to claim the protection of Kamraun.

In the mean time, Shah Tahmasp in person, at the head of his army, appeared before Kandahaur, in the course of the succeeding spring, that of 1536; and the place was immediately surrendered to him, without resistance, by the same Khaujah Kullan Beg, who had so honorably defended it on the former occasion. For this, on his arrival at Lahour, he was exposed to the just displeasure of Mirza Kamraun. That Prince, however, when, after some delay, he had completed the necessary equipments, proceeded once more towards Kandahaur, leaving Mirza Heyder to administer the government of Lahour in his absence. But, before he reached Kandahaur, Shah Tahmasp had quitted that place on his return into Persia; after confiding the government, together with a competent garrison, to the discretion of Bedaug Khaun Kajaur, or Kojour, one of his most distinguished officers. After a siege of some duration, the place was, however, again surrendered, on terms, to Mirza Kamraun; who returned as formerly to Lahour, as soon as he had rendered the fortifications of Kandahaur again sufficiently tenable against the operations of a siege.

To return, however, to the main object of our narrative; while Homayûn continued in the neighborhood of Kambay, with but a very slender force for the protection of his camp, it occurred to the Ameirs Ahmed Laad, and Rokken Dâoud, two of the vassals of the extruded Sûltan Bahauder, who lived in retirement some where in the vicinity of Kouniwaurah, or Lúnawaurah, that the circumstance presented a very fair opportunity for surprise; and they accordingly proposed to the Koulies, and Gowaurs—peradventure Goraussiah—the independent natives of the surrounding territory—to avail themselves of the first favorable dark night to make the attempt. To this they immediately

agreed. But, on the very night on which the design was to be carried into execution, an old woman of the country made her appearance at the entrance of the imperial pavilion, and demanded to be immediately admitted to the presence of Homayûn; affirming that she had something of the utmost importance to communicate, which could not be explained to any other than the emperor himself, without the intervention of any third person. As her importunities were extremely pressing, and she seemed to be actuated by the sincerity of truth, the woman was, at last, introduced to the presence of the emperor, to whom she instantly made known the design in agitation, of attacking his camp. After satisfying himself in other respects, on the subject of her information, the monarch had the curiosity to enquire, to what motive he was to ascribe that zeal for his welfare, of which she had just given him so essential a proof, when she proceeded to explain, that her only son was a captive in the train of one of the vassals of the imperial court, and that, in compensation for this important piece of intelligence, she had been induced to hope for his enlargement. In the mean time, if her information proved untrue, she expressed her perfect willingness to forfeit both her own life and that of her son. The latter was accordingly sought for, and together with his mother, immediately lodged in safe custody; while Homayûn hastened to dispose of his small force, in such a manner as to elude the expected attack, taking his station a little to one side of the encampment.

A. H. 942. A. D 1536. Abûl Fazzel.

Some time before day-break, precisely as had been announced to the Emperor, a body of Bheils and Gowaurs, doubtless Gorauss, to the number of five or six thousand, poured at once among the imperial tents, which they proceeded to rifle, without interruption, of every species of property; in which, as an article of particular regret is mentioned, a copy of the Teymûr-nâmah, transcribed by Moulla Sûltan Ally, and illustrated with paintings by Oustaud Behzaud. This was subsequently recovered, and at the period at which Abûl Fazzel wrote his history, was to be seen in the imperial library of Akbar. On the other hand, drawn up on a neighboring rising ground, Homayûn and his troops remained, anxiously expecting the hour of day-light; but the moment they could discriminate their objects, the Moghûls commenced such a galling discharge from their bows, that the banditti immediately fled in

A. H. 942.
A. D. 1536.
Abûl Fazzel.

every direction. The old woman was of course liberally rewarded for her very seasonable disclosure; but, from a suspicion that the inhabitants had, in some shape or other, concurred in the design, and, not improbably, to indemnify his followers for their loss in the attack, Homayûn gave orders that the unfortunate town of Kambay should be immediately plundered, and burnt to the ground; after which he determined to relinquish all further pursuit of Sûltan Bahauder, and returned, accordingly, to rejoin the army before Tchampaneir.

That important fortress had been now, for a period of four months, successfully defended against its besiegers, by Ekhtiaur Khaun; a son of the Kauzy, or civil judge, of Neriaud, one of the principal towns in the neighboring territory, who had been recommended by his superior talents and sagacity, to the first rank among the confidential servants of Sûltan Bahauder. But, while nothing was omitted that could be foreseen by the most cautious and vigilant circumspection, all was rendered unavailing by one of those trivial occurrences, through which the best concerted plans of human intelligence have been so frequently defeated, when opposed to ardent enterprise, acting under the influence of an over-ruling providence. There existed, it seems, at this period, adjoining to one part on which the fortress stood, a thick forest supposed impervious to men on foot, and much more so to those on horseback; and through this, stimulated by the powerful incitements of a gainful traffic, some wood-cutters from the country below, had found means to penetrate to the base of the rock; from whence, by ropes let down from above, they contrived to furnish the garrison with occasional supplies of grain, and clarified butter, or ghee, in return for the money which they received on the spot, by the same means of conveyance.

In these circumstances, when the siege had been protracted so far beyond his expectations, Homayûn was one day making a circuit round the place, in order to discover, if possible, some point on which it might be assailed with a reasonable prospect of success; and he happened, by mere accident, to be approaching from the side of Haloul, which was a part of the mountain converted into garden-grounds, at the very moment when these men, after having disposed of their property in the manner just described, were issuing from the forest. As was to be expected, they were immediately interrogated as to the ob-

jects which had brought them there; but when they stated themselves to be wood-cutters, without producing either hatchet or wedge, or any other of the implements of their calling, suspicion was very naturally awakened, and they were cautioned immediately to declare the truth, on pain of the most severe and rigorous punishment. Thus intimidated, they disclosed the fact without further disguise; and being directed to lead the way, they conducted the monarch and his attendants immediately to the foot of the rock, where it rose from sixty to seventy Guz,* or, at the least, one hundred and ten feet in perpendicular height, with a surface entirely smooth, and of course impracticable of ascent to any human effort, unassisted by the inventions of experience.

A.H. 941-942. A. D. 1535-1536. Abûl Fazzel.

Without a moment's delay, seventy or eighty strong iron spikes were sent for, and successively driven into the rock, at convenient intervals, and on either hand parallel to each other, at the distance of a guz all the way to the summit. As soon as this perilous ladder† had been completed, some of the most distinguished warriors were directed to ascend; and the moment the thirty-ninth man appeared to be sufficiently advanced, Homayûn himself stepped forward, and was about to plant his foot upon the first step, when Beyram Khaun interposed, intreating that his master would pause until the preceding part of this adventurous band should have made way for him. At the same instant he grasped the spikes and proceeded himself to ascend, immediately followed by Homayûn, who became thus the forty-first person that gained the summit of the rock. The band was, soon afterwards, reinforced to the number of three hundred in the whole, all animated by the presence, and with the invincible resolution of their sovereign.

By a preconcerted arrangement, it was provided that an attack should be made, at the same instant, on the front of the enemy's works, by the troops stationed for that purpose in the different batteries; and while the garrison, ignorant of the danger from within, were intently gazing from the parapets of the fort on the movements below, the three hundred who had scaled the rock, suddenly assailed them in the rear, and

* There is reason to think that the guz of Abûl Fazzel contained thirty seven inches, [tessu], in which case it was from sixty to seventy yards in height.

† If this was formed, as was probably the case, with ropes fastened from one spike to another, both longitudinally and across, it might answer extremely well, particularly if the rock receded ever so little from the perpendicular.

A. H. 942-943.
A. D. 1536.
Abûl Fazzel.

at once deprived them of all power of exertion, especially when it was announced that Homayûn in person was among the assailants. The imperial great drum now struck up the sounds of victory; and Ekhtiaur Khaun, with a part of the garrison, retiring to a more elevated reach of the mountain, there contrived to secure himself for the night. He was, however, the following day permitted to capitulate; and being introduced to the presence of Homayûn, he was, by that monarch, immediately received to favor. Not long afterwards, in consideration of his distinguished acquirements in every branch of science, but particularly in geometry and astronomy, to which, notwithstanding the engagements and fatigue of public business, he had found leisure to apply, Ekhtiaur Khaun was enrolled among the personal attendants of his new sovereign. He is represented, moreover, to have been an elegant and ingenious poet, and one of his contemporaries at once commemorates the occasion, and marks the period of his first visit to Homayûn, in the following sentence: "The first week of the month of Suffur"—the Persian characters of the original of which, numerically applied, exhibit the date of the capture of Tchampaneir on this occasion, namely, the nine hundred and forty third year of the hidjerah.*

The kingdom of Gûjerat, to the banks of the Mehandery, or river Mehie sometimes so denominated, was now in possession of the officers of the Moghûl government. But that part of it which lay to the north-west of the same river, comprizing the ancient peninsula, appears to have been abandoned to its fate; without the presence of a single agent, either to collect the revenue, or provide for the general safety. In these circumstances, the inhabitants dispatched a report of their situation to Sûltan Bahauder, assuring him that the collections were ready for payment, and would be made over with scrupulous punctuality, to any person whom he might think fit to employ for the purpose. Not one of the officers who remained with him could, however, for some time, be persuaded to accept of the charge; until at last, on the express stipulation that he should be accountable to no one whatever for such collections as he should be able to secure, Emmaud-ul-mûlk agreed to undertake it. On these terms, that officer, at the head of about two hundred horse, accordingly took his departure for Ahmedabad; but con-

* From the 19th to the 26th of July 1536.

triving, during his progress, to make some liberal distributions among those who ventured to follow his fortune, he found, by the time he reached that capital, a force of ten thousand men assembled under his orders. By an advance, moreover, of one lak in the currency of Gûjerat, or about two thousand five hundred rupees, to every individual who served with two horses, this force accumulated, soon afterwards, to thirty thousand strong; which was further augmented, at no very distant interval, by the junction of ten thousand more, under Mûjauhed Khaun, the ruler of Jounagurr. A. H. 943. A. D. 1536. Abûl Fazzel.

In the mean time, Homayún was engaged in giving, by the side of the Derria-talâou, a piece of water in the vicinity of that place, a variety of entertainments to his army, in consequence of the reduction of Tchampaneir, and of the other valuable acquisitions obtained by his recent victories. And here, as a measure of the wisest policy, if not of absolute necessity in all well regulated governments, the author avails himself of the occasion to recommend, that a system of domestic supervision should be established through every class of society; in order to watch, without ceasing, every circumstance, whether in action or discourse, that may have a tendency to disturb the public tranquillity; and more especially at those conjunctures, when the attention of the sovereign may happen to be engaged on objects foreign to the ordinary pursuits of government—since the neglect of some such precaution, had, about the period under consideration, nearly produced a very serious inconvenience to Homayún, which will be more clearly explained by the following facts.

While the festivities were going on, to which we have just alluded, a party of obscure and inconsiderate individuals, generally of the class of library-keepers, armour and inkstand bearers, who had been from their insignificance, unavoidably excluded from the list of those who, on these occasions, were admitted to the royal presence, agreed to meet as well as their superiors, and enjoy themselves in the gardens of Haloul, of which some notice has been already taken in a preceding page. In the delirium produced by a too frequent circulation of the goblet, one of the party, amidst the sallies of mirth, ventured, it seems, a little out of season, to introduce the subject of the Zuffernâmah, or history of Teymúr, composed by Shurf-ud-dein Ally the Yezdian; and pro-

A. H. 943. A. D. 1536. Abûl Fazzel.

ceeded to recite that passage in the early stage of the conqueror's fortune, wherein he is described as taking from each of his warlike followers, at this period not more than forty in number, a brace of arrows, and having bound them together in a single bundle, to have passed them alternately to every individual, with a desire that each would try his utmost across the knees, to break them. When each had accordingly made the attempt without success, Teymûr took the sheaf of arrows asunder, and returned to each his own, which, on making the trial, were now easily snapped in the middle. On which the hero desired them to remember that whilst, like the bundle of arrows, united, they continued firmly and faithfully attached to each other, few as they were in number, nothing would ever prevail to put them down, and success and victory would inseparably attend them, wherever they bent their course. And this was, indeed, exactly confirmed by the event; since, by making this simple and striking lesson the rule of their conduct, they finally rendered themselves masters of the fairest part of the habitable globe.

Little reflecting that, morally speaking, the band of heroes, of whom the example was recited, might have been considered individually equal to an host, acting under the direction of divine providence towards the attainment of a particular object, the punishment of human depravity, these mistaken men, with their senses steeped in wine, did not hesitate to place themselves on a par with warriors so renowned; not without arrogating to themselves a decided advantage in point of number, since, in counting those present, they found that they amounted to no less than four hundred persons, in the pride of health and manhood. That very moment, accordingly, they quitted the imperial encampment in a body, for the purpose, as they conceived, of carrying their besotted plan of universal conquest, into immediate execution; without taking into the slightest calculation the perils to which, at every step, they must inevitably be exposed.

The day following, when it was observed that none of them attended in their places, and no information could be obtained as to the cause of their absence, a suspicion soon arose, that they were not employed on any very loyal or justifiable design. A division of one thousand cavalry was therefore immediately dispatched to look after them; and,

A. H. 943.
A. D 1536.
Abûl Fazzel.

not very long afterwards, the whole of these inexperienced and infatuated visionaries, were brought, bound neck and heels, to the imperial head quarters. When it was announced to him, that these wretched truants were at his mercy, it happened to be saturday on which Homayûn, robed in ireful crimson, was engaged on the throne of judgment, in passing sentence upon those who had, in any shape, offended against the laws; and instantly, many of the misguided men were condemned to suffer, with a severity, of which there are few examples in the history of this monarch, some to be trampled to death by elephants, others to lose their heads, others their feet and hands, and others their ears and noses, while some were permitted to escape with the loss of their fingers only. But, while the monarch was thus employed in directing his vengeance against those who had dared to disregard his authority, the hour of evening prayer arrived; and the officiating Imaum, who was not very remarkable for discrimination of mind, in the course of the first genuflexion [rekkaat], unfortunately selected, for the service, that portion of the Koràn, entitled the chapter of the elephants—relating to that circumstance in the history of Arabia, in which the tyrant Abrauhah, from Yemen, having dispatched an army accompanied by a remarkable elephant, for the purpose of demolishing the temple of Mekkah, the divine being is described to have employed a flight of bustards, or some such birds, to stone his army to death. When, however, the course of devotions was concluded, Homayûn, who conceived that the Imaum had designedly fixed upon this chapter, in order to charge him by implication with injustice and cruelty, directly gave orders that the unhappy man should be thrown at the feet of his elephants. And the harsh mandate had been as promptly carried into execution, were it not for the intercession of Moulana Mahommed Perghuly; who, by convincing him of the simple character and unintentional error of the poor Imaum, succeeded, at last, in appeasing the resentment of the angry monarch, who passed the whole of the ensuing night in a state of bitter regret, and mortification of spirit.

Not long after he had dispatched this unpleasant affair, leaving Tereddy Beg Khaun in command of Tchampaneir, Homayûn put his troops in motion towards Ahmedabad, and proceeded to the river Mehandery, where, for a short time, he continued encamped; while Em-

A. H. 943. A. D. 1536. Abûl Fazzel.

maud-ul-mûlk, on his part, assuming a countenance of resolution and defiance, for every movement in approach of the Moghûls, made a corresponding march in advance to oppose them. In these circumstances, somewhere about midway between the towns of Neriaud and Mahmoudabad, the advanced division of Homayûn's troops, being some stages in front of the main body under the orders of Mirza Asskery, fell in with Emmaud-ul-mûlk in person, at the head of the army of Gûjerat; by whom, after a severe conflict, the Moghûl division was entirely repulsed. But, a reinforcement from the main body coming up in considerable strength, to their support, under Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, with the Ameirs Kaussem Hûsseyne Khaun, and Hindû Beg, and a report being circulated that the emperor himself was on the spot, the conquerors in their turn, were seized with a panic, and fled almost instantly in great confusion; Aullum Khaun Lôdy, and a few other officers, only endeavouring to make head against Yadgaur and his Moghûls, while Emmaud-ul-mûlk, half dead with apprehension, was making his escape from the field. Derwaish Mahommed Kâra Sheir, the father of Shûjayet Khaun, was the most distinguished of the Moghûl commanders who fell on this occasion.

In the mean time, the standard of Homayûn actually made its appearance on the field of battle, and victory became no longer doubtful; but, although between three and four thousand of the enemy had perished in the conflict, previous to the arrival of the emperor, it was yet thought expedient to depute some person to Khodawund Khaun, that Ameir of Gûjerat who had recently joined the cause of the Moghûls, in order to enquire whether he considered there still remained any uncertainty as to the issue of that day's battle. He replied, that if that leprous slave, alluding to Emmaud-ul-mûlk, who was probably a Circassian, and opprobriously thus termed from his fair complexion, was himself present in the action, the conflict was at an end—if not, it seemed advisable that the work of slaughter should be continued for some time longer. All doubt was, however, soon afterwards removed by the report of a wounded soldier, who had laid himself among the slain; and who now declared that Emmaud-ul-mûlk in person had actually commanded in the battle.

On the succeeding day, the imperial army prosecuted its march, Mirza Asskery preceding, as formerly, with a division of troops, as an ad-

vanced guard, until the main body encamped on the noble tank of Kaunkriah. Mirza Asskery then took the liberty of representing to Homayùn, that if the whole army were permitted at once to enter Ahmedabad, the inhabitants would inevitably be exposed to the most serious injury; and a mandate was accordingly issued that some of the imperial Yessawuls, or exempts, should be stationed at each of the gates, with instructions to see that none but those belonging to the vanguard should be suffered to enter the city. Homayûn then fixed his head quarters in the neighborhood of Serkeitch, a spot, at this period, much admired, and probably one of the suburbs of Ahmedabad. Three days afterwards, accompanied by the officers of his court, Homayùn proceeded to view the different quarters of that once noble metropolis of Gújerat; after which, his attention was devoted to arrange a plan for the final government of the province. In pursuance of such arrangements, Ameir Hindû Beg was now invested with the command of a complete division of the army, destined to be employed wherever its presence should be found most necessary. The city of Puttun, anciently Neherwàla, with the territory dependent upon it, was placed under the separate authority of Yadgaur Nausser Mirza. Baroutch, with the emporium of Surat, and the town of Nousaury, was consigned to Kaussem Hûsseyne Sûltan; Kambâeit, or Kambay, and Broudah, were allotted to Doast Beg Eishek Aga; [great master of ceremonies], and Mahmoudabad to Meir Boujekah Bahauder.

A. H. 943. A. D. 1536. Abûl Fazzel.

These arrangements having been accordingly put in train, Homayûn quitted Ahmedabad, directing his march for the maritime city of Deib, or Diu, so often mentioned in the early accounts of modern European conquests in India. But, on reaching the town of Dendûkah, about thirty kôsse on that side of Ahmedabad, dispatches were delivered to him, which imperiously required his attention in another quarter; and, for the present at least, terminated his designs against Sûltan Bahauder. In short, it was announced to him from Agrah, that in consequence of his protracted absence from the seat of government, the usual symptoms of insubordination began to display themselves among the turbulent and disaffected borderers; and from Malwah, he learnt at the same time, that Mehter Zembour, the imperial jaguirdaur, or grand feudatory, of Hindia, on the Nerbudda, had been attacked by Sekun-

A. H. 943. A. D. 1536. Abûl Fazzel.

der Khaun, and Mellou Khaun, both in insurrection, and compelled to retire with his property into Oujein, whither the whole of the troops in that quarter had also withdrawn for protection. In that city they had been invested by the revolters in great force; and Derwaish Ally Ketabdaur—librarian—the military governor of the place, having been killed by a musquet shot, the garrison had finally demanded to capitulate. Under all these circumstances, a resolution was adopted to return without delay into Malwah, leaving Gûjerat in charge of Mirza Asskery, and to fix the seat of authority for some time at Mandou—as a point from which it would not be difficult at once to put down the rebellion in Malwah, to secure the subjugation of the newly acquired province of Gûjerat, and to keep in check that spirit of treason and disaffection, which had alarmed the capital of the empire.

With these objects in view, Homayûn proceeded suddenly to the left towards Kambay, and from thence, successively to Broudah, Barouch, and Surat; after which, he continued his march for Bûrhampour, and having remained at that place for seven days, he resumed his journey, and leaving the fortress of Asseir on the one side, finally reached Mandou without accident. The very rumour of his approach produced an immediate dispersion of those tumultuous and illgoverned associations that had risen in defiance of his authority; and as he found his constitution to accommodate itself with singular felicity to the province, the greater part of his household were immediately provided with jagueirs, or possessions in fee, in Malwah, and every thing seemed disposed by his bounty, to ensure enjoyment, peace, and prosperity, to all around.

In order to prepare us for what is to follow, our author, in the moralizing strain in which he occasionally delights to indulge, proceeds to remark, that the man, be his station however exalted, who returns with ingratitude the bounties of a generous benefactor, will, in the issue, invariably ever find that he has dug the pit for his own destruction—has stricken the hatchet into his own foot; and in support of the observation, we are immediately referred to the wretched malversation exemplified in the conduct of Mirza Asskery, and the officers selected by Homayûn, to superintend, under him, the government of Gûjerat. For, after the enjoyment of a very fleeting and unsubstantial period of

prosperity, and with a fatuity which could no where exist but in the most wretched narrowness of spirit, these personages could not be prevented from engaging in mutual hostility; and, by thus throwing the affairs of the country into confusion, from affording to the enemies of the state that opportunity for which, it must have been notorious, that they were ever on the watch. In consequence of these dissentions, at the expiration of about three months after the imagined settlement of the government, Khaun-e-jahaun the Shirauzian, and Roumy Khaun, the same, no doubt, as we have already noticed to have been the founder of Surat castle, associating together, found means in the first place to take possession of Nousaury; which was held by an officer of the name of Abdullah Khaun, under the authority of his kinsman Kaussem Hûsseyne Sûltan the Ouzbek, and which he abandoned without resistance, retiring immediately to Baroutch. With equal facility, Khaun-e-jahaun and his associate obtained possession of Surat; from whence they proceeded, the former by land, and Roumy Khaun, with an equipment of artillery, by sea, to lay siege to Baroutch. Seized with the same disgraceful panic, Kaussem Hússeyne also quitted that place, making the best of his way, first to Tchampaneir, and afterwards to Ahmedabad; in order, as he pretended, to demand the aid of Mirza Asskery and Hindû Beg, the latter, as we have already mentioned, at the head of the troops expressly destined for the general defence of the province.

A.H. 943. A. D. 1536. Abûl Fazzel.

About the same conjuncture, Seyud Eshauck, who had received from Sûltan Bahauder, the title of Shetaub Khaun [celer] made himself master of Kambay; while, in obedience to a summons from Mirza Asskery, Yadgaur Nausser Mirza left Puttun to its fate, and repaired to Ahmedabad. Encouraged by the same appearances of disunion and defect of co-operation, Derrya Khaun, and Mohaufez Khaun, two commanders from the garrison of Râeisein, notwithstanding former professions, now presented themselves to Sûltan Bahauder; and, finding that Puttun was thus left destitute of defence, hastened from Diu soon afterwards, and took possession of that ancient city without opposition. Such, in short, was the deplorable mis-management and want of concert among the Moghûl officers, at the crisis under consideration, in their recent conquests in Gûjerat, that Ghuzzen-fer, one of the retainers in the immediate service of Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, actually deserted

A. H. 943. A. D. 1536. Abûl Fazzel.

his colours, and with three hundred horse in his train went over to Sûltan Bahauder; whom, by every argument he could employ, he stimulated to undertake the recovery of his kingdom.

The numerous applications which were continually arriving from his adherents in Gûjerat, on the same subject, finally determined the Sûltan on making the attempt, and he accordingly proceeded towards Ahmedabad; in the neighborhood of which, at the suburban village of Serkeitch, formerly mentioned, he soon afterwards encamped in considerable force. The Mirzas Asskery and Yadgaur Nausser, with the Ameirs Hindû Beg, and Kaussem Hûsseyne Khaun, at the head of little less than twenty thousand horse, drew out with apparent resolution, and took post in front of the Sûltan; with whom, for three days and as many nights, they supported some very warm and vigorous skirmishes. Being, however, little animated by a just spirit of zeal for the cause of their sovereign, they finally adopted the pusillanimous and fatal resolution of abandoning the capital of Gûjerat, without risking the issue of a general action; and in this determination, immediately commenced their retreat towards Tchampaneir. Sûltan Bahauder, who already considered himself engaged in a most perilous undertaking, was beyond measure rejoiced to find himself so unexpectedly relieved from his apprehensions, and boldly proceeded in pursuit of the enemy, Seyud Mûbaurek the Bokhârian conducting the advanced guard of his troops. This officer very soon came up with the rear of the Moghûls under Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, by whom he appears to have been resolutely attacked, and repulsed with considerable loss; but, as that prince received a wound in his arm, he considered it prudent to continue his retreat after the main body, which he accordingly rejoined without further molestation—the enemy stopping short, as it would appear, at the town of Mahmoudabad. Totally regardless, however, of every consideration of fame and duty, Mirza Asskery, whose heart had now descended to his heels, proceeded to cross the Mehandery which was in his front, with the most shameful precipitation; many of his troops perishing in the stream through the hurry and confusion of his disorderly retreat. Sûltan Bahauder appeared, indeed, shortly afterwards, on the banks of the same river.

Arriving in this disgraceful plight under the walls of Tchampaneir,

the Mirzas and their followers were suitably entertained in the vicinity of that place, by Tereddy Beg Khaun the governor; who conceived, that after fulfilling to the utmost of his means the claims of hospitality, it would be no more than prudent to return at night to his post within the fortifications. On the day following, he received from the princes a specious message, representing the extreme distress to which they were reduced, together with the whole of the troops under their orders, and requesting that, for their relief, he would spare them a part of the public treasure which was known to be in the fort. With this they said that they would be enabled, by a moderate distribution, to recruit the strength, and restore the spirit of the army; and thus return, with confidence reassured, to oppose the further progress of Sûltan Bahauder. They added that they were thus urgent in their application, because it would not be possible for the express which they either had sent, or were about to dispatch to Mandou, to reach the imperial head quarters at that place and return again, probably, under a period of six days. To this request, however, Tereddy Beg returned a direct negative; and the Mirzas forthwith determined on a plan to seize his person, and thus obtain possession of the whole, instead of a part, of the treasure which had been committed to his care. After which, a resolution was further adopted to raise Mirza Asskery to the sovereignty of Gûjerat; in which, if they could succeed, by finally subverting the power of Sûltan Bahauder, all would be well again. Otherwise, since it appeared that Homayûn continued so delighted with the climate of Malwah, and that the precincts of the metropolis of Agrah were left without defence, nothing could prevent their proceeding in the last extremity, to secure an establishment in that quarter.

A. H. 943.
A. D. 1536.
Abûl Fazzel.

In the mean time, little suspecting the design in agitation, Tereddy Beg was coming down from the fort on a visit of respect to the Mirzas, and had descended part of the way when, fortunately for himself, he became apprized of his danger; and, suddenly returning to his quarters, he from thence dispatched a message to the plotting chiefs, announcing to them that he should consider their remaining in his vicinity for a single day longer, as equally unwarrantable on their part, and incompatible with the safety of the post entrusted to his charge. To this the Mirzas acquainted him in reply, that they were in reality about to de-

A. H. 943.
A. D. 1536.
Abûl Fazzel.

part; but having something of great importance to communicate, that they were anxious to hold a previous conference with him. Being, however, now sufficiently aware of their object, he conveyed a suitable answer, and the very next morning opened a canonade on their encampment, which they were accordingly compelled to break up with some precipitation. Without further deliberation, their march was upon this directed, by the route of Gauht-Kerjy, or Gauht-Guertchy, immediately towards Agrah.

While the Moghûl troops, who had thus shamefully abandoned the fruit of their victories, continued in the neighborhood of Tchampaneir, Sûltan Bahauder did not conceive it prudent to cross the Mehandery; which, in this point, is described to lie at the distance of fifteen kôsse, or about thirty miles, to the west-ward of that mountain-fortress. But the moment he understood that the Mirzas were actually on their march towards Agrah, and became otherwise in some degree apprized of the visionary schemes which they had in contemplation, he passed that river without further delay, and appeared soon afterwards, in great force, under the walls of Tchampaneir. In these circumstances, notwithstanding the natural strength of the place, and the abundance of his resources both for subsistance and defence, Tereddy Beg also, regarding only what concerned his personal safety, thought fit to abandon his important charge; and withdrawing directly to Mandou, there explained at large to Homayûn, what he had been able to discover of the treasonable and disloyal designs of his unworthy relatives. With a view to anticipate, if possible, that part of their design which had Agrah for its object, Homayûn proceeded by forced marches, in the straightest course for Cheitour; and, by a singular piece of good fortune, which did full justice on this occasion to his conceptions, actually fell in with this body of malcontents in the neighborhood of that place. Here, making a virtue of necessity, the misguided Mirzas sought the presence of their imperial and much offended relative; and, contrary to any thing that they had a right to expect, they experienced a very gracious reception; all their guilty plans were consigned to oblivion; and they were once more loaded with the bounties of a too generous and indulgent monarch. But there unhappily existed other causes of an untoward nature, which rendered the return of Homayûn to the capital of the empire, at this period, indispensably necessary.

A. H. 943. A. D. 1536. Abûl Fazzel.

Although the seditious and turbulent projects of Mahommed Zemmaun Mirza had been, for the moment, effectually suppressed, as related in a former page, yet the persons employed, in obedience to the royal mandate to deprive him of sight, had, it seems, performed the operation with such culpable negligence, that his visual organs were suffered to escape without the smallest injury; and the same refractory and turbulent spirit, both in himself and in his son Olûgh Mirza, was destined to break out again with fresh violence, about the crisis under consideration. The continued absence of Homayûn from his capital was, indeed, an opportunity of which they could not forbear to avail themselves; and they accordingly proceeded once more, in a certain Purgunnah, or district, called Balegram, or Belegrem, to take up arms against his authority: after which, advancing to Kanouje, by granting some sort of capitulation to the sons of Khossrou Koukeltaush, who commanded for Homayûn, they easily obtained immediate possession of that ancient city. To arrest the progress of this usurpation, Mirza Hindal, who presided at Agrah in the absence of his imperial brother, hastened shortly afterwards; and crossing the Ganges at the station of Belegram, just mentioned, brought the insurgents to a battle, in which he is said to have defeated them. But his victory could not have been materially decisive, since they appear to have rallied in a few days, and the reports of Homayûn's return being now very currently circulated, to have risked another action, in which they were again defeated, with perhaps more decided effects; Mirza Hindal conceiving he might be now permitted to repair with the intelligence of his success to the presence of Homayûn, by this time, probably, arrived in the vicinity of his capital.

Not long after it became known, on the other hand, that Homayún was actually on his return towards Agrah, discovering that the fortress of Mandou had been left without any adequate means of defence, Bhoupal Râi, of Beijagurr, appeared before that place, and was there successively joined by Kàder Shah, and Meiran Mahommed Farouky, from Bûrhanpour. In the mean time, after remaining at Tchampaneir for a period of about fourteen days, Sûltan Bahauder, yielding to some sudden and irresistible impulse, took his departure for Diu. For when his good fortune seemed to have forsaken him in the early stages of

A. H. 943. A. D. 1536. Abûl Fazzel.

his contest against the superior ascendancy of the house of Teymûr, the very means by which he sought to provide against disaster, served in the event to complete his destruction. But to be more explicit, we are informed that in the midst of his terrors at the victorious progress of the Moghûls, the Sûltan had formerly ventured to dispatch a deputation, furnished with suitable presents, in order to solicit the aid of the Portûguese viceroy, or captain general of the possessions of that nation, on the western side of India; requesting at the same time, that he would come in person to his assistance. When, on the expulsion of Mirza Asskery and his subordinate officers from Gûjerat, in the shameful manner just described, Sûltan Bahauder repaired once more to Diu, he found the Portuguese commander accordingly arrived at that place, with a considerable body of troops and a very powerful naval armament. Apprized, indeed, of the recent change in affairs, the European chief was easily led to suspect, that finding himself secure of the required aid, or, peradventure, that he was no longer in need of it, the Sûltan, when called upon to fulfil his part of the engagements between them, might be induced to practice some evasion. He, therefore, sent a formal message to the Sûltan to acquaint him that, in compliance with his request, he had brought himself thus far to his assistance; and that as soon as he should be a little recovered from a fit of illness, by which he was at present confined to his ship, he would not fail to repair to his presence.

At once abandoning that prudent circumspection in which he was otherwise by no means deficient, Sûltan Bahauder put himself on board a galley, in order to anticipate the visit of the Portuguese general; but, he had no sooner reached the admiral's vessel, than he became convinced of the imposture, and he instantly sought, by endeavoring to make for the shore, to retrieve his error. It was however too late. The Portuguese were too keen-sighted towards the interests of their nation not to perceive that, having so valuable a pledge in their hands, it would be by no means incompatible with the views of good policy, before they permitted him to depart, to obtain from the Sûltan the cession of certain ports in Gûjerat, which would be most essential to the security of their possessions in that part of the world. The viceroy, therefore, stepped before him, and affected to intreat one moment's delay—not

longer than was necessary for the selection of some curiosity that might be worthy of his acceptance as a mark of his profound respect; but the Sûltan, desiring that the present might be sent after him, persisted in making for the ship's side. At this moment, the Portuguese Kauzy, chancellor, secretary, or fiscal perhaps, interposed, and peremptorily forbid his departure; on which, in a paroxysm of indignation, the Sûltan drew his scimitar, and instantly clove him in twain. Through this remarkable act of determined resolution, by which the by-standers were probably electrified, he succeeded in forcing his way to his own galley. The Portuguese armed vessels, however, which had hitherto lain at some distance, now closing upon him from all sides, an unequal conflict ensued; in the course of which, perceiving no other chance of escape, the Sûltan and Roumy Khaun, both together threw themselves into the sea. Roumy Khaun, doubtless the same officer whom we have already noticed in a former page, was fortunate enough to be taken up by some of those to whom he happened to be known among the Portuguese squadron; but the Sûltan sunk to rise no more. This singular event is recorded to have taken place on the third day of Ramzaun, of the nine hundred and forty third of the hidjerah;* a date which is accurately preserved in the Persian characters comprized in the sentence, "Ferengnian Bahauder kosh"—Portuguese, butchers of the hero—Bahauder. It may, however, have occurred either on the third, the twentieth, or even the thirtieth of Ramzaun; the first of which would correspond, as we have noted, with the twelfth of February—the second with the first, and the last with the tenth day, of March A. D. 1537.

There were, however, others who yet maintained that Sûltan Bahauder reached the shore in safety; since there prevailed repeated rumours of his having been subsequently recognized, both in Gûjerat, and in the Dekkan. In the latter country in particular, among some persons exercising themselves at the game of Tchougan, or horse goff, Nizam-ul-mûlk is said to have discovered one whom he actually acknowledged as Sûltan Bahauder, and whom he therefore caused to be honorably accommodated in one of his own tents; but observing also that he

* The 12th of February, 1537. It would be curious to compare this statement with what may appear on the records of the Portuguese government; for such a fact could not have occurred without particular notice.

A. H. 943.
A. D. 1536-1537.
Abûl Fazzel.

attracted the notice, perhaps the compassion of the multitude, his jealousy became excited, and that very night the stranger disappeared; the people not hesitating to attach to Nizam-ul-mûlk himself the suspicion of having perfidiously made away with the unhappy wanderer. In confirmation of his identity, it is further stated on the authority of Meir Abûturaub, a person of the highest consideration among the inhabitants of Gùjerat, that Moulla Kûtb-ud-dein a Shirauzian, who had been the Sûltan's preceptor, was present in the Dekkan, and on the spot when the discovery occurred which we have just had occasion to notice, and subsequently attested most solemnly, that the person so discovered was actually no other than Sûltan Bahauder himself; for that, at a private interview, he had absolutely related to the minutest particular, circumstances long past which had taken place between themselves, and could not possibly be known to any other human being. Neither, concludes our author, is such an occurrence incompatible with the operations of God's providence, although it might appear unaccountable to the grossness of human comprehension; and, we may add, that the circumstance is by no means without example in the history of human events, although we cannot comprehend, if the Sûltan did actually escape, why he should have avoided making himself known the moment he reached the shore, unless indeed he remained alive in the hands of the Portuguese.

But, to proceed with the narrative; after the unfortunate Sûltan Bâhauder had been thus, according to the general belief, buried in the deep, Mahommed Zemmaun Mirza, of the race of Teymûr, who had obtained an asylum in Gûjerat, immediately clad himself in blue, under the pretence of mourning for the Sûltan; and having prevailed upon the mother of the departed prince to adopt him for her son, proceeded, without further ceremony, to appropriate to his own views a great part of the public treasure of the kingdom. A considerable share fell, however, by some means or other, into the hands of the Portuguese, and some was given up to plunder. At the same time, while Mahommed Zemaun publicly affected to demand from the Portuguese government, reparation for the murder of the Sûltan, he privately conveyed to that government enormous sums of money; for the purpose of purchasing their influence, in order to secure his nomination in the Khotbah. In

this he finally succeeded, the said royal formulary being, for some days at least, pronounced in his name in the Seffa mosque, some where in this vicinity; and he was accordingly permitted, for a short time, to indulge in his wretched propensities for licentious debauchery; but not longer than Emmaud-ul-mùlk could appear against him at the head of an army, when he could pusillanimously submit to fly the country. Subsequent to this he repaired, covered with shame and loss, to the presence of Homayún; as will be again noticed in its proper place. A.H. 943. A.D 1537. Abûl Fazzel.

In the mean time, having dispatched these necessary illustrations, the author resumes with becoming zeal the main and original subject of his narration, to describe that HOMAYUN no sooner reached his capital of Agrah, than the insolent and rebellious chiefs in that quarter, who had risen during his absence against the imperial authority, in general, returned to their allegiance; rejoicing in the means of pardon and protection afforded them, through the ready payment of every species of contribution, which they were required to make good, without delay, to the imperial exchequer. The whole of Homayùn's dominions are now represented to have enjoyed, for a short time at least, a state of profound peace and security—the frequent, if not the ordinary prelude to some dreadful convulsion.

## CHAP. XIII.

A. H. 943.
A D. 1537.
Abûl Fazzel.

MUCH, however, as he might have been satisfied with the internal repose of his hereditary states, Homayûn appears to have been ill at rest with regard to his designs against the neighboring powers; for he had no sooner brought his own refractory vassals to a sense of their duty, than his attention became earnestly devoted to prepare for another expedition, in order to resume his conquests in the opulent province of Gûjerat, and to place them in the hands of men better qualified for the functions of government, than those by whom they had been so pusillanimously, or perfidiously, abandoned. But while in the crisis of his preparations, he was very seasonably interrupted by intelligence that Sheir Khaun, the celebrated Afghan, was again in arms against his authority, in the provinces to the east-ward. This circumstance revived, almost in spite of himself, the design which, previous to his recent views on Gûjerat, was in some degree of forwardness; namely, that of proceeding to the reduction of Bengal. To that object, therefore, all his previous preparations were now ordered to be applied; and it was finally determined to comprehend in the same plan, the expulsion of the ambitious Afghan, and the subjugation of the valuable territory on the lower Ganges. And here, in the terms in which it is given by Abûl Fazzel, we shall endeavor to condense the early history of this able, warlike, and most successful adventurer.

Sheir Khaun then, whose original name was Fereid, appears to have been the son of Hussun, the son of Ibrauhim Sherakhil, of the tribe of Sour; a branch of those Afghans who inhabit some of the fertile vallies, [Hazaurahs] between the confines of India and the territories of the Persian Empire.* This Ibrauhim pursued the humble occupation of

* According to Ferishtah, the proper country of the Afghans is called Rouh, and extends along the Indus downwards, from Suwaud and Beijour, to Sehwy, dependent on Bukkur, and from Hussun Abdal to Kabûl, east and west. Subsequent to the introduction of Isslaum, having settled at Patnah on the Ganges, they gradually acquired the appellation of Patans.

a dealer in horses, and generally resided at a place called Shumlah, one of the dependencies on Narnoul. His son Hussun, on arriving at the age of discretion, forsook the employment of his father and devoted himself to the profession of a soldier; in which capacity he was long engaged in the service of Râi Mul, the grandfather of Râi Saul, at the period in which our author wrote, among the retainers of the Emperor Akbar. Removing afterwards to the town of Jounah, subordinate to Sahsaram, he was received into the service of Nusseir Khaun Lohauny, an Ameir belonging to the court of Sûltan Sekunder Lôdy. Here, through his great activity and experience in affairs, he soon distinguished himself beyond his equals; and passing, on the death of Nusseir Khaun, into the employ of his brother Doulut Khaun Lohauny, and, subsequently, into that of the other feodatory chiefs attached to the authority of Sûltan Sekunder, his fortune gradually advanced, and every thing seemed to prosper with surprising uniformity under his management.

A. H. 943.
A. D 1537.
Abûl Fazzel.

His son Fereid, however, the subject of our narrative, being of a very headstrong and vicious disposition, provoked his father's displeasure, and deserted him to engage in the service of Sûltan Jenneid Berlas. Happening one day, together with two other Afghans, to be introduced in the train of his general to the presence of the Emperor Bâber, that discerning monarch no sooner cast his eye upon him, than he observed to Sûltan Jenneid, that the countenance of this Afghan, pointing to Fereid, exhibited something so singularly indicative of a disposition to engage in plans of turbulence and sedition, that he could not avoid cautioning him to secure his person without delay; at the same time, recommending the two other Afghans to his protection, as worthy of encouragement. From the manner in which the emperor eyed him, suspecting that all was not safe, Fereid, before his general had time to commit him to the custody of his guards, seized the opportunity to abscond. Just at this crisis, his father Hússun died, and he became, by some means or other, possessed of the family property; after which, taking up his abode not far from Sahsaram, in the forest of Jounah, which is described as a district belonging to Rohtass on the Saone, he there devoted himself without restraint, to every species of robbery, and outrage, against the unoffending inhabitants of the neighboring terri-

A. H. 943. A. D. 1537. Abûl Fazzel.

tory. In a short time he thus contrived to advance himself to a degree of power far beyond any contemporary chief of his age and country; not less through his singular sagacity, and address, than through the most faithless and unprincipled proceedings. Of this latter complexion was his conduct towards the unfortunate Sûltan Bahauder, by whom a large sum of money was remitted to him, on the express stipulation that he was to march in person to his immediate assistance. Instead, however, of performing his engagement, he contented himself with dispatching to the Sùltan some paltry apology to excuse his breach of promise, and kept the money to promote his own unhallowed views of aggrandizement. On the other hand, he persevered in his career of spoliation and outrage against the surrounding towns and villages, with such unwearied pertinacity and success, that he soon found himself at the head of a very considerable body of troops, composed, however, of the most licentious and disorderly profligates, thus brought together, by the hope of unrestrained plunder and robbery, from every part of an ill-governed country.*

While his affairs were in this successful train, the governor of Bahar, an Ameir of the Lohauny tribe of Afghans, happened to demise; leaving no person on the spot qualified to take charge of the province in his room. Sheir Khaun, and his banditti, did not permit the opportunity to escape them. They suddenly entered the country, and possessed themselves of an incalculable booty, with which they returned in perfect security to their ordinary haunts. Not long afterwards he made an unexpected attack upon Olûgh Mirza, who happened to be placed within his reach, and, by his superior address, succeeded in obtaining a complete victory over that chief. On his return from this last undertaking he plundered Banares; and his resources both in men and money having now prodigiously accumulated, he proceeded to take possession of Patnah, and the whole of the adjoining territory. At Sourudj-gurr, which is the boundary of Bengal in this quarter, he engaged and defeated the troops of the ruler of that province; in consequence of which, he established himself also in possession of a considerable part of the

* We must, nevertheless, here observe that the history of Sheir Khaun is given by Ferishtah, in terms infinitely more favorable to the renown of the illustrious Afghan; and it is very probable, that Abûl Fazzel may have been too powerfully influenced in his account, by his partiality for the house of *Teymûr*.

country in that direction. This produced, however, an arduous war with Nusseib Shah the sovereign of Bengal, which continued with various success for the period of a twelvemonth; great part of which was, however, taken up with the siege of *Gour*, the ancient capital of the province. A.H. 948. A.D 1537. Abûl Fazzel.

Among the extraordinary circumstances furnished in the story of this successful adventurer, we are here told that becoming apprized that there lived in the service of the Râjah of Oudessiah, or Orissa, at the time, an astrologer of singular skill in his profession, he sent to invite him to his camp, in order to consult him as to the issue of those ambitious designs on which, doubtless at this period, his attention must have been deeply and awfully engaged. The Râjah would not, it seems, permit his astrologer to comply with the invitation; but the latter contrived, nevertheless, to announce to Sheir Khaun by letter, that for the period of a twelvemonth, he would not be able to accomplish his views on Bengal. At the expiration of that period, however, the date of which he expressly indicated, his efforts would be crowned with success, adding, moreover, that the event would be attended by a very singular phenomenon; for on the very day of its accomplishment, the majestic stream of the Ganges would be fordable for the space of one hour. All which came to pass precisely as had been foretold by the astrologer. And it was at this stage of the history of Sheir Khaun, that the absence of Homayûn on his distant expeditions into Gûjerat and Malwah, afforded to the Afghan that opportunity for the extension of his aspiring views, of which he did not neglect to avail himself.

The attention of Homayún having, at all events, been seriously attracted towards the provinces to the east-ward, by the alarming progress of this enterprising chief, and a resolution having been finally adopted to employ his resources in that direction, he hastened to make the necessary arrangements for the security of the capital, previous to his departure. Among these we find that the government of Dehly was allotted to Meir Fakeir Ally, a person who had been employed in appointments of distinguished trust under his father; while that of Agrah was conferred upon Meir Mahommed Bukhshy, an officer in his own particular confidence. Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, his uncle's son, was destined to remain in charge of Kalpy, the territory of which had been

A. H. 943-945.
A. D. 1537-1538
Abûl Fazzel.

consigned to him in jagueir; Kanouje and his possessions in that quarter were allotted to the care of Nour-ud-dein Mahommed Mirza, the husband of Gûlrung Begum the sister of Homayûn, and father of Seleimah Sûltan Begum, one of the wives of Akbar. These preliminaries dispatched, Homayûn finally quitted Agrah at the head of his troops, part proceeding by water, and part by land; the Emperor himself occasionally embarking on the river *Jumna*, and at other times mounting his horse and taking his course through the adjoining territory along the banks. He was accompanied, it may be worthy of remark, on this occasion, by both his brothers Asskery and Hindal Mirzas, and by the commanders whose names are here subjoined. Ibrauhim Beg Tchabouk, Jahangueir Kûly Beg, Khossrou Beg Koukeltaush, Tereddy Beg Khaun, Kouje Beg, Tereddy, or perhaps Beirdy, Beg Etawah, *Beyram Khaun*, Kaussem Hûsseyne Khaun the Ouzbek, Boujek Beg, Zauhed Beg, Doust Beg, Beg Meirek, Hadjy Mahommed Bâba Kushkah, Yakoub Beg, Nihaul Beg, Roushen Beg, Moghûly Beg; and many other chiefs of distinguished reputation, who will hereafter appear to have borne a part in the expedition, although it may not have been found expedient to notice them in this place.

When the army had thus descended to the vicinity of Tchunaudah, or Chunâr, where Sheir Khaun had, at present, established his head quarters, Mahommed Zemmaun Mirza, who, on his expulsion from Gûjerat, had obtained, through the intercession of Maussûmah Sûltan Begum his wife, the sister of Homayún, a promise of pardon, was permitted after some humiliating formalities to approach the royal presence, and once more restored to favor. Sheir Khaun, on the other hand, when the actual approach of the Moghûls became known to him, after having provided amply for the defence of Chunâr, and consigned it to the command of his son Kûttûb Khaun, with a competent garrison, prudently quitted that fortress, and withdrew into Bengal; of which he was now it seems, in complete possession, together with incalculable riches. Shortly afterwards Homayûn encamped before Chunâr, of which it was, immediately determined to undertake the reduction.

Roumy Khaun, whose character has been already under notice, having quitted the service of Sûltan Bahauder, after the fatal dispersion at Mundsour, held at this period the post of Meir Autesh, or master of

ordnance, in that of Homayûn; and to him, from his acknowledged skill in the attack of fortified places, was entrusted the superintendance of the siege. In a shorter space of time than might have been expected, this able officer, on a bridge of boats which he threw across the Ganges for the purpose, completed a covered gallery of planks, so admirably constructed as to confirm, in an eminent degree, the opinion which had been conceived of his superior skill; for, by means of this gallery, he contrived to approach the walls of the place in such security, that a great part of them was mined, and blown up, with a rapidity which surpassed all calculation. In consequence of this, Kûttûb Khaun, the governor, made his escape, leaving his garrison, to the number of two thousand men, to capitulate for their lives. The fortress was now surrendered to the officers of Homayún; and that monarch, in conformity with the pledge which had been given through the intercession of Roumy Khaun, seemed disposed to liberate the garrison with impunity: but, Mûeyud Beg Douldy, who had equal access to the royal presence, under the sanction of a pretended order from the emperor, caused the whole, without exception, immediately to lose their hands. For this foul blot brought upon the imperial clemency, he escaped with a severe reprimand from Homayûn; while Roumy Khaun, together with the government of Chunàr, which was conferred upon him as the present reward of his services during the siege, received the most honorable and distinguished proofs of imperial favor. He fell, however, not long afterwards, a victim to the jealousy of rival courtiers; and was removed from the scene by a dose of poison.

A. H. 943-945.
A. D. 1537-1538.
Abûl Faz...

The success which attended his exertions in the reduction of Chunàr, encouraged Homayûn to proceed without delay in his designs against the Bengal territory; and Nusseib Shah, the prince of that country, who had recently arrived in his camp severely wounded, and grievously complaining of the injuries which he had sustained from the unjust violence of the Afghan, did not a little contribute to confirm him in his resolution. In the mean time, he conferred the government of Jounpour upon Ameir Hindú Beg, one of his most distinguished nobles, and Beg Meirek, another experienced commander, was selected to take charge of the important station of Chunàr. The imperial army was then put in motion, proceeding, as before, partly by water, and

A. H. 943 945.
A. D. 1537-1538.
Abûl Fazzel.

partly by land, down to Patnah. Here, some of the nobles most sincerely attached to the interests of their sovereign, ventured to represent to Homayûn, that as the rainy season was actually arrived, it would be advisable to postpone the further prosecution of the design against Bengal, until the return of dry weather; since the country was known to be extremely unfavorable, if not totally impracticable, for the operations of cavalry, during the monsoon. Nusseib Shah, however, whose judgment may be allowed to have been in no slight degree influenced by the desire of speedy vengeance, unfortunately prevailed to the contrary; employing the argument not less specious than solid, that the sooner the Afghan was assailed in his usurpation, the less difficult it would prove to dispossess him. In compliance, therefore, with the importunities of this provoked and injured man, the troops were directed to continue their march.

At Bhaugulpour, it had been determined to separate the army into two columns, Mirza Hindal, with about six thousand men, being here detached across the Ganges, with instructions to proceed along the opposite, or left bank, of the river. On his arrival at Mongueir, however, information was communicated to Homayûn, that Jullaul Khaun, the son of Sheir Khaun, who, subsequent to the death of his father, assumed the title of Isslaum, or Seleim Khaun, with Khowauss Khaun, Peir-e-Mereid, Sermust Shaun, Heybet Khaun Niauzy, Pahaur Khaun, and other Afghan officers, at the head of fifteen thousand men, had taken post at the town of Gahdy, or Guhrry, which was considered the gate, or key of Bengal, on that side, and seemed determined to maintain it against all attack.

To comprehend the subject more clearly, it may be necessary to explain that, on assuring himself of the actual approach of Homayûn, far from entertaining any design of directly opposing his march, Sheir Khaun had resolved to withdraw into the hilly region of Tchaharkund, in order, when the Moghûls should have entered Bengal, to return by that route into Bahar; where he would not only be able to find a place of security for the spoil accumulated during his recent expeditions, but to produce sufficient disturbance, and alarm, in the rear of the imperial army. He therefore left Jullaul Khaun, and the troops under his orders, in the neighborhood of Guhrry; with instructions, when the Mo-

ghûls should have approached within a certain distance, and it should be announced that he himself had reached the station of Sheirpour, to make the best of their way to join him at that station, without, on any consideration, exposing themselves to the risk of a conflict with the imperialists. A. H. 945. A. D. 1538. Abûl Fazzel.

Homayûn having, however, advanced a body of nearly six thousand men, from Bhaugulpour, under Ibrauhim Beg Tchabouk, Jahangueir Kûly Beg, Beyram Beg, and other commanders, and these troops having, shortly afterwards, approached Guhrry, Jullaul Khaun, in total disregard of his father's instructions, suddenly attacked them in their camp, with his whole force; and coming upon them, at the same time, with superior numbers and all the advantages of surprise, he appears to have defeated them with the loss of several officers of distinction, notwithstanding the most gallant exertions on the part of Beyram Khaun, who repeatedly rallied the Moghûls, and broke through the squadrons of the enemy. This check is expressly ascribed to the absence of timely support, and to the defect of concert among the imperial generals. But the result was no sooner made known to Homayûn, than he hastened in person to repair the mischief, although exposed to considerable danger from the sinking of the yacht which conveyed him, near the village of Gohlgaum. The Afghan troops appear to have now withdrawn without awaiting his approach, leaving the Moghûl monarch to prosecute his designs in this quarter, without interruption. The districts of Tirhut and Puhrniah had, at his own request, been allotted to Mirza Hindal, and that prince was at this crisis dismissed to arrange the affairs of his new jagueir; with instructions, at the proper period, to enter the province of Bengal from that side. In the mean time, Homayûn continued to advance into the country, without further resistance; and thus, in the course of the nine hundred and forty fifth of the hidjerah,* was that productive and fertile province added to the dominions of the house of Teymûr.

On the other hand, Sheir Khaun and his Afghans, carrying with them the best part of the treasures of the country, drew off through the territory of Tchaharkund, and arrived without accident in the neighborhood of Rohtass; of which impregnable fortress this enterprising adven-

* Commencing 29th of May, A. D. 1538.

A. H. 945. A D. 1538 Abûl Fazzel.

turer contrived to obtain possession by the following stratagem—if stratagem that may be called, which originated in the blackest perfidy. Immediately on his arrival, he dispatched a message to Rajah Chintaman, a Brahmen, the independent governor of the fort, in which, after reminding him of numerous favors formerly bestowed, he gave him to understand that the hour of arduous emergency had at last overtaken him; and that he should venture to claim at his hands, what ought never to be denied by the generous to the distressed, an asylum in Rohtass for the women and children of himself and his warlike followers; a piece of service by which he would command his eternal friendship. By these and a thousand other flattering professions, the simple and unsuspecting Râjah permitted himself to be at last imposed upon; and his artful deceiver proceeded without delay to carry his perfidious plan into execution. Having provided for the purpose six hundred covered doulies, a species of litter well known in the east, he secretly placed in each of these, two armed soldiers, and sent them thus concealed, with the female attendants running as usual beside the litters, for admission into the fort. As had been agreed upon, they were introduced without suspicion, and having rendered themselves masters of the place without much difficulty, an impregnable asylum was thus finally secured for the families of the designing Afghan and his followers, which encouraged him without disquiet, to prosecute his views of more extensive usurpation. But the object to which his attention was earliest directed, was to cut off all communication between the troops in Bengal, and their resources in Hindûstaun; which he found it not difficult to accomplish, by sending out detachments to seize the outlets through Bahar.

While Sheir Khaun thus contrived to establish an admirable basis for the support of his operations, Homayùn and his troops, equally delighted and intoxicated with the luxurious amœnities of Bengal,* seem to have forgotten all other objects in the gratification of their voluptuous propensities. It was at such a period that, uniting with others of a turbulent and ambitious spirit like his own, Mirza Hindal, against the consent of his royal brother, and in the very height of the rainy season, proceeded towards Agrah, which, in defiance of the most urgent intreaties to the contrary, from court, he reached in a short time afterwards. There

* Like Hannibal and his Carthaginians at Capua.

he immediately entered, in private, on the maturation of those rash and unprincipled schemes, on the sovereign power, that led to the fatal results which now soon followed in rapid succession. The opportunity thus laid open to his view, was not neglected by Sheir Khaun, who appeared immediately before Banares; of which he obtained possession with no great difficulty, putting the governor Meir Fŭzzely to death without ceremony. From thence he proceeded upwards, without delay, towards Jounpour; the government of which, on the death of Ameir Hindû Beg, had recently devolved to Bâba Beg Jullâeir, the father of Shâhum Khaun. Neither did that chief neglect to employ all the means within his reach, in order to strengthen the defences of the place against the attack with which he was immediately threatened.

A. H. 945. A. D 1538. Abûl Fazzel.

At this crisis it happened that Yûssuf Beg the son of Ibrauhim Beg Tchabouk should have been at Jounpour, so far on his way from Oudeh, or Oude, to join the army in Bengal; and it seemed to afford to this young soldier no small amusement to scour the country in different directions, not less for the purpose of procuring intelligence, than of watching for an opportunity to distinguish himself in a conflict with the enemy. Regularly apprized of his proceedings, Sheir Khaun resolved to interrupt them; and making a forced march, accordingly, at the head of two or three thousand horse, rather unexpectedly appeared in his view. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of his followers, on the rashness and inutility of combating against a force so manifestly superior, Yûssuf Beg prepared to engage the Afghans the instant he saw them, and together with many of his party, perished sword in hand in the unequal conflict. On the day following, encouraged by this partial success, the enemy no longer delayed the investiture of Jounpour. The exertions of the loyal governor for the defence of the place continued, however, unabated; and dispatches had been transmitted, at the same time, to demand relief from the Mirzas in Hindûstaun, and to announce his danger to Homayûn.

Alarmed by the reports which assailed him from every quarter, Meir Fakeir Ally the governor of Dehly, hastened from thence to Agrah, where all the arguments he could devise were employed to persuade the misguided Mirza Hindal into a just sense of his duty. And he, at last, succeeded in prevailing upon him to cross to the opposite bank of the

A. H. 945.
A. D. 1538
Abûl Fazzel.

Joun, or Jumna, engaging Mahommed Bukhshy the governor of Agrah, at the same time, to furnish all the assistance in his power, in order to enable the Mirza to proceed without delay to the relief of Jounpour. Fakeir Ally hastened next towards Kalpy, in order to persuade Yadgaur Nausser also of the immediate necessity of assembling the troops of his jagueir, for the purpose of forming a junction with Mirza Hindal, at Korah, or perhaps Kurrah, on the Ganges; from whence he proposed that they should march with united force to raise the siege of Jounpour. Just, however, as matters had been thus far placed in train, Khossrou Beg Koukeltaush, Hadjy Mahommed Bâba Kushkah, Zauhed Beg, and Mirza Nuzzer, with several other chiefs, whom the spirit of turbulence and discontent had led to desert the army in Bengal, suddenly presented themselves to Mirza Nûr-ud-dein Mahommed, who had, as recently observed, been left in the government of Kanouje; and this prince appears to have been easily prevailed upon to write to Mirza Hindal in their behalf, soliciting his intercession with Homayûn for the pardon of these contumacious deserters.

Still actuated by his ambitious and disloyal views, Mirza Hindal immediately dispatched, by an officer in his confidence, to announce to Yadgaur Nausser and Fakeir Ally, in terms which by no means indicated disapprobation, the arrival of these Ameirs; who, on their part, in expectation of his answer, took up their residence at Koul, or Koel, in the Doaub, which was the jaguir, or fee, of Zauhed Beg. The messenger of Mirza Hindal, apprized on his journey of their removal, proceeded immediately to that place, and there he received from these malcontents, an explicit avowal of their pernicious designs. Without the smallest disguise they imformed him, that they no longer acknowledged the authority of Homayùn; and they declared, that if Mirza Hindal, as they were well aware he had it long in contemplation, would at once openly assume the imperial dignity, they were ready to enrol themselves under his standard, and would support him with a perseverance of zeal that should equal, if not surpass, his highest expectations. Otherwise, it was their determination to offer themselves to Mirza Kamraun, in the Punjaub; from whom, at all events, they expressed their confidence of a reception equal to their most sanguine hopes.

Mahommed Ghauzi Toghâi, who was the person entrusted, on this

occasion, with the message from Mirza Hindal, returned immediately to his employer, and apprized him in secret with the result of his interview. He acquainted his master at the same time, that in his judgment he had the choice of two alternatives; either to accede to the proposal of the malcontents, of investing himself with the imperial authority, and to invite them at once to his court—or by such means as could be devised to get these turbulent and refractory rebels into his power, and consign them to the wholesome meditations of a prison. Mirza Hindal, however, whose brain was still itching with the designs of unhallowed ambition, rejoiced in the opportunity of securing to his views, the resources of these disloyal men; and sending for them accordingly, proceeded, by all the blandishments in his power, to conciliate their attachment—being now determined to persevere inflexibly, in the prosecution of his unjust and unnatural designs. A. H. 945. A. D. 1538. Abûl Fazzel.

When, on the other hand, in the midst of his sensual indulgences, Homayûn became apprized of the loss of Banares, of the danger of Jounpour, and the districts in that quarter, and of the hostile proceedings of his ungrateful brother, his first step was to dispatch the Sheikh Behlowul, one of the most respectable of his class among the nations of India, and eminently distinguished in the imperial favor, to Agrah; with instructions to employ the influence of age and experience, in order to dissuade the misguided prince, if not yet too late, from the prosecution of his absurd plans, and to point out to him the immediate and urgent necessity of uniting, heart and hand, in opposing the usurpations, and destroying the formidable power of the Afghans. Thus authorized, the venerable Sheikh appeared, rather unexpectedly, in the neighborhood of the station where Mirza Hindal had, for the present, established his head quarters; and that prince proceeded to receive him with every outward mark of respect and kindness. The prudent and well directed counsels of this venerable personage had, at first, their just weight in bringing the Mirza to relinquish his unjust pretensions, and to resolve, once more, on carrying into execution the object of raising the siege of Jounpour. On the following day, Mahommed Bukhshy the governor of Agrah was sent for, and again required to furnish the necessary supplies in money, cattle, stores, and equipments of every description; all which he engaged to produce to the utmost extent of the demand,

A. H. 945. A. D 1538. Abûl Fazzel.

with the exception, however, of the money, with which he alleged that the treasury was entirely unprovided.

Matters had not, however, proceeded in this train for more than four or five days, when the sudden arrival of Nûr-ud-dein Mahommed from Kanouje, by entering immediately into the views of the discontented Ameirs, contributed afresh to reanimate the hopes, and to revive the unwarrantable plans of the seditious. Accordingly, when Mahommed Ghauzi Toghài, the agent of Mirza Hindal, presented himself again to communicate with the Ameirs so often alluded to, they unanimously recurred to their original opinions; and, as a pledge that his employer had altogether, and unequivocally acceded to their terms, they now demanded, with united voice, that Sheikh Behlowul, the venerable personage already noticed, who had so officiously disconcerted all their measures, should be publicly put to death; which would be to all the world a final proof, that the Mirza had irrevocably abandoned the cause of his royal brother, and enable them, with the greater confidence, to devote themselves to the interests of the new sovereign.

The return of his agent on this occasion, determined Mirza Hindal, in conjunction with Nûr-ud-dein Mahommed, to proceed, without further procrastination, in his inauspicious plans of usurpation. The unfortunate Sheikh Behlowul, who was unsuspectingly engaged in forwarding the equipment of the troops destined for the relief of Jounpour, was now dragged from his abode in the city, and conveyed across the Jumna, to the sands which lie at a short distance from the imperial gardens; where the same Núr-ud-dein Mahommed, acting under the instructions of Mirza Hindal, immediately caused him to lose his head. Shortly afterwards, the malcontent Ameirs came to a personal interview with Mirza Hindal, and, in an evil hour, proceeded to bestow upon him the regalities of the Khotbah and sikkah; although this did not pass without considerable resistance in the bosom of his own family. On the part of his mother, Dildaur Aghâtcheh Begum, in particular, who received him in deep mourning on the occasion, as well as on the part of the other princesses of the imperial family, the most urgent remonstrances were employed, to dissuade him from the prosecution of his rash designs; all which he treated with disdain, alleging that every thing made use of to oppose his wishes, did but fan the flame

within his breast. Mahommed Bukhshy, also, ventured to expostulate with him rather freely, on the unnatural perfidiousness of his conduct, charging him in direct terms, with the murder of the innocent and unoffending Sheikh, and with some species of inconsistency, in sparing a personage so comparatively unworthy of his forbearance as himself. The prince, however, condescended to soothe the resentment of this chief, and finally compelled him to attend his person, in the undertaking for which he shortly afterwards put his troops in motion. A. H. 945. A. D 1538. Abûl Fazzel.

Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, on the other hand, as soon as he became acquainted with these untoward and contumacious proceedings, hastened immediately from Kalpy, and, accompanied by Ameir Fakeir Ally, made the best of his way, by the route of Gwaliar, to the metropolis of Dehly; which he exerted his utmost zeal and activity, to place without delay in the best possible state of defence. Mirza Hindal had reached Hamidpour, in the neighborhood of Feyrouzabad, when he discovered that his design had been anticipated by the diligence of Yadgaur Nausser and his associate; but, on consulting with his Ameirs, he determined, nevertheless, on prosecuting his march towards Dehly; which he accordingly invested a short time afterwards, being further reinforced on his way, by the greater part of the jagueirdaurs, or imperial feudatories, in this quarter. Yadgaur Nausser and his collegue on their part were, however, not the less determined to defend the place to the last extremity, adopting the precaution, at the same time, of sending to Mirza Kamraun, to announce their situation, and to demand his immediate presence; in order, if possible, to extinguish these dangerous commotions. As these proceedings, on the part of his brother Hindal, did not exactly accord with his own views, Mirza Kamraun obeyed the summons without the smallest delay; and it was, indeed, no sooner ascertained that he was arrived, on his march from Lahour, at the town of Sunput, between Pauniput and Dehly, than Mirza Hindal suddenly abandoned the siege, and withdrew towards Agrah.

On approaching the suburbs of Dehly, Mirza Kamraun was met by Fakeir Ally, who prevailed upon him, without entering the town, to continue his march, also, in the direction of Agrah; while the attention of Yadgaur Nasser was employed as before, in providing for the defence and loyalty of the city of Dehly. Far, however, from any in-

A. H. 945. A. D. 1538. Abûl Fazzel.

tention of remaining at Agrah under these circumstances, Mirza Hindal, immediately on the approach of Mirza Kamraun, drew off towards Alwer; but the latter prince, on his arrival at Agrah, making it his most urgent request with his mother, the princess Dildaur Aghâtcheh already mentioned, that she would prevail upon Hindal to return, her maternal influence was so successfully employed, that she brought him at last, with his kummerbund, or girdle, round his throat, that is to say, under circumstances of the most degrading humiliation, to the presence of his brother. Mirza Kamraun, on the day following, received also the submission of the fugitive and rebellious Ameirs, to whom, probably in the name of their offended sovereign, he undertook to extend the pledge of forgiveness. Not long afterwards, the whole proceeded, now together, across the Jown; for the purpose, as they professed, of co-operating, most zealously and cordially, in the measures for defeating the dangerous projects of the enterprising and aspiring Afghan; but, being led into perverted paths by the influence of an untoward and malignant destiny, this was a consummation in which they were never permitted to share.

It has already been shewn that that region of abundance, the rich and fertile kingdom of Bengal had, by a course of events hitherto sufficiently auspicious, been brought to submit, almost without resistance, to the authority of Homayûn; and it now appears that that monarch had fixed his residence in the ancient capital of the country—the great lords of his court being, at the same time, remunerated for their services, by magnificent dotations in jagueir in different parts of the kingdom. Instead, however, of devoting some part of their attention to provide for the security of their newly acquired possessions, the faculties of these pampered plunderers appear to have been entirely absorbed in laying up materials for the indulgence of their sensual, and luxurious propensities. Hence originated that total neglect in every department of government, which afforded, to the restless and turbulent spirits ever on the watch in all countries, an opportunity to spread confusion and alarm; and things were rapidly approaching that point, at which the slumbering mischief, awakening in full strength, must inevitably have produced the most fatal consequences. Intelligence that could be relied upon had not, indeed for a long time, reached the head-quarters of

Homayûn, and such slight intimations of the danger as became known to individuals in attendance on his person, no one was found bold enough to announce to him; the impression on the minds of all being unfortunately of that nature, that no unpleasant communications must be permitted to disturb the now infatuated monarch, in his delirium of sensual enjoyment.* A. H. 945. A. D. 1538. Abûl Fazzel.

By degrees, however, the refractory proceedings in the neighborhood of the Jumna, became so notorious, that some of his officers, more devoted to the substantial welfare of their sovereign than swayed by the considerations of personal convenience, ventured at last to disclose the truth to Homayûn. Roused at once to a sense of his situation, the monarch instantly convoked his Ameirs, and announced his intention of returning without delay towards Agrah; although the whole country was at this moment in a state of inundation, and the season entirely adverse to the movements of troops in any direction. But, when the stability of his power was at a stake, all physical obstacles seemed to vanish from the contemplation of Homayûn. It became, however, expedient, as a preliminary step, to select some person, in whose valour and fidelity he could confide, to undertake in his behalf the government of Bengal; and his choice fell upon the Zauhed Beg, who has been already mentioned among the malcontent Ameirs at Agrah. But as this man, unmindful of the fame acquired in a long continued course of faithful service, pusillanimously abandoned his trust, and fled over to the standard of Mirza Hindal, the post was necessarily transferred, with a division of troops competent to the support of his authority, to Jahangueir Kûly Beg: after which Homayûn, in the very heart of the rainy season, proceeded on his return to the metropolis of the empire.

When, on the other hand, reports were conveyed to Sheir Khaun, that the imperial army was in motion from Bengal, and that the princes had quitted Agrah, with the professed design of arresting his progress, that chief abandoned the siege of Jounpour without ceremony, and immediately withdrew towards Rohtass; his resolution being already formed to avoid an action with the Moghûls, and to re-enter Bengal, exactly by the same road by which he had quitted it, that of Tcharkund. The arrangements of this able commander were, at the same

* It may be proper to observe, that he was, at this period, in the thirty-first year of his age.

A. H. 946.
A. D. 1539.
Abûl Fazzel.

time, concerted with such admirable skill, as to be easily altered according to circumstances, should any thing occur during the march of the imperial army, on its return, to render such alteration advisable; and thus we find him ultimately hanging upon the rear of that army, watching his opportunity to attack it under cover of the night, and when least prepared to resistance. He acquired, however, additional confidence when, on its arrival at Purtuhn, probably Patnah, he discovered the utter inferiority of the force with Homayûn, and its deplorable deficiency in equipments; and he accordingly ventured without further hesitation, at the head of an army equally formidable in point of numbers and efficiency, to press nearer upon the Moghûls, eagerly exploring on every side for that advantage of which he was prepared to avail himself.

In these circumstances, no one having been able to ascertain with any degree of precision, either the situation, force, or designs, of the enemy, Eben Ally Kurâwel Beggy, the captain of the scouts, undertook the execution of this important service; and having succeeded in making the necessary discoveries, hastened, through the medium of Mirza Mahommed Zemmaun, to convey the result to Homayûn. When, therefore, the fact became known to the impetuous and ardent young monarch, that the insolent Afghan was so close upon him, his indignation was excited in no ordinary degree; and although the imperial troops had already crossed the Ganges, as it should seem to the left bank, in full march towards Agrah; although the most pressing arguments were employed to dissuade him from such a step, under such disadvantages of force and equipment—when his cavalry were in a state of inefficiency, entirely worn down with the exertions of such a march, through a country so completely under water—he resolved on crossing the river, to the right or southern bank, and on giving battle to the enemy.

Here we are called upon to remark, and the experience of ages has, it is alleged, furnished repeated example, that when the ministers of destiny have been charged, by an inscrutable providence, to implant in the breast of some favored mortal, that spark of celestial energy which is to exalt him above the ordinary lot of humanity, the trials of adversity are also strown in his path, in order to bring to the proof the

intrinsic worth, the unsullied brilliance, of the inestimable gem to be displayed in his character. And hence, when the manifestation of that *star*, which had been transmitted through successive generations from the bosom of the illustrious Katchûly Bahauder, was at hand, it ought not to be considered extraordinary if some calamitous reverses should precede in the fortune of Homayûn; who was thus impelled, contrary to the urgent solicitations of his nobles, to engage in a conflict of incalculable hazard, and inadequate object, with the impure and perfidious Afghans. A. H. 946. A. D. 1539. Abûl Fazzel.

At the station of Yohssah, then, a dependency on the subordinate government of Bhoujepour, Homayûn placed himself directly in front of his pursuers; but, as the two armies were still separated by a black and turbid stream, here called the Keinaus, or Keneinauss, supposed the Karamnassa river, the imperial troops proceeded to throw a bridge across, by which they passed to the opposite side. Hostilities immediately commenced between the advanced detachments of the two powers; in which, notwithstanding their disparity of force, and the deplorable deficiency of their equipments, the advantage is alleged to have uniformly rested with the Moghûls, with considerable loss to the Afghans. The contest being, however, protracted beyond his utmost expectations, and his ungrateful brothers, with resources at command abundantly adequate to that, or any other object, permitting themselves to be withheld by views of perverted ambition, from repairing to his relief, the affairs of Homayûn underwent, at last, a most unfavorable and alarming change. In the mean time, Sheir Khaun, whose address was not inferior to his courage, did not omit, at convenient intervals, to dispatch his agents to the camp of the Moghûls, for the purpose, as he pretended, of soliciting an accommodation; while at others he continued to exhibit every proof of the most inveterate hostility: until, by the execution of a stratagem which reflects the highest credit upon his military skill, he at length completely succeeded in laying asleep the vigilance of his imperial antagonist. For, leaving a part of his foot, and the lowest description of his troops, with fire arms and rockets, in front of Homayûn's advanced posts, in order to occupy the attention of the enemy, he suddenly retired with the main body of his army, two marches to the rear; and the Moghûls, already sufficiently

A. H. 946. A. D. 1539. Abûl Fazzel.

elated with their advantage in the recent conflicts, and little suspecting the crafty design of the Afghan, proceeded to repose themselves in their encampment, in a state of the most fatal security.

As might have been foreseen, one night when the charge of watching over the general safety of the camp rested with Mahommed Zemmaun Mirza, so often referred to in these pages, that commander acquitted himself of the important trust with such culpable and shameful negligence, as furnished to the adventurous Afghan the opportunity which he so anxiously courted. Sheir Khaun, who had never for a moment lost sight of his object, after marching the whole of the preceding night, most unexpectedly presented himself at dawn of day in the rear of the imperial encampment; and having divided his troops into three columns, one led by himself, and the other two by his sons Jullaul Khaun, and Khowauss Khaun, respectively, the whole poured in amongst them, before the Moghûls could saddle their horses, buckle on their armour, or place themselves in any shape, in a posture of defence. Homayûn, lost in astonishment at this fatal effect of the remissness of his generals, had mounted his horse in the appalling certainty that the evil was beyond redemption, when three of his most faithful followers, Bàbài Jullâeir, Tereddy Beg, and Kouje Beg, threw themselves in his way; and his only request was that they would hasten, if possible, to bring off the princess Hadjy Begum. They found the tents of the princess, however, already surrounded by the enemy; and they all three of them gallantly perished sword in hand, in their effort to execute the orders of their sovereign—together with Meir Pehlewaun Buddukhshy and many others, who nobly sacrificed their lives in the same attempt.

The crisis was indeed pressing in the extreme; but the exertions of a trembling female were unequal to the attempt of breaking through the circle of armed barbarians, which enclosed her tent; and she was therefore consigned to the protection of that providence, which, in the hour of danger, was never known to withdraw its watchful care over the destiny of this illustrious family. On the present occasion, it was happily so ordained, that not even the breath of hostile violence was permitted to intrude itself within the precincts of the sacred sanctuary of the haram. In fact, the national respect for female modesty so universal in the East, was not, in the moment of victory, forgotten by the warlike

chief of these ferocious plunderers. The most scrupulous decorum was observed towards his illustrious captive, the instant he found that she was in his power; and he not only shrouded her from the gaze of vulgar curiosity, but caused her to be finally conducted to a place of safety, with every mark of respect due to her sex and dignity, and to the character of her imperial consort. A. H. 946. A. D 1539. Abûl Fazzel.

In the mean time, Homayûn had made for the river side; but here a fresh misfortune awaited him, in the destruction of the bridge, and he perceived no alternative of escape but by plunging on horseback into the stream. In the struggle it was his lot to be soon dismounted; but his better destiny interposing for the present in the shape of a Sukka, or common water-carrier, he at last succeeded, through his assistance, in swimming safe to the opposite bank. Finding himself once more safe on terra firma, he naturally enough enquired of the man who had been so instrumental to his deliverance from a watery grave, what name he bore; and being told in answer that it was plain Nizaum, the monarch observed in reply, that to him indeed in every sense of the word, he had proved himself a Nizaum-ul-awlya, which was the name of a Mahommedan Saint, of great celebrity in his days; and in the enthusiasm of his grateful feelings, he promised his deliverer on the spot, that if ever it was his fortune to be restored once more in safety to his throne, to put him for half a day in actual possession of the sovereign dignity, together with all its honors and advantages.

The fearful discomfiture, of which the above is but a brief and imperfect description, is here recorded to have taken place at the passage of Yossah, or Joussah, on the banks of the river Ganges, [in a preceding part it is however said to have been the Karamnassa], on the ninth day of the month of Suffur, of the nine hundred and forty sixth of the hidjerah. Among those who perished on the occasion, we find the name of Mirza Mahommed Zemmaun, to whose culpable remissness in the first instance, may be very justly ascribed the disastrous termination of this eventful day; and with him fell many other Ameirs of the highest distinction in every class, together with some thousands of the very flower of the Moghûl troops.

Accompanied, on the other hand, by his brother Mirza Asskery, and

* 26th of June, 1539.

A. H. 946. A. D 1539. Abûl Fazzel.

a very slender retinue, Homayûn fled with all the celerity of which he was capable towards Agrah; where he fortunately arrived a short time afterwards, without further accident. Here, with at least all outward demonstration of respect and duty, he was immediately visited by Mirza Kamraun; and, at the expiration of a few days, Mirza Hindal from Alwer also, having contrived, through the interposition of Kamraun, and of his mother, to secure a favorable reception, repaired to the presence of his brother, and experienced from him, considering the aggravated nature of his offences, a forgiveness and a generosity, almost without example. In the mean time, Homayún's attention was most anxiously devoted to hasten those arrangements by which he hoped to avenge and repair the disgrace and loss of the recent disasters; which originated, indeed, in no small degree, in gross mismanagement, and defect of all concert among the principal feodatories of his government. To aid him, however, in the prosecution of his honorable design, he was now joined in rapid succession, by numerous Ameirs from all parts of the Empire, with their respective contingents of troops.

One day while employed at this crisis in giving dispatch to the affairs of his government, it has been considered of sufficient importance to relate, that the poor waterman, to whom he was so materially indebted for the preservation of his life, ventured to present himself before the throne of Homayún, in order to claim the fulfilment of his promise. Strictly faithful to his engagement, the generous monarch no sooner recognized his deliverer, than he descended from his throne without the smallest hesitation; and causing him to take his place, for the space of half a day precisely, permitted him to exercise without controul the various functions of sovereign power—several decrees and ordinances which he undertook to circulate during this period of ephemeral authority, being carried into execution with the most scrupulous punctuality. What was, however, of far more solid advantage to the man, he was forthwith elevated to permanent rank and distinction, and both himself and all related to him, placed in a state of independence and affluence, so as to be perfectly secure against the pressure of every future want.

This singular incident, however otherwise unimportant in its bearings, is described to have occasioned some serious expostulations from

Mirza Kamraun, and afforded a convenient pretext for that spirit of discontent and disaffection, which he was already sufficiently disposed to encourage against the authority of his royal brother. A. H. 946. A. D 1539. Abûl Fazzel.

But while these proceedings were going on at Agrah, the able and warlike Afghan did not suffer his energies to slumber over the contemplation of his signal victory at Youssah; on the contrary, he determined to avail himself without delay, of the opportunity thus gained, to repossess himself of the kingdom of Bengal. For this purpose he marched immediately to the frontier of Bahar in that direction, and there encamped; detaching his son Jullaul Khaun, at the head of a competent force, in order to make himself master of that much envied territory. Jahangueir Kúly Beg, who had been left, as we have recently seen, in charge of the province, is described to have acquitted himself, for some time, with considerable resolution in defence of his government; but being feebly, and very inadequately, supported in his exertions by the several jaguirdaurs, who were not to be weaned from their luxurious indulgences, he was finally compelled to relinquish all contest in the field. He then took protection with some of the Zemindaurs, or native chiefs; but being prevailed upon to accept of an unauthorized, or insidious, treaty with the Afghans, he was shortly afterwards cut off, together with a great number of those who had continued to adhere to his fortune. Thus again master of Bengal, Sheir Khaun led his victorious troops next to the reduction of Jounpour, and the districts in that neighborhood; all which appear to have now submitted to his authority without material resistance. Acquisitions so rapidly obtained did not contribute to abridge the ambitious views of the Afghan; and his younger son Kúttûb Khaun was detached, shortly afterwards, with an indiscriminate, and perhaps irregular banditti, towards Kalpy and Etáwah; which extended in fact, the baleful mischiefs of treason and revolt, to within sixty miles of the walls of Agrah.

As soon, however, as intelligence of this last daring intrusion was announced to Homayûn, a respectable force was dispatched without loss of time, under Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, and Kaussem Hùsseyne Khaun the Ouzbek, whose jagueirs lay in that quarter, together with Eskunder Sûltaun, who had undertaken the management of some of the tenures annexed to Kalpy, in behalf of Mirza Kamraun, to repel the invaders.

A. H. 946
A. D. 1539.
Abûl Fazzel.

In a battle, to which he was immediately brought by these distinguished commanders, Kùttûb Khaun was killed, and the force under his orders either destroyed, or for the present entirely dispersed. Homayûn continued, in the mean time, at Agrah, unremittingly employed in restoring and completing the equipments of his army; and not less in an unavailing endeavor to fix the wavering attachment of his brothers, and other relatives, by bringing them to a just sense of their real and mutual interests. In this respect, neither advice nor expostulation seems to have produced any impression upon the perverted and refractory spirit of Mirza Kamraun; although the dangerous crisis in which they stood, so obviously indicated the necessity of extinguishing every spark of private animosity, and of uniting together the resources of the whole family, in order to defeat the formidable projects of the common enemy. Of the perfect competency of this prince's cordial support at such a crisis, to fulfil, to their utmost extent, the just expectations of his brother, there could exist but little doubt, since he had with him on the spot, not much less than twenty thousand hardy and well disciplined veterans; and the slightest sense of gratitude towards that brother, who had loaded him with favors; who had put him in possession of the noble territory from Kabûl and the land of Dawer on the Indus, on the west, to Samaunah eastward; and who had otherwise distinguished him by a thousand proofs of regard and liberality, should have taught him that he was not to be forsaken in this his hour of peril and dire necessity. But the conclusions of ambition are not, it seems, to be estimated by the ordinary feelings of mankind. Mirza Kamraun, equally unmindful of the ties of gratitude, of the suggestions of natural affection, and of the dictates of common policy, chose to abandon his noble brother to his fate. And when Homayûn condescended to intreat, if he were himself not disposed to share in the hazards of the impending contest, that at least he would leave a part of the force in his pay, to aid in repressing the already overgrown usurpations of the Afghans, he continued deaf to every solicitation; and, availing himself of some slight pretext of illness, he determined on withdrawing into the Punjaub—first of all dispatching the greater part of the troops in his service, under the care of Khoujah Kullan Beg, towards Lahour. Nay, more than this, he is accused of the still more perfidious design of holding out the example of defection, in

the hope that it might be extensively followed throughout his brother's army. He shortly afterwards quitted Agrah altogether, and proceeded also towards Lahour; conceiving that he made a sufficient sacrifice in leaving a division of three thousand men, from the large force at his disposal, under the orders of Mirza Abdullah the Moghûl, and this from the premises we were not exactly prepared to expect, to support the cause of his family at the very crisis of its destiny.

A.H. 946. A. D. 1539. Abûl Fazzel.

With Mirza Heyder, the son of Mahommed Hûsseyne Gûrekan and uncle's son of the late emperor, who had recently accompanied Mirza Kamraun to the metropolis, Homayûn was, however, more successful in his remonstrances; for when, under his pretext of ill health Kamraun importuned this chieftain to return with him into the Punjaub, and the latter indicated, in consequence, to Homayûn, an inclination to comply, the monarch very reasonably urged, that if he calculated on the ties of consanguinity, the claims were exactly equal between them; if on the ordinary ties of friendship, he could easily prove that the stronger were on his side—but if the pursuit of honorable fame was his object, there could not be the smallest demur, and he would not hesitate to remain where he must be immediately employed against the inveterate enemy of his race. "With regard to the plea of illness," observed Homayûn, "thou art neither a physician nor a judge of medicines, that "thou shouldst be required to attend my brother; and as to his concep- "tion that he will find in Lahour a place of safety, it is a most palpable "and dangerous mistake. For if any misfortune should be the result "of his unmanly and impolitic desertion in the present instance, he will "discover to his cost, that there cannot remain for him, within the whole "circumference of Hindûstaun, the smallest chance of security. You "will, in truth," continued Homayûn, "have nothing left but a choice "of evils; for should victory declare in my favor, with what counten- "ance, or with what grace, would you be able to meet the intelligence? "To judge from myself I should conceive that the remorse and shame "would be so overwhelming, as to rivet your eyes forever to the earth. "But should defeat and disaster be my destiny, [which Heaven forbid!] "in the honorable conflict in which I am about to be engaged, most de- "plorably do you deceive yourselves, if you calculate that you will be "permitted to continue unmolested at Lahour; and they are the very

A. H. 946. A D. 1539. Abûl Fazzel.

"basest of flatterers who have disguised the truth, and persuaded Mir-"za Kamraun to be of that opinion." In short, under the guidance of a better destiny, Mirza Heyder, instead of suffering himself to be won by the solicitations, or misled by the example, of Mirza Kamraun, chose the more honorable course of sharing the fortune of Homayûn.

Here, in a strain not unusual with him, our author suspends the narrative to remark, that when the ministers of a mysterious destiny have been employed to produce some stupendous change in the affairs of this world, and the consummation may happen to clash with the narrow views and expectations of man, so far from furnishing any cause of indecent, or presumptuous complaint, it should the rather excite a sentiment of awful gratitude and admiration; and in this light he conceives, that we ought to consider the deplorable disunion which, at such a crisis, an Almighty providence permitted to prevail between relatives, in other respects, so nobly and worthily disposed. Neither in this view will it appear extraordinary that, regardless of the manifest superiority of the enemy's force, Homayûn, borne away by an ardent spirit, and his native intrepidity of mind, should, as we are about to shew, have been impelled to commit himself in a contest against such formidable odds.

Dispensing, however, with preliminary movements, the historian conveys us at once, with Homayún and his army, to the station of Bhoujepour on the Ganges; Sheir Khaun, with a very numerous force, encamping, shortly after his arrival, on the opposite bank of the river, for the purpose of disputing the passage with the Moghûls. Homayún, on his part, notwithstanding the evident disparity of number which was to sustain him in the undertaking, determined nevertheless to attempt the passage; and for that purpose, in a few days, a bridge was accordingly completed and thrown across the river. In these circumstances, either to divert the attention of the enemy from the head of the bridge, or for some other object which is not explained, about one hundred and fifty of the imperial cavalry, distinguished for their courage and activity, after disencumbering their horses of their saddles and caparisons, at once plunged into the stream of the Ganges, and swam sword in hand to the opposite shore.

After having, with considerable slaughter, beaten back the enemy employed to oppose their landing, and otherwise exhibited the most

distinguished proofs of courage and intrepidity, these fearless warriors were drawing off for the purpose of resuming their station with the main body of the imperial army, and had already reached the head of the bridge, when the Afghans, who had by this time rallied in superior force, set on a trained elephant, one of those which had fallen into their hands on the fatal discomfiture at Joussah, to dismantle, or destroy, the bridge. The piles, or perhaps the fastenings, which secured it to the bank of the river, were accordingly soon destroyed by the efforts of this stupendous animal; but the moment this had been effected, a cannon shot from the Moghûl troops on the opposite bank, at once shattered the legs of the elephant, and dispersed the enemy; so that this adventurous band was permitted to make good its retreat without further interruption. The design of crossing the Ganges at this point, appears, however, to have been thus defeated, since we find the imperial army now proceeding by slow and cautious marches, along the same bank of the river towards Kanouje; one of the largest of the enemy's vessels on the river, which had probably attempted to annoy the troops in their progress, being sunk by the Moghûl artillery.

A. H. 947.
A. D. 1540.
Abûl Fazzel.

Subsequent to this, for the period of more than a month, the neighborhood of Kanouje became the scene of frequent conflicts, between detached parties of the contending armies, without any thing that could lead to decisive advantage on either side; but, at the termination of that period, a circumstance occurred which greatly contributed to accelerate the final catastrophe.

Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, being the grandson, by a daughter, of Sûltan Hûsseyne Mirza prince of Khorassaun, could boast his descent in a direct line from the invincible Teymûr; and he had accordingly risen to the highest distinctions, in the service of the warlike and royal Bâber. On the demise of that monarch he had, as we have already noticed on a former occasion, availed himself of the opportunity to take up arms against the authority of Homayûn; but, as should ever be the lot of those who violate the obligations of gratitude, having been defeated in his design, he threw himself on the mercy of his benefactor, was generously forgiven, and restored to favor, in as great a degree as if his loyalty had never been impeached. Being, however, by nature, of a discontented, refractory, and inconstant disposition, the crisis of danger in which the

A. H. 947.
A. D. 1540.
Abûl Fazzel.

government of Homayûn now stood, was too appalling for the wavering and uncertain character of such a man; and he accordingly embraced an early opportunity to forsake the cause of his prince, and together with his two sons, Olûgh Mirza and Shah Mirza, absconded from the imperial encampment.

The example operated with the most pernicious effect on the troops of Homayûn, since it immediately produced an alarming desertion; particularly among such as a happier destiny had not ordained for nobler purposes. In this dilemma, Homayûn, conceiving that any further delay might be attended with consequences the most fatal, and that he might be left to combat for victory without an army, determined at all hazards to cross the Ganges, and at once give battle to the enemy. For this purpose therefore, or at all events, to place some obstacle in the way of this disgraceful desertion, he threw a bridge across, and passed immediately to the opposite, or left, bank of the river; without, however, neglecting to intrench his camp, and to distribute his artillery on such points, as would be most useful to frustrate any sudden attempt on the part of the Afghans. Shortly afterwards, Sheir Khaun's troops made their appearance in great force directly in front, adopting the same precaution of covering their camp with intrenchments; and a series of skirmishes daily ensued, such as must be expected unavoidably to occur, between the advanced parties of two hostile armies, so closely approximated to each other.

The sun was now about to enter the tropic of Cancer, and the periodical rains had commenced with their usual violence. Unfortunately, the spot which had been chosen for the imperial encampment was so situated, as, in a short time, to be under water from end to end; and it became indispensably necessary to change the position of the troops, without a moment's delay, to some more elevated ground, where they might be relieved from the effects of the inundation. A more convenient spot was accordingly determined upon, and arrangements were made for offering battle to the enemy, on the following morning, should he appear disposed to quit his intrenchments, in order to disturb the operation; otherwise, it was directed that the army should proceed to take up its ground in the new position. On the tenth day of Mohurrim of the nine hundred and forty seventh of the hidjerah,* early in the

* 16th of May, 1540.

morning, Homayún, accordingly, drew out his troops in order of battle; his cannon and mortars, under the superintendance of Mahommed Khaun a Turkish officer, aided by the sons of Ally Kûly, together with Hussun Kholfaut, and Oustaud Ahmed, another Turk, being disposed along the front, and chained together, according to the then established practice. The Emperor in person took post in the centre of the main body; Mirza Hindal was advanced immediately in front of the centre; Mirza Asskery commanded the right, and Yadgaur Nausser Mirza assumed the direction of the left wing. In the Târikh Reshidy, a work composed by himself, Mirza Heyder, to whom we have recently had occasion to advert, is stated to describe that in his order of battle, Homayûn placed him immediately on the left of the imperial station in the centre; so that the right of the division under his orders was in direct contact with the left of the division under the personal command of the Emperor: but the reference is here particularly introduced for the purpose of recording, that there were numbered, on this day, not less than twenty-seven Ameirs, with standards, between Mirza Heyder's division and the extreme of the left wing. A. H. 947. A. D. 1540. Abûl Fazzel.

Whatever might have been the general expectation, Sheir Khaun appeared but little disposed, on this occasion, to conceal himself behind his intrenchments; on the contrary, he drew out immediately, forming his troops into five distinct divisions—one of which, the least in apparent strength, he posted just without the entrance of his camp. Three others advanced immediately upon the Moghúls; the fifth remaining, to be employed as occasion might require, under his own orders. Of the three divisions which led into action, that under Jullaul Khaun, and Sermust Khaun, composed for the greater part of the Niauzy tribe, approached the vanguard of the the centre, under Mirza Hindal. Another division, formed of the tribe of Gurrerauny, under Mûbaurez Khaun, Bahauder Khaun, and Ráey Hûsseyne Jelwauny, drew up, in front of the left under Yadgaur Nausser Mirza; while the third, led on by Khowauss Khaun, opposed itself to Mirza Asskery and the right wing of the imperial army.

The action commenced with extraordinary fury, between Mirza Hindal and the troops under Jullaul Khaun, the latter being thrown from his horse in the course of the conflict. The left wing under Yad-

A. H. 947.
A. D 1540.
Abûl Fazzel.

gaur Nausser, successfully repulsed the division in its front, and drove the troops of which it was composed, in confusion upon their own centre. But the experienced Afghan chief, perceiving the danger, and instantly leading his own division into battle; while Khowauss Khaun, with his division, fell furiously on the right wing of the Moghúls under Mirza Asskery, the greater part of the Ameirs in that wing, unaccountably gave way, without striking a single stroke. At this appalling crisis, forgetting the ordinary maxims of prudence in the magnitude of the danger, and although it might be considered inconsistent with the majesty of the throne to mingle in the confusion of an indiscriminate attack, Homayun twice desperately charged into the very thickest of the enemy's squadrons, and on each occasion, had his spear shivered to pieces in his hands.

But the individual prowess of the generous Homayûn, however conspicuously exerted, was insufficient to balance the failure of support on the part of his brothers, and the no less base and shameful dereliction of duty on the part of his Ameirs; inasmuch as the effects of human courage must always be unavailing against the fixed and unerring decrees of an over-ruling providence. It is, at the same time, further intimated, that rather than be condemned to forbear any longer with the perfidious practices of the worst of enemies, disguising themselves under the mask of friendship, Homayún evinced a determination to perish, at once, amidst the obvious and more glorious hazards of the field of battle. From this he was, however, ultimately dissuaded by the earnest zeal and intreaties of the brave men who yet adhered to his fortune; and so far, in deference to the ordinary speculations of human reasoning, our author alleges that he is willing to admit: but to those who are accustomed to penetrate beyond the exterior surface of things, it would not be difficult to shew that the Almighty power, which governs the universe, permitted the designs of treason to succeed on this occasion, in order, by the contrast, to give greater effect to that event which, at no very distant period, was to irradiate the world, in the birth of the illustrious *Akbar;* and, peradventure, to attest by repeated proofs, the exalted virtue of Homayûn, which, like gold from the hands of the refiner, or steel from those of the furbisher, was to emerge with brighter effulgence from the trials of adversity—these things

being, indeed, rather designed as lessons of experience and admonition to the just, than in any shape as in retaliation for crimes. A. H. 947. A. D. 1540. Abûl Fazzel.

But, with the speculations of Abûl Fazzel on the scheme of omnipotence in the government of the world, the reader is, in some degree, already acquainted, and it would, in this place, be unnecessary to enlarge any further on thesubject. We shall therefore proceed with the narrative to state that on the eventful catastrophe thus briefly dispatched, the fugitive Ameirs, after retiring from the contest, in the disgraceful manner already indicated, made the best of their way to the Ganges, which ran, it seems, at the distance of about a farsang, or three miles and a half, from the field of battle; and plunging precipitately into the stream, there, for the greater part, received in a watery grave that just punishment which was due to their cowardice and disloyalty. Homayûn, on the other hand, mounted on an elephant, succeeded in gaining the opposite side of the river; and there dismounting, he was, for some time, employed in vain, in looking for a place where he might ascend the bank, which hereabouts happened to be exceedingly steep and inaccessible. Fortunately, a soldier, who had also effected the passage of the river in safety, here presented himself to Homayûn, and taking him by the arm, assisted him to the top of the bank, without further accident. On inquiry, he found that the man to whose assistance he was indebted on this occasion, was a native of Gheznin, in the service of Mirza Kamraun; and he was warmly assured that he should not be forgotten in the royal bounty, if the opportunity should ever arrive to remunerate him for his timely support. At this moment Mûkuddum Beg, a superior officer, also in the service of Mirza Kamraun, came to the spot; and, recognizing the person of Homayûn, as a pledge of his sincere homage and respect, immediately presented the emperor with the horse on which he rode ; which was of course, most gratefully accepted, and the most liberal assurances of future acknowledgement bestowed in return.

Homayûn now bent his melancholy steps, once more, towards Agrah; being on his way to that city, successively joined by the princes, his brothers, and those who had escaped from the field of battle. But, on his arrival near the town of Bhankapour, or Behganù, for the name is given thus differently, the inhabitants of the place contumaciously

A. H. 947.
A. D. 1540.
Abûl Fazzel.

combined to prevent the imperial troops from purchasing the necessary supplies; and otherwise betrayed a disposition so entirely hostile, as to menace the lives, if they did not absolutely proceed to the extremity of cutting off several, of those who unfortunately fell into their hands. When this instance of seditious insolence, which pretty clearly exemplifies the refractory spirit which, at this period, seems to have extended itself to every part of the imperial territory, was made known to Homayûn, the Mirzas Asskery, Yadgaur Nausser, and Hindal, were directed to march without delay, and give battle to this disloyal assemblage; whose force had, in a short time, unaccountably accumulated to nearly thirty thousand horse and foot. Mirza Asskery had, however, the effrontery to decline his part in the service, for which he was most deservedly and severely reproved by Mirza Yadgaur Nausser; who did not scruple in very plain terms to ascribe the whole of their present distresses, to the absurd and senseless want of concord evinced, on all occasions, by him and his misguided brothers, and which no disasters seemed sufficient to correct. Determined, on the other hand, to carry into execution the orders of Homayùn, Yadgaur Nausser, and Mirza Hindal, proceeded immediately in quest of the rebels, whom they accordingly attacked, and defeated, with considerable slaughter; and having thus signally chastized these insolent villagers, soon afterwards triumphantly rejoined the main body of the army—while Mirza Asskery, who affected to complain of harshness of treatment, became, as he too well deserved, the object of his brother's severe and just resentment. Homayún then continued his retreat, without further obstacle, to Agrâh.

The Empire was, by this time, in a state of total distraction, from the spirit of tumult and disloyalty by which it was agitated, from one extremity to the other. On the day immediately after his arrival, Homayùn, with this conviction on his mind, repaired therefore to the residence of Meir Reffeia-ud-dein, a Seyud of the Souffy sect, equally respectable for his learning and profound political sagacity; and it was with the advice of this discreet personage, now finally determined to retire altogether, for the present, into the Punjaub—it being no unreasonable persuasion that, if Mirza Kamraun, returning to sounder principles, and to the guidance of a happier destiny, could be once prevail-

ed upon to afford that assistance which the emergency of affairs, and the general interests of the family, so imperiously demanded, the fatal breach in the fabric of government might still be perfectly repaired. A. H. 947. A. D. 1540. Abûl Fazzel.

With these just and reasonable expectations, Homayûn proceeded, accordingly, on his retreat towards Lahour; Mirza Asskery taking his departure about the same time, for Sumbul on the higher Ganges, and Mirza Hindal in the opposite direction towards Alwer. On the eighteenth of the month,* just eight days after the fatal discomfiture near Kanouje, Homayûn was joined near Dehly by Kaussem Hússeyne Sûltan, and Beg Meirek, so that a considerable force might be supposed to have re-assembled round the person of the sovereign. On the twentieth of the same month,† Homayûn quitted the ancient metropolis of Dehly; and, on the twenty second, near the town of Rohtek, or Rodack, he was further joined by the Mirzas Hindal and Heyder. On the twenty third, finding that the inhabitants of the town persisted in shutting up their gates against him, he was compelled to encamp before the place, which it required several days to reduce to submission. On the seventeenth of the succeeding month of Suffur,‡ the Emperor reached Sehrind, or Serhind, from whence he continued his march without further interruption, to the neighborhood of Lahour; not far from which city, near the palace of Doulut Khaun, he was now met in a friendly manner, by Mirza Kamraun, who conducted him with every appearance of respect, to the gardens of Mounshy Khaujah Doust, esteemed the most beautiful and delightful in the whole country, and, on this occasion, selected for the abode of Homayûn. Mirza Hindal was accommodated in the gardens of Khaujah Ghauzy, where, at this period, Mirza Kamraun also kept his court; and not long afterwards, Mirza Asskery, from Sumbul, found his way to Lahour, where he took up his residence, in the mosque of Ameir Wully Beg. Neither did Homayûn remain long at Lahour, before Shums-ud-dein Mahommed, the soldier who had lent him his assistance to climb the bank of the Ganges, on his flight from the battle near Kanouje, made his appearance, and experienced the most liberal reception from the grateful monarch.

By the first of the former month of Rebbeia,‖ the whole of the bro-

* 24th of May, 1540. † 26th of May. ‡ 22d of June. ‖ 5th of July, 1540.

A. H. 947. A. D. 1540. Abûl Fazzel.

thers, together with most of the surviving Ameirs, and their followers, in the interest of the Teymùrian family, had assembled at Lahour. But, notwithstanding the disastrous experience of recent events, and the heavy inflictions by which they had been visited in every quarter, all was yet insufficient to bring them to a just sense of their errors. No reverse, no chastizement, no consideration, in short, seemed sufficiently powerful to induce them, in any point, to act with good faith and integrity, towards one another; and although they met in council, time after time; although they pledged themselves in the presence of Homayûn, under the most solemn engagements, to proceed with concert and unanimity, in all their future undertakings; and although an instrument to this effect was formally drawn up, and regularly attested under the signature of every Ameir on the spot, all seemed unavailing, all fell short in the performance of, and some most basely violated their engagements.

Nothing, indeed, was omitted on the part of Homayûn, to impress upon his brothers the vital importance of a cordial co-operation of the whole, in order to bring about the re-establishment of their power, not less by every argument of ordinary policy, than by the example almost before their eyes of those fatal events, which had ruined the noble kingdom of Khorassaun, on the death of Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne. For it must have been fresh in their recollection, that although that able and successful monarch had left behind him not less than eighteen sons, to that moment uniformly prosperous in all their undertakings, with a government firmly established, and resources to an extent which seemed to have no limit, yet, through the absurd and senseless disunion of the brothers, was that great country, for so many years the very chosen retreat of peace, security, and enjoyment, in a period shorter than could well be conceived, delivered over to every species of outrage and calamity, and finally transferred altogether to the tyranny of Shàhy Beg, the Ouzbek; not a vestige of the family surviving the change, Baddeia-uz-zemaun alone excepted, who sought the protection of the house of *Othman*, while the memory of the whole was deservedly consigned to the contempt and reprobation of all mankind.

When, however, pursuing the course of his argument, he called upon them, further, seriously to reflect upon the opprobrium, with which they

would be loaded, by the wise and good of every age and nation, if through a similar career of folly and imbecility, they could suffer an empire like that of Hindûstaun, an empire won for them by their renowned sire, at the expence of so much exertion, fatigue, and personal hazard, to be wrested from them after all, by a people so abject and despised as the barbarous Afghans—When he implored them to bestow upon this subject their most serious consideration, to discard the senseless jealousies which threatened to overwhelm the whole in one common destruction, and by an entire change of conduct, to entitle themselves to the blessings of mankind—when, finally, every thing that the most consummate prudence could suggest, or that could be derived from the experience of other times and other nations, was employed on the part of Homayûn, to convince them of their errors, and to warn them of their danger, the very men whose signatures to the common pledge of unanimity might be said to be scarcely yet dry, forgetful of every engagement, proceeded, with as much pertinacity as ever, each to develope some selfish and narrow plan, some incongruous views of private ambition, which were alone in contemplation.

A. H. 947.
A. D. 1540.
Abûl Fazzel.

Thus, on his part, Mirza Kamraun rather insidiously proposed that Homayûn, and the other princes, should retire separately, for a few days, into the recesses of the neighboring mountains; while he undertook to convey the wives and families of the whole to Kabûl, and after having lodged them there in safety, to return, without delay, to rejoin his associates. Mirza Hindal and Yadgaur Nausser were of opinion, on the other hand, since at present there appeared no prospect of giving battle to the Afghans with any reasonable expectation of advantage, that they should retire altogether towards Bukkur on the Indus; and, having secured the country in that neighborhood, that they would be able, with the resources there doubtless to be found, to undertake, with every prospect of success, the reduction of the opulent province of Gùjerat. After which, they expressed a confident belief that, there could be no great difficulty in recovering the whole of Hindústaun. Mirza Heyder, again, considered it most advisable that they should return immediately, and occupy the acclivities of the hills, all the way from Sehrind to Saurung;* that is, as far as we are now qualified to judge, all across the

* For this line of defence, we might, however, look more naturally to the ranges of hills behind, that is, to the westward of Sehrind, between the Kuggur and Setlege rivers.

A. H. 947.
A. D. 1540.
Abûl Fazzel.

sources of the Kuggur, Sereswaty, and Jumna rivers, from Sehrind to Sahaurungpour; while on his part, with a reasonable force, and for this he required only the space of two months, he undertook to subjugate the rich and delightful country of Kashmeir, than which there did not on earth, as he affirmed, exist a more desirable, or secure retreat: and thither, when they became apprized of its reduction, they might without difficulty convey their wives and families. At the same time, he calculated that, with all his wheeled carriages and artillery, in which consisted his only superiority, and on which he chiefly relied for victory, Sheir Khaun would not be able to reach the mountains, in less than four months; and that, in the mean time, his army would be wasting away with severe service, fatigue, and exertion.

But as the words and designs of these princes possessed but little in unison, their councils could not be expected to lead to any useful conclusion, and they accordingly separated without coming to any sort of agreement; although Homayûn continued his admonitions to the last, in the hope that Mirza Kamraun, yielding, after all, to the dictates of his better judgment, might yet be prevailed upon to recede from his selfish and perfidious plans. Kamraun was, however, not to be diverted from his object; it being his unalterable determination to leave his brothers to perish in detail, while he made his retreat good to his government of Kabûl; there, as he conceived it, remote from the scene of danger, to indulge, without interruption, in his luxurious propensities. In these circumstances, while he yet sought to keep up the expectations of Homayûn, that at the proper opportunity he might still be induced to unite cordially with him, to repel the dangerous encroachments of the common enemy, and at the same time contrived, under various pretexts, to protract the period of execution from one day to another, the iniquitous policy of Kamraun carried him so far at last, as actually to dispatch Kauzy Abdullah Suddur, his metropolitan, with secret proposals of amity to Sheir Khaun, and with instructions to conclude a difinitive treaty with that chief; engaging, on his part, provided the government of the Punjaub was continued under his authority, in a short time to prove the sincerity of his friendship, by the most important services—thus conceiving that he would be permitted to secure the attainment of his own pernicious and unprincipled views of ambition, through the assistance of the most inveterate enemy of his race.

Sheir Khaun, whose address formed the most prominent feature of his character, notwithstanding the decided predominance of his fortune established in the great victory near Kanouje, had not yet ventured to advance to the northward of Dehly. From this he was indeed deterred by the accounts conveyed to him of the force accumulating at Lahour, and he derived, as may be well imagined, the most flattering encouragement from the communication of these perfidious proposals; and the reception which he gave to the Suddur, who, to considerable intelligence, united much natural depravity of disposition, was as favorable, as the information which he conveyed, of the total absence of cordiality among the royal brothers, was animating to his own most sanguine expectations. The answer which he gave to the proposals were of course entirely conformable to the views of Mirza Kamraun; and every consideration was employed on the part of the envoy, in order to induce the Afghan to advance without further delay towards the Punjaub. Before he came to a final resolution on this point; Sheir Khaun, however, thought it prudent, to dispatch, in company with the Suddur when he returned, a subtile agent of his own, in order to bring him a correct report of the actual state of affairs. In consequence, an interview took place, shortly afterwards, between Mirza Kamraun and this personage, in one of the gardens of Lahour, on the very day on which he was giving, to the abused and unsuspecting Homayûn, a most sumptuous entertainment at his palace. The same crafty Suddur was, upon this, again dispatched to communicate with Sheir Khaun, now encamped on the river of Sûltanpour, between the Setlege and the Beiah; and he no longer hesitated, on the representations of the envoy, to pass that river to the west-ward. Of this event intelligence was immediately conveyed to Homayûn, by Mûzuffer the Tûrkomaun, who had been employed to scour the country in that direction; and who accompanied his report in sorrow, with the information that his own brother's son, Jelleidah Beg, an officer of approved merit and fidelity, had fallen in a skirmish with the Afghans.

A. H. 947. A. D 140. Abûl Fazzel.

In consequence of the information thus obtained, Homayûn, and the Teymûrian Mirzas, considered it no longer prudent to remain at Lahour; and accordingly, towards the close of the latter Jummaudy,* re-

* End of October, 1540.

A. H. 947.
A. D. 1540.
Abûl Fazzel.

tiring across the Rauvy, at this time fordable, they proceeded thence by successive marches to the Tchunaub, which they reached, without accident or interruption, a short time afterwards.

At a former period when, as already noticed, he was proceeding on his expedition to expel the Persian prince, Saum Mirza, from Kandahaur, Mirza Kamraun had left Mirza Heyder, it seems, in charge of the government of Lahour, during his absence. While he continued in the exercise of his delegated authority on this occasion, several of the native chiefs of Kashmeir, dissatisfied with the ruler whom fortune had placed over them, had presented themselves to Mirza Heyder; in the expectation that, through his influence, they might procure from Mirza Kamraun the assistance of a body of troops, in order to obtain for themselves the government of that delightful province. In this, however, they were for the present disappointed; since the influence of Mirza Heyder was not, at the moment, sufficiently powerful with his principal to obtain for them, to the prejudice of the more immediate concerns of domestic convenience, any thing that could avail to the execution of their designs. Nevertheless, at a period not long subsequent, when Mirza Hindal threw off the mask from his ambitious projects, in publicly usurping the sovereign authority at Agrah, and when Mirza Kamraun was hastening from Lahour with such alacrity to put him down, Mirza Heyder contrived, by some means or other, to form a respectable force; which he placed under the orders of Bâba Joujuc, or Tchotchuc, one of the most experienced officers in the service of Kamraun, with instructions to accompany the Kashmirian chiefs above-mentioned, and to put them in possession of the country.

But that officer finding some pretext or other to evade the execution of his instructions, until reports came abroad of Homayún's first fatal discomfiture at Joussah, the design was then entirely laid aside; and the Kashmirian chiefs withdrawing towards Nousheher and Rajour, or Rajwari, there continued, in the recesses of the neighboring mountains of Kashmeir, patiently awaiting the return of some circumstances more favorable to the attainment of their object. They never ceased, however, from importuning Mirza Heyder, by letter, with representations on the advantages that might be derived from the possession of Kashmeir; and as these representations were regularly communicated

by that prince to Homayûn, the plans which he had, for some time past, had in contemplation, of fixing his retreat in that favored and delightful region, assumed a more settled form, and he determined at last to carry them into execution, without delay. A. H. 947. A. D. 1540. Abûl Fazzel.

On his arrival on the banks of the Tchunaub, Homayûn, accordingly, dispatched Mirza Heyder before hand, with a division of troops to Nousheher, with instructions to obtain a conference with the chiefs, by whom he had been so long importuned to undertake the reduction of Kashmeir. At Nousheher he was ordered to remain until he should be joined by Sekunder Touptchey, whose jagueir was situated in the neighborhood; after which he was to prosecute his march towards the mountain ridges which encircle Kashmeir, where he would be further joined by Khaujah Kullan, an Ameir whose name we have already had some occasion to mention, and who enjoyed considerable distinction in the court of the late Emperor Bàber. And it was when he should become apprized of the junction of this last officer with Mirza Heyder, that Homayûn determined to direct his course to the same quarter. But while he continued, expecting these advices, on the banks of the Tchunaub, a fresh train of misfortunes assailed him in the desertion of the Mirzas Kamraun and Asskery, with the whole of their adherents, who immediately proceeded in the direction which leads across the Indus towards Kabûl; and the seceding party was joined, not long afterwards, on the banks of that river, by Sûltan Mahommed Mirza, and his son Shah Mirza, whose perfidy and ingratitude on a former occasion cannot yet have escaped the recollection of the reader. This alarming defection seems to have produced, through the persuasion of the Mirzas still attached to his fortunes, an immediate and entire change in the plans of Homayûn, since, on the first of Rudjub,* we find him also on full march towards the Indus; and, on the same day, he experienced another alarming defection, in the departure of the Mirzas Hindal and Yadgaur Nausser, to which they are said to have been induced by the counsels of Beg Meirek, who had previously forsaken his duty.

Just at this crisis, Kauzy Abdullah Suddur, recently mentioned as employed by Mirza Kamraun in his communications with Sheir Khaun, was on his return with a party of Afghans, and together with his asso-

* 31st of October, 1540.

A. H. 947. A. D. 1540. Abûl Fazzel.

ciates, now fell into the hands of some of the light troops in the service of Mirza Hindal. The captives were of course conducted to the presence of that prince, and the unfortunate Afghans were immediately put to death; while the agent of domestic treason was permitted, through the intercession of Meir Bâba Doust, to drag on his wretched existence for some time longer. The Mirzas Hindal and Yadgaur Nausser continued, however, for the space of twenty days afterwards, to wander about, in equal perplexity and incertitude, without being able to determine what measures to pursue, or to what quarter to shape their course.

On the other hand, Homayûn, justly relying on the power of his creator, and on the resources of his own undaunted mind, was directing his steps, as nearly as conjecture could enable him through a trackless and unpeopled solitude, equally destitute of provision and water, for the territory of Bukkur; when, one day hearing the sound of a distant kettle-drum, he naturally sent out to ascertain whence it arose; and his scouts returned with the intelligence that not more than three kôsse, or about six miles, off, the Mirzas Hindal and Yadgaur Nausser were also exploring their way through the desert, in quest of some secluded spot where they might find relief from hunger and famine, and security against the pursuit of the enemy. Meir Abûl Bukka, who had but recently separated from Mirza Kamraun to attach himself to the more righteous cause of Homayûn, was now dispatched to point out to the two Mirzas the direction in which the Emperor was marching, and endeavor to prevail upon them to put themselves, once more, under the orders of their sovereign. In this, at such a crisis, it was perhaps not difficult to succeed; and the princes rejoining the imperial standard accordingly, the whole then proceeded together towards the retreat which they all expected to secure in the territory of Bukkur. In the mean time, Khowauss Khaun, one of Sheir Khaun's most distinguished generals, with a numerous body of Afghans, was in close pursuit of them; but, although the force now left with Homayûn was out of all proportion inferior in numerical strength, the Afghan chief never hazarded a single attack; and towards the latter part of the month of Shabaun,* the Emperor happily succeeded in making good his retreat, without further loss, to the station of Outchah, or Outch, a little distance above the confluence of the Beiah and Indus.

* End of November, 1540.

Some time afterwards, when he approached the territory of Bukhshûi Lengah, one of the most powerful Zemindaurs in this quarter, Beg Mahommed Bakawul and Ketchek Beg, two of his officers, were dispatched by Homayûn, with an appropriate dress of honor, an offer of the title of Khaun-e-jahaun, and the insignia of the standard and kettle-drum, provided that chief would attest his loyalty by furnishing the necessary supplies of grain to the army. The Zemindaur met the deputation in person; and, although he conceived it prudent to decline the invitation to appear at court, in other respects exhibited sufficient proofs of a disposition to accommodate, if not to declare himself subject to the authority of Homayún; since the merchants of the country were permitted, by his orders, to convey to the imperial encampment every species of supply, and an ample equipment of boats was, at the same time, furnished for the passage of the troops on their march towards Bukkur. A competent advanced guard under the orders of Yadgaur Nausser, now regularly preceded the main body of the army; which, on the twenty eighth of Ramzaun,* arrived, it appears, in good order, on the confines of the territory just mentioned. Ten days previous to this period, the office of Suddur, or ecclesiastical judge, had been conferred upon Kauzy Gheyauth-ud-dein Jaumy; a personage here described as qualified for his exalted appointment, not less by his distinguished mental endowments, than by his consanguinity with the imperial house of Teymúr.

A. H. 947.
A. D. 1540-41.
Abûl Fazzel.

After surmounting a variety of obstacles, and some hardships, in the course of their wearisome march from the Punjaub, the army finally encamped at the town of Louhry; on the [left] bank of the Indus, just opposite to the fortress of Bukkur which is pretty generally known to stand on an island in the river. Homayûn immediately took up his abode in a pavilion erected with some taste, in a very fine garden without the town; the royal retinue being distributed in different quarters, among the other gardens and country houses in the neighborhood. Mirza Hindal, however, proceeded four or five kôsse further down, and, some days afterwards, crossed to the western side of the river; and thither he was soon followed by Yadgaur Nausser, who, for some reason or other, chose to place the Indus between him and Homayûn. In the

* 25th of January, 1541.

A. H. 947. A. D. 1541 Abûl Fazzel.

mean time, the whole of the surrounding territory had been entirely laid waste by Sûltan Mahommed, the tributary governor of Bukkur under Mirza Shah Hússeyne Beg, of the ancient tribe of Arghûn; who had then shut himself up in the fort, securing all the river craft at anchor, under the walls of the place, on the island side of the river. This Shah Hûsseyne Beg, it may be necessary to remark, was the son of Mirza Shah Beg Arghún, who, on his expulsion from Kandahaur by the emperor Bâber, as noticed on a former occasion, retired to this part of the country; of the whole of which, from Bukkur to Tattah, he contrived in a short time to render himself completely master. Immediately on his arrival at Louhry, a letter had been dispatched by Homayûn to Sûltan Mahommed, this governor of Bukkur, to invite him to his presence, and to request that the fortress under his orders might be put in possession of the Moghûl troops. To this he replied, that being the vassal of Shah Hûsseyne, it would be inconsistent with his allegiance if he were to appear in the presence of Homayûn, before his lord paramount had first paid his visit; neither could he reconcile it with the principles which he professed, were he to deliver up the post consigned to his charge, without the express orders of his superior.

Finding it expedient to overlook this act of contumacious resistance, Homayûn, as his next resource, determined to try the effect of a deputation to Shah Hùsseyne himself; and for that purpose, the Ameirs Taher Suddur, and Semundur, two of his most confidential servants, with the most flattering proposals, were now dispatched to Tattah, the seat of that prince's government. The deputation was very respectfully treated by Shah Hûsseyne; and Sheikh Meirek, the most eminently distinguished of the descendants of the Sheikh Pouran, in times long past held in the highest veneration by the race of Arghûn, was appointed by the Shah, to accompany the agents of Homayûn on their return, with suitable presents, and a letter to the following import, addressed to that monarch. The country, as therein described, was, from the nature of the soil, and scanty productions, calculated to furnish but very slender resources even to its ordinary population. That of Hadjikan, on the other hand, in the possession of a numerous people, with lands cultivated to the utmost perfection, produced grain and the other means of subsistance, in the greatest profusion. If therefore he might be per-

mitted to give an opinion, the interest of the royal cause would be best consulted by an immediate removal of the army to that quarter; where on reducing the country, the troops might repose themselves in the midst of abundance, and he should not be the less at hand to acquit himself of his visit of homage. In the mean time, he was anxious to to acknowledge that the appearance of the imperial standard in his neighborhood, would ever be considered by him as the most auspicious event that could have befallen him. Nevertheless, that the apprehensions by which he was still haunted, were of a nature not to be at once dispelled; but the moment they became tranquillized in any tolerable degree, he would be found, without a failure, by the side of the imperial stirrup. He concluded by stating that when he should have dispatched this visit of homage, it would require no extraordinary exertion of courage, or activity, since that appeared to be the most important object in view, to put the imperial armies in possession of Gûjerât; and that opulent province once more brought under suitable regulation, there could exist but little doubt of the speedy restoration of the authority of the august house of Teymûr, throughout the whole of Hindûstaun.

A. H. 947. A. D. 1541. Abûl Fazzel.

Such, in substance, were the fallacious professions in which this insidious petty sovereign thought fit indulge, with no other intention than to deceive; but Homayûn was not at this moment in circumstances to enforce obedience. He therefore contented himself with detaching Mirza Hindal towards Patter, perhaps Hattery, lower down the Indus, proposing to remain, with the main body of his troops, for the five or six succeeding months, at Louhry; in the expectation that something might yet occur, to produce a disposition more favorable in the mind of Mirza Shah Hûsseyne. But in order to give to Mirza Hindal at once the most conspicuous proof of unabated confidence, and of his anxiety to distinguish him beyond all mankind, Homayûn, while he awaited the developement of these more favorable occurrences, proceeded to pass some time with that prince in his cantonments, as soon as they became established in the neighborhood of Patter.

Towards the commencement of the year nine hundred and forty eight,* the period now approaching in which the world was to be irradiated by the star of the illustrious *Akbar*, Homayûn found leisure to

* April May 1541.

A. H. 948. A. D 1541. Abûl Fazzel.

espouse the lady Hameidah Baunû Begum, entitled Mereiam Makauny, the daughter, as it would appear, of Seyud Ahmed Jaum, surnamed, for the fervor of his zeal perhaps, Zendah Peil—the vivid, or the raging elephant. His stay in the territory of Bûkkur was, however, so long protracted, and the disposition of the native chiefs continued so unfavorable and hostile to his interests, that the district became at last entirely exhausted and desolate; and the Moghûl camp was in consequence reduced to the utmost distress, through the extreme difficulty, if not impracticability, of procuring the necessary supplies for subsistance. Hence, the princes his relatives, ever occupied in forming some unprincipled and ungrateful project, some absurd speculation, were to be no longer restrained from carrying them into execution; or, in this instance perhaps, more properly speaking, they determined, in the application of their own personal and independent exertions, to seek immediate relief from the necessities which bore so grievously upon them. The example of disunion was, however, on this occasion again, first openly set by Mirza Hindal; whose hostile designs had, peradventure, never been sincerely laid aside, and who was further encouraged, at such a crisis, to proceed immediately to Kandahaur, in compliance with the invitation recently received from Karatchah Khaun, the governor of the place on the part of Mirza Kamraun, through the pernicious counsels of Yadgaur Nausser. On reaching Kandahaur in safety, some time afterwards, Mirza Hindal failed not to convey to Yadgaur Nausser intelligence of his arrival, together with a desire that he would repair to join him without delay; but, information of the design having been early communicated to Homayún, Meir Abûl Bukka, at the earnest intreaty of his master, proceeded to the quarters of the same Yadgaur Nausser, in order, if possible, to bring him back to a just sense of his duty.

The agent of Homayûn, either through the admonitions of prudence, or the more powerful assuasives of self-interest, prevailed, it seems, after some difficulty, upon the temporizing and changeling chief to forego his disloyal intention, and obtained from him a promise to recross the Indus immediately to the eastern bank, with a professed resolution to devote his most zealous exertions, for the future, to the service of Homayûn; but upon conditions that could have been extorted, from the latter, by the extremity alone to which he was reduced. These were,

that when the Empire of Hindústaun should be recovered by their united force, a third part of the whole should be allotted to Yadgaur. In the mean time, on their expected return to Kabûl, that the city of Gheznein, together with Tcherrekh,* and the dependencies of Louhgehr, formerly bestowed upon the mother of this prince by the late Emperor, should be definitively placed under his authority. A.H. 948. A.D. 1541. Abûl Fazzel.

This arrangement appears to have been concluded on the sixteenth of the former Jummaudy, of the nine hundred and forty eighth of the hidjerah;† and Abûl Bukka was returning, in the course of the day following, in a boat across the Indus, when he was way-laid, and suddenly attacked, by a party from the garrison of Bukkur apprized of his proceedings. Through some fatality or other, being totally unprepared for such an attack, he was mortally wounded by an arrow; and, although he survived to reach the Moghúl camp, he expired, the day next afterwards, to the infinite regret of Homayûn; who, on this occasion, in terms of undisguised and bitter resentment, deplored that refractory and hostile spirit on the part of his brothers—that inertness, perfidy, and ingratitude, among the vassals of his bounty—which, in the first instance, had lost him the Empire of Hindûstaun, and since, accumulated upon him a train of evils so fatal and overwhelming. And yet he declared, that if all the misfortunes by which he had hitherto suffered were placed on one side, and this last, by which he had been deprived of the services of the faithful Abûl Bukka, on the other, he should feel it difficult to decide whether the preponderance did not lay with the latter. Neither can it be denied, observes our author, that the merit of Meir Abûl Bukka was of that exalted stamp, which justly entitled him to the testimony here borne to it, by him who best knew, and who was of course best qualified to give it its proper estimate. But although with the infirmity of our common nature, Homayûn so far gave way at first to the emotions of grief and disappointment, yet, instructed by the dictates of an excellent understanding, and by the example of some of the best and wisest of mankind, he recollected that the afflictions of this world, are no more than salutary corrections for our good; and he, at last, piously submitted to the dispensations which he was destined to experience, under the decrees of an ever just and mysterious providence.

* It is not certain whether this be the name of a town, or a district.

† 6th of September, 1541.

A. H. 948.
A. D. 1541.
Abûl Fazzel.

Five days subsequent to the unfortunate occurrence above adverted to,* Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, in conformity with the recent arrangement, recrossed the Indus, and was admitted to a conference with Homayún; from whom, as was most usual with that generous monarch, he experienced a very kind and indulgent reception. In the mean time, Sheikh Meirek, the envoy of the prince of Tattah, was permitted to to take his leave; with letters to his master apprizing him that all his wishes would be punctually complied with, provided, by his appearance in the presence of Homayùn, he would give the only pledge that could be accepted, of the truth and sincerity of his professions. Mirza Shah Hûsseyne, however, without the smallest design of fulfilling them, continuing, in his dispatches, to hold out expectations, that at the proper period he would not fail to repair to the imperial encampment, Homayûn determined, at last, to submit to the imposition no longer; and, accordingly, consigning the blockade of Bukkur, together with the government of the adjoining territory, which, from a state of frightful desolation had risen in the course of a few months, under the influence of a just and benignant monarch's presence, into one of the highest prosperity and abundance, to Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, he proceeded, on the first day of the latter Jummaudy,† along the Indus downwards in the direction of Tattah. While descending the river on this occasion in a boat, and having arrived in the vicinity of Sehwaun, Fezzeil Beg and Tersoun Beg, the one a brother of Munnâeim Khaun, the other of Shahum Khaun respectively, accompanied by some other individuals, not more in the whole than twenty, observed a party of the garrison rushing from that fortress, for the purpose of attacking them on their passage. Without, however, waiting for the assault, the whole of the Moghûls instantly threw themselves on shore, and fell upon the enemy, who immediately fled before them; part of the pursuers even entering the gates of the town with the fugitives. But finding themselves beyond all chance of support, they prudently withdrew in time, to re-join the main body of their countrymen.

On the seventeenth of Rudjub,‡ Homayûn in person arrived before Sehwaun, and immediately proceeded to invest the place. The garri-

* About the 13th of September.

† 21st of September 1541. About the breaking up of the rainy season. ‡ 5th November.

son had, however, previously destroyed, or demolished, every garden and dwelling house in the neighborhood; and in short every thing that could in any shape afford either shelter or subsistance to the invaders. In addition to the inconvenience produced by these precautions on the part of the enemy, the siege had not been prosecuted to any serious extent, when Shah Hússeyne contrived most effectually to cut off every species of supply from the country, and the Moghûls were thus soon reduced to the greatest possible difficulties. For, being equally discouraged by the horrors of scarcity and the labours of a protracted siege, a spirit of desertion seized not only on the ordinary classes of the soldiery, but on some of the most distinguished individuals, both of the court and army. Among these, indeed, we find included, names that we should not have sought for in such a catalogue—Meir Taher Suddur for instance, and Khaujah Gheyauth-ud-dein, and Moulana Abdul Bauky, who actually went over to the camp of the prince of Tattah; and Meir Berrekah, and Mirza Hussun, and Zuffer Ally the son of Fakkeir Ally Beg, and Khaujah Ally Bukhshy, all of whom forsook the imperial standard, to join the troops under Yadgaur Nausser near Bukkur. To these we are compelled to add the names of Munnàeim Khaun himself, and of his brother Fezzeil Beg, with some others not less distinguished in the transactions of the times, who prepared to withdraw from the service of their benefactor, in this crisis of heavy distress; but, information of their design having been privately conveyed to Homayûn, it was for the present defeated, by placing the person of the former nobleman under immediate restraint.

A.H. 948.
A.D. 1541.
Abûl Fazzel.

It becomes here necessary to make a brief digression to the proceedings of Yadgaur Nausser, who had been left to preside, as we have recently noticed, over the territory, and to continue the blockade of Bukkur; for which objects he had established his head-quarters at the station of Louhry. While thus situated, he was twice attacked by surprise by the garrison of Bukkur; but being compelled, in absolute self-defence, to oppose the most active and vigorous resistance, he successfully foiled the attempt on both occasions; and on the last with considerable loss to the enemy, in consequence of which they no further presumed to molest him. In another shape he was, however, more triumphantly assailed, by the insidious practices of Mirza Shah Hôsseyne

A. H. 948. A. D. 1541. Abûl Fazzel.

the ruler of Tattah; who, no longer placing any restraint on the indulgence of his hostile inclinations, about this period dispatched a certain Bâber Kûly, his keeper of the seals, to persuade Mirza Yadgaur, that, being himself now far advanced in years, with no one to share with him in the fatigue and solicitudes of government, he had, however, an only daughter, whom, together with all his treasures, he was willing to bestow upon the Moghûl prince, whenever he should express himself disposed to accept of her; after which, with their force united, there could be no material difficulty in accomplishing the reduction of Gûjerât, so anxiously desired by all parties.

Unfortunately, the understanding of Mirza Yadgaur was, it seems, of too flimsy a texture not to be seduced by the fallacious professions of the crafty and designing, in any circumstances; and that obliquity of judgment which is usually the attendant of imbecility, easily led him to stigmatize his character with the foul stain of disloyalty and treason: while an atom, a single spark, of generous spirit and just reflection, would have equally restrained him from forsaking the path of integrity and duty, and from yielding to the insidious proposals of an enemy.

When, however, in the distress of his troops, Homayûn sent a message to request that Yadgaur Nausser would proceed, without delay, to draw off the attention of Shah Hùsseyne, who had so effectually cut off the supplies of the Moghûls, the Teymûrian prince, altho' in his heart already a determined apostate from his allegiance, yet, in some measure to preserve appearances, did not hesitate to dispatch, as is customary, his tent equipage in advance, on the road which led towards the enemy; the same predominating spirit of apostacy, nevertheless, prevailing still to chain him to the spot, without, in himself, proceeding one step towards the execution of his orders. But when, in consequence of these unwarrantable delays, the intervention of Sheikh Abdulghuffour, a person descended from the most respectable of his class in Tùrkestaun, and whom he had indeed advanced to the office of steward of the household, was further employed by Homayûn, in order, if possible, to bring the changeling Mirza to his presence; and, when that ungrateful traitor basely proceeded to violate his trust, by instilling into the mind of the factious prince, notions diametrically the reverse of his instructions, even appearances were no longer regarded; and the field

equipage which had been previously sent in advance, was finally recalled, for which no reasons could be assigned but what were equally absurd and unsatisfactory. A. H. 948. A. D 1542. Abûl Fazzel.

In these circumstances, perceiving that fortune was forever disposed to frustrate all his views, and that his army was reduced to the last extremity of hunger and famine, Homayún considered that it would be no longer prudent to remain before the walls of Sehwaun; and he accordingly withdrew from that place on the seventeenth of Zilkaudah, of the year nine hundred and forty eight,* proposing to retrace his steps upwards along the Indus, towards Bukkur. At such a crisis, among other proceedings of unwarrantable hostility of which, at the instance of his new ally, Yadgaur Nausser permitted himself to incur the guilt, was the violent seizure of a supply of wheat, and other provision, on its way to the camp of Homayûn; which had been furnished by some of the native chiefs still well affected to his government, and which they were forwarding in boats on the Indus. The unoffending agents employed in this service, he caused, furthermore, to be delivered up to the vengeance of the prince of Tattah; by whom, in resentment for the zeal which, on this and some other occasions, they had evinced for the cause of Homayûn, they were all immediately put to death.

In spite, however, of this undisguised violation of allegiance, and of a thousand other proofs of equal perfidy and ingratitude, Homayûn was not to be diverted from his system of lenient forbearance; confiding that a sense of conscious remorse would yet finally prevail with his improvident relative to make amends, in some shape or other, for his disgraceful apostacy. The imperial troops had, nevertheless, no sooner arrived in the neighborhood of Louhry, than Yadgaur Nausser actually marched out for the purpose of making an attack upon Homayûn, who was necessarily constrained, by this intelligence, to put himself in a posture of defence. A faithful, but yet prudent adherent of Yadgaur's, of the name of Haushem Beg, who happened at the moment to be in attendance on Homayûn, becoming, however, at the same time, acquainted with what was in agitation, rode forward without delay; and forcibly seizing Yadgaur by the stirrup, by an unreserved application of honest reproach, expostulation, and remonstrance, at last succeeded

* 3d of March 1542.

A. H. 948.
A D. 1542.
Abûl Fazzel.

in dissuading him from his unprincipled and rash design, and in prevailing upon him, at the very crisis of its execution, to return to his station at the river-port of Louhry.

But the baneful spirit of desertion which had formerly seized the troops of Homayún, although checked for the time, had never been thoroughly extinguished, and now broke out afresh among the most distinguished of his followers. In the list of those who thus shamefully abandoned the cause of their benefactor, the author is constrained to record the name of Kaussem Hûsseyne Sûltan the Ouzbek, who at this period went over to Mirza Yadgaur. Discouraged then by the cruel disappointments by which his plans in the territory of the Indus had been hitherto continually frustrated, although these disappointments might have been directed, in the scheme of an inscrutable providence, to the wisest ultimate results—disgusted by the repeated failures in human virtue, which the touchstone of experience was perpetually discovering to his view—harrassed on one side by the unprovoked disloyalty of his soldiers, and on the other by the ever-recurring neglect of support, if not of actual hostility, on the part of his brothers—and not less disgusted by the blind fatuity which seemed to govern the actions of his relatives, than completely wearied out by the persecutions which seemed destined never to remit, on the part of an adverse fortune—it is not surprising that the idea of secluding himself from the world and its perplexities, should have recurred to the mind of Homayùn with redoubled force; and that he should again seriously meditate on the alternative of a voyage of devotion to the sanctuary of Mekkah, and of withdrawing at once from all further intercourse with mankind. From this, by the prayers and intreaties of the faithful few, who, through every change of fortune, had still adhered with unshaken loyalty to the cause of their sovereign, he was, however, with some difficulty dissuaded; finally consenting, at their recommendation, to avail himself, on this occasion, of a short period of repose, by retiring into the country of Maldeu, the Ràjah of Joudehpour, who had repeatedly conveyed to him the warmest professions of attachment—who was possessed of resources abundantly adequate to the restoration of his affairs—and who would doubtless, as they persuaded themselves, gladly embrace the opportunity of evincing the perfect sincerity of his professions.

In compliance, accordingly, with the wishes of his followers, Homayûn prepared for his departure; but first of all he dispatched Ibrauhim Eyshek Aga, [lord chamberlain], with a letter to Mirza Yadgaur, admonishing him, once more, to return to his allegiance, since, as he conceived, he must by this time have enjoyed sufficient leisure to reflect upon the inevitable results of his disloyal and unnatural conduct. That prince, however, whose course was impelled by the influence of an untoward destiny, was not to be reclaimed from his errors; and he persisted therefore in his plan of remaining behind in the vicinity of Louhry. Homayûn then, consigning him to his fate, on the twenty-first of Mohurrim, of the year nine hundred and forty nine,* proceeded on his march towards Outchah. A considerable part of the period between that date and the eighth of the former Rebbeia,† must have been consumed in the march, since at the latter date he is described as finally quitting Outchah, directing his course to the right hand towards the territory of Maldeu. On the fourteenth of the same month,‡ he encamped near the fortress of Deurâwul—on the twentieth,§ upon the plains of Wasselpour—and on the seventeenth of the latter Rebbeia,‖ he arrived within twelve kôsse, or about four and twenty miles, of Bikaneir. A.H. 948-49. A. D. 1542 Abûl Fazzel.

In the course of his march, however, some of the more wary of Homayûn's officers conceiving a suspicion of the designs of Maldeu the Ràjah, did not omit to communicate what they felt to their master; and it had been accordingly, some time since, thought advisable to dispatch Meir Semunder, distinguished for his prudence and discretion, to the Râjah's court, in order, if possible, to ascertain how far his professions were to be relied on. And it was about the period now under consideration, that this personage returned to announce, that although there appeared in all the Râjah's proceedings the semblance of every thing fair and amicable, yet through the whole it was not difficult to discover, that there was not a single ray of sincerity to distinguish them from the blackest falsehood.

In these circumstances, Homayûn had prosecuted his march to the very confines of the territory of Maldeu, when a person introduced himself into the camp of the Moghûls, of the name of Singâi Nagoury, described to be in the particular confidence of the Râjah; and to have made

* 6th of May, 1542. † 21st of June. ‡ 27th of June. § 3d of July. ‖ 30th of July 1542.

A. H. 949. A. D. 1542. Abûl Fazzel.

his appearance on this occasion, in the disguise of a merchant, exhibiting a diamond of extraordinary value, for which he affected to be in quest of a purchaser. This did not contribute to dispel the suspicions which had now taken hold of Homayûn, whose prudence had possibly, by this time, derived strength from the experience of frequent misfortune; and he directed that the conduct of the pretended merchant should be narrowly watched. For, as he observed on the occasion, the jewel which he offered for sale was not of a description to be acquired in the common course of commercial speculation, but rather from its transcendant value, such as is won by the sword of some triumphant warrior, or bestowed by the bounty of some magnificent and puissant prince. The result was such as to render the Moghûl monarch still more cautious in his proceedings, and to draw from him the highest commendations of the judgment and sagacity of Meir Semunder.

Before he committed himself further to the designs of the Hindú chief, Homayûn, therefore, determined to employ another of his servants, of the name of Râeymul Souny, in order to try whether, by the light of a superior understanding, some additional insight might not yet be obtained into the actual views of Maldeu. Such discoveries in this respect as he should be able to make, he was to communicate as opportunity might occur; but if precluded, by any apprehensions of personal risk, from conveying the necessary information in writing, he was instructed to make it known by the following very simple preconcerted signs. If the intentions of Maldeu were discovered to be sincerely amicable, the messenger was to grasp with one hand the four fingers and thumb of the other; but if the contrary, he was to take hold of his little finger alone.

Homayûn, with his small force, now took his departure from the town of Pehloudy,* here stated to lay within thirty kôsse, or about sixty miles, of Joudeh, or Joudpour, the residence of the Rajah; and, after proceeding two or three stages, he had already encamped by the side of a great pond, or lake, called the Koul-e-Jougy, or the lake of the Jougy, when the messenger of Râ-imul Souny presented himself, and exhibited to Homayûn the token of hostility, by holding his little finger alone. Other indications soon followed, which put the question out of all doubt, the

* Perhaps Pulendy.

perfidious Rájah having, by this time, advanced a considerable force in the direction of Homayûn's approach; under the pretence that it was for the purpose of conducting him with the greater honor into his capital. His designs were, however, now too clearly understood, and Homayûn conceived it prudent to return, without a moment's delay, towards Pehloudy. A.H. 949. A. D. 1542. Abûl Fazzel.

Whatever might have been the intentions of Maldeu at the commencement of these proceedings, a point on which there existed some difference of opinion, many affirming that he entertained originally the most friendly views, and that he did not discard them until wrought upon by the promises and threats of Sheir Khaun—and, peradventure, by a closer examination of the broken fortunes of Homayùn—there was in fact, at this crisis, no longer any room to doubt that he was determined on hostility; and the sordid and perfidious designs of the man to whom he had been about to commit his destiny, being in his judgment thus sufficiently ascertained, the Moghùl monarch hastened to prepare for the worst. His preparations did not, however, require any very complicated arrangements; the principal extending only to the detaching of the veterans Tereddy Beg Khaun, and Munnâeim Khaun, with the greater part of his slender force towards the rear, in order to frustrate any immediate attempt upon his camp on the part of the Rajah's troops; and, if a favorable opportunity should occur, to give them a specimen of what they were to expect from the superior prowess of the Moghùls. There remained with Homayùn the females of his family, under the protection of the residue of the fighting men, composed of the most devoted of his followers; among whom were included the Ameirs Sheikh Ally Beg, and Tersoun Beg Jullâeir, the sons of Bába Jullàeïr, together with Fazzel Beg and some others, in the whole not exceeding twenty in number. To these must, however be added some of the imperial household slaves, a few artizans, and some literary men attendant on the court, among whom we find particularly named, Moulàna Tauj-ud-dein, and Moulana Tchaund an eminent astronomer.

When, however, after quitting Pehloudy, Homayûn had succeeded in reaching Sautelmeir without accident, a body of Maldeu's troops suddenly made its appearance, in consequence of the detachment em-

A. H. 949.
A. D. 1542
Abûl Fazzel.

ployed, as above noticed, to cover the retreat of the imperial party, having taken a wrong direction, and thus permitted the enemy to pass without observation. Possessed of the steadiness of the rock in the crisis of danger, Homayûn instantly turned about to face it, directing the greater part of the women to dismount, in order to place the men with arms on horseback, and dividing his already diminutive force into three small squadrons. Sheikh Ally Beg, with three or four of his associate warriors, pressing directly towards the enemy, fortunately found them engaged in a narrow defile; in which situation instantly attacking them, he succeeded in beating them back with considerable slaughter, and after a very slight resistance. Highly rejoiced at his very providential escape, Homayûm did not forget to render his homage of thanksgiving to the author of all victory; after which, he bent his course for Jesselmeir, where on the first of the former month of Jummaudy,* he encamped without further interruption from the enemy. At that place, shortly afterwards, he was joined by the division which by its devious march had exposed him to such imminent danger, and which had indeed undergone the most painful anxiety in consequence of the reports which were circulated of Homayûn's perilous situation.

Râey Lounkurren, the Rajah of Jesselmeir, did not appear disposed to give to the wandering monarch a more favorable reception than the other neighboring powers; on the contrary, he stationed a strong guard on the reservoir of fresh water near the town, in order to prevent the Moghûls, exhausted with fatigue and thirst in their arduous march through the desert, from obtaining that relief which their distresses so urgently demanded. But the resistance of such men against the courage of despair, animated, almost to madness, by the agonies of thirst, produced no other effect than to exhibit an useless proof of the hostile spirit of the Rajah; and Homayûn, after plentifully refreshing his wearied followers, was enabled to continue his march southwestward for Amerkote, with recruited vigor. At that place, after again sustaining, amidst the sands of the desert which extends in that direction, all the evils that could arise from a scarcity, if not a total privation of the means of subsistance, and of water, he at last arrived in safely, on the

* 12th of August, 1542.

tenth of the former Jummaudy;* experiencing from Ràna Pursaud, the Hindú chief in possession, every proof of kindness, respect, and hospitality. And here he determined to remain for a few days, in order to allow to his exhausted companions a short interval of repose after their recent painful and laborious exertions. A. H. 949. A. D. 1542. Abûl Fazzel.

During his late distress and embarrassments, Homayûn, in order to alleviate the more urgent necessities of those who continued attached to his destiny, had applied to some of his principal officers, and among others, to the veteran Tereddy Beg Khaun, for a part of that wealth, which all had accumulated through the channel of his hitherto exhaustless bounty; and they had, it appears, evinced an undutiful and unexpected repugnance to make the smallest sacrifice to accommodate his wishes. In consequence of this, on his arrival at Amerkote through some arrangement with the Rájah rather ambiguously stated, he proceeded to take from them without ceremony, not more, however, than was just sufficient to make a trifling distribution among his people, returning far the greater part to these sordid and ungrateful individuals. Gracious heaven! ejaculates our author, could it be expected that the auspicious event about to dawn upon the world in the birth of the illustrious Akbar, should have produced much influence in securing the loyalty of the ordinary classes of mankind, when the most renowned and distinguished nobles of the land could be found, in the crisis of his deepest distress, thus deplorably unmindful of what they owed to the unbounded liberality of their sovereign!

But, to proceed with the narrative; although the exigency of the times required that Homayûn should himself continue his march towards the Indus, the situation of the princess Hameidah Sûltan, now far advanced in her pregnancy, no less urgently demanded that she should be lodged in some place of security and repose. On the first of Rudjub, therefore, of the nine hundred and forty-ninth of the hidjerah,† that princess was conducted by his orders into the castle of Amerkote; and having there consigned her, with a few faithful attendants, to the protection of an all-gracious providence, the care-worn monarch again took his departure westwards. Just four days afterwards, namely, on Sunday night the fifth of Rudjub,‡ in this secluded

* 21st of August. † 10th of October. ‡ 14th of October, 1542.

A. H. 949.
A. D. 1542-43.
Abûl Fazzel.

spot amidst the sands of the desert,* that event occurred in the birth of AKBAR, which was not less calculated to alleviate the present sorrows of an afflicted parent, than destined, at a future period, to produce such felicitous results in tranquillizing the distractions of a turbulent world.

When intelligence of this happy event was communicated to Homayûn, he had not yet advanced on his march to the distance of more than four farsangs, or about fourteen English miles; and it was received, although not entirely unexpected, with the most lively sensations of gratitude and joy. A scene of cheerful festivity succeeded, to the full extent of his now circumscribed resources; for not one was excluded from a liberal participation, in the still undiminished bounty of this magnanimous prince. We have seen that it was in consequence only of the earnest intreaties of his Ameirs, that Homayûn at first abandoned his design of retiring from the world, and was induced to rest his hopes on the hospitality of the unworthy Râjah Maldeu; and it was not less from an indulgence of the same paternal and compliant spirit, that he now once more sought the banks of the inhospitable Indus; it being the general expectation of the companions of his fortune, that the local rulers might, peradventure by this time, have forsaken their system of hostility, and might be induced to make some reparation for their recent injurious proceedings; although Homayûn is stated, on his own part, to have entertained but very slender hopes on the subject.

As he approached the territory of Sind, it was, however, early ascertained that the hostile spirit of the natives was, in fact, but little abated—that the adherents of the Arghûn family were assembled in superior force, in the neighborhood of Jown—and that they were determined to give battle to the troops of Homayûn, or, at all events to oppose his entrance into the country. In consequence of this discovery, it was found expedient to detach a part of the Moghûl small force, in advance, under the orders of the gallant Sheikh Ally Beg Jullâeir; whose family, from father to son, appear to have inherited, with-

* In a former part of his work, describing the circumstance at large, the author states that Amerkote lay in the 25th degree of latitude, and in the 105th of longitude, from the Jezzâeir-e-khaledaut, paradise, or fortunate Islands; which, calculating from the meridian of Fero; would place it in the longitude of Calcutta. Arrowsmith places it, however, exactly on the line of 70.

out exception, the same distinguished zeal and self devotion, from the very earliest dawn of the Teymúrian glory to the present moment. Homayún, with the remainder of his troops, followed at a convenient distance in the rear; and Sheikh Ally, equally animated by the confidence of support, and by a firm belief in the final ascendancy of his master's fortune, although with numbers out of all proportion inferior, did not hesitate to attack the enemy, the instant they came in view, and he appears to have dispersed them without material resistance. Homayún now encamped in the vicinity of Jown; where, about the close of Shabaun,* he was happily joined by the infant Akbar, his mother, and the whole of their attendants from Amerkote, which place they are previously stated to have left on the eleventh of the same month.† A. H. 950. A. D. 1543. Abûl Fazzel.

The situation of Jown, lying on the banks of the Indus, is here described to have been, in many respects, most singularly delightful; surpassing every thing in the territory of Sind, for the beauty of its gardens, the flavor, variety, and abundance of its fruit and vegetables, and the neighboring rural scenery was doubtless materially improved, by the numerous subordinate streams which meandered in every direction. There were other circumstances, moreover, that rendered it at this particular period, a most desirable place of residence for Homayûn; who immediately took up his abode in sight of the town, among the gardens with which it was then surrounded on every side. Hostilities with the Arghûnians continued, however, with little intermission; in the course of which, Homayún lost several of his most distinguished and faithful followers, and among others, the loyal and intrepid Sheikh Ally Beg Jullâeir, abovementioned, who fell in an action with Sûltan Mahommed, of Bukkur; in which Tereddy Beg is accused of having either unnecessarily abandoned his brave associate, or of having otherwise, in some shape or other, dishonorably betrayed his duty. Homayùn was deeply affected by this misfortune, which with other reverses, or mortifications, experienced about the same crisis, considerably abated the desire which he had previously entertained of proceeding towards Bukkur; and indeed, finally determined him to bend his course in the direction of Kandahaur. While thus contending with difficulties under every form and variety, a circumstance occur-

* Beginning of December, 1542 † 19th of November,

A. H. 950.
A. D 1543.
Abûl Fazzel.

red, from which he appeared to derive more than ordinary consolation. During one of the conflicts in which the troops of Homayûn were now almost perpetually engaged with the natives of the country, they found themselves one day unexpectedly supported by the presence of an unknown warrior; whom, from the astonishing prowess with which he fought, they seemed for a moment to consider something more than human. But, when he discovered himself to be the justly celebrated Beyram Khaun, a shout of triumph arose from the Moghûls not less appalling to the enemy, than exhilarating and satisfactory to the generous Homayûn. It appears, that after the disastrous discomfiture near Kanouje, where he had most eminently distinguished himself by his courage and self-devotion, this warlike chieftain had effected his escape, in the first instance, towards the district of Sumbul; and there, at Lukkunpour, he had obtained the protection of Metter Sein, one of the most considerable Zemindaurs of the country, until his retreat was made known to Sheir Khaun, the victorious Afghan. By that powerful conqueror an agent was then dispatched to demand an immediate surrender of the person of the gallant fugitive; and the Zemindaur, being destitute of any adequate means of resistance, found himself under the necessity of complying with the demand: in consequence of which, Beyram Khaun was, however reluctantly, delivered up to the officers of the Afghan, to whom he was presented not long afterwards, while on his march towards the province of Malwah.

He experienced, at first, a reception not less favorable than distinguished from Sheir Khaun, who employed some very flattering expressions, in order to win him over to his designs; and, among other things, he is said to have observed to him, that the man who possesses the genuine spirit of truth and loyalty can never be in the wrong. To this the noble captive is said to have replied, that it was even so—the truly faithful will never err from the right way.

Beyram Khaun cotinued with the army of the Afghan until it reached the vicinity of Bùrhanpour, the capital of Khandeiss; when, in company with Abûl Kaussem, recently governor of Gwaliar, he contrived to effect his escape towards Gújerat. But, on their way to that province, they were both seized by the ambassador of the Afghan chief, who was on his return from the same country, and who had received information of their flight. Abûl Kaussem from possessing some ad-

advantage in point of person and appearance, was the first taken into custody; and here a generous contest ensued between the two friends, with respect to their identity—Abûl Kaussem persisting in the declaration that he was himself Beyram Khaun, whom he represented as the servant who, in repeatedly asserting the contrary, thus rashly sought to devote himself to destruction, for the preservation of his master. In consequence, however, of the uncertainty in which the question was involved by this curious debate, Beyram Khaun obtained an opportunity, of which he did not omit to avail himself, of continuing his journey into Gûjerat. A. H. 950. A. D. 1543. Abûl Fazzel.

The unfortunate Abûl Kaussem was conducted shortly afterwards to the camp of Sheir Khaun; who, incapable of appreciating the exemplary generosity of his motives, caused him to be immediately put to death, on subsequent occasions, frequently observing that from the moment at which Beyram Khaun made use of the ambiguous reply recently adverted to, he suspected that that loyal chief would never be induced to compromise his allegiance. On the other hand, on his safe arrival in Gûjerat, Beyram Khaun was kindly and hospitably received by Sûltan Mahommed, the reigning prince; who employed many urgent importunities to retain him in his service, without effect. He then procured permission to proceed, as he professed, on a voyage to Mekkah, and came to Surat; from whence, by some means or other, but it could scarcely be through Hurduwaur, as stated in the manuscript, he succeeded, on the seventh day of Mohurrim of the nine hundred and fiftieth of the hidjerah,* as we have just described, in regaining the presence of his sovereign.

And here, at the hazard of incurring perhaps a considerable degree of ridicule, although our author relates it as a serious fact, illustrative of that divine energy which was impressed upon the character of Akbar, from the moment of his birth, we should be unfaithlul to our original, if we omitted the following statement altogether; however it may be entitled to little consideration, otherwise than as a very ordinary nursery story. The royal infant had now surpassed the seventh, and was entering into the eighth month from his birth; having been suckled from the first by Jeijy Auttekah, and exhibiting from the very begining an

* 11th of April, 1543.

A. H. 950. A. D. 1543. Abûl Fazzel.

unaccountable aversion for Mauhem Auttekah, and his other nurses. The result of this was a representation to Homayún that the wife of Meir Gheznûi, the above-named Jeijy Auttekah, had produced the envied preference in the child, through the operation of magic; and the innocent woman became not a little afflicted by the injurious calumny. One day, however, when no others were present but herself and her illustrious charge, this miraculous child, to her utter astonishment, suddenly spoke, and, like the divine Messiah of the Christian dispensation, desired her to dispel her apprehensions, and be of good cheer; for that she held on her bosom the Sun of heaven's vicegerency, which should convert her sorrows into the purest joy. At the same time, he cautioned her to beware of any premature disclosure of the secret, which had been thus unfolded to her, since it was associated with some most important points in God's mysterious providence. At a period long subsequent, the nurse related that beyond description rejoiced at what she heard, she felt her anxiety and vexation at once forever removed; and it naturally followed, that her care and tenderness, towards her imperial nursling, redoubled. She, however, for many years preserved the secret inviolate; until, indeed, the royal Akbar had been firmly seated on the throne of Hindùstaun.

At that period, while the young monarch was one day engaged on a hunting party, in the neighborhood of Paullum, not far from the metropolis of Dehly, an enormous and frightful serpent appeared in the road, which appalled the very bravest of his attendants. Akbar himself, however, with equal intrepidity and presence of mind, instantly approached the horrible reptile; and seizing it by the tail, by some means or other contrived to secure it, without the slightest accident. Yússuf Mahommed Khaun, the brother of Mirza Azziz Koukeltaúsh, having witnessed this extraordinary proof of courage and presence of mind in the youthful monarch, could not forbear, on his return, describing the circumstance, with expressions of surprise and admiration, to his mother, the above-mentioned Jeijy Auttekah; and she then conceived herself at liberty to disclose the secret of the nursery, altogether, as she affirmed, exhibiting an undoubted presage of the future grandeur of their illustrious sovereign.

In dismissing this subject, Abúl Fazzel finally alleges that he rests

his authority for the truth of both the circumstances here related, as well on the immediate information of Jeijy Auttekah, the favorite nurse of his sovereign, and mother of the highly distinguished Mirza Azziz Koukeltaush, as on that of many other respectable individuals, on whose discretion and veracity he reposed the utmost confidence—but the passages, continues he, in the life and reign of my illustrious master, transcending the ordinary limits of human agency, which occurred under my own personal observation, will be recorded at large on a future occasion, to serve at the same time, for the improvement of those who look no further than the surface of things, and as an exemplar for the guidance of such as are accustomed to dive, into the more mysterious operations of an invisible power.

A. H. 950. A. D. 1543. Abûl Fazzel.

Without, however, accompanying Abûl Fazzel in his remarks on the advantages to be derived from the lessons of adversity—without enlarging on the manner in which the same lessons are applied by the wise and good, so very different from what is usually seen in the vicious practices of the unreflecting, the profligate, and improvident—we shall proceed with the narrative to describe that Homayûn, when he had finally determined on withdrawing towards the mountains of Kandahaur, conceived it would be expedient, in the first instance, to enter into some species of arrangement with Mirza Shah Hússeyne, the prince of Tattah. This object accomplished, he calculated that he should be able to prosecute his design with the greater security; and then having lodged his infant son in the citadel of Kandahaur, he concluded that he might at length be permitted to perform the pilgrimage to Mekkah, which had again become the subject of his serious contemplation, with fewer apprehensions for the fate of his family. He was yet deliberating on the means of carrying his design into execution, when a dispatch arrived from the prince of Tattah himself; who had, through some channel or other, received intimation of his wishes, and who now transmitted proposals for an immediate accommodation of their differences. To these proposals, as they perfectly accorded with his present views, Homayún very readily gave his assent; neither were the adherents of the family of Arghùn backward in expressing their joy at the termination of hostilities, from which they had suffered very considerably; and their satisfaction was attested by some very valuable presents conveyed to

A. H. 950. A D 1543 Abûl Fazzel.

the court of the Moghûl monarch, together with very ample apologies for their recent refractory conduct.

On the seventh of the latter Rebbeia,* at all events, of the year nine hundred and fifty, Homayûn commenced his march from Jown for Kandahaur, taking the route of Sewy, or Sehwaun, near which place he was, probably, to cross the Indus. But at the period under consideration, the fortress of Kandahaur was held by Mirza Asskery, under the authority of his brother Kamraun; and that prince, impelled no less by his own unabated hostility of mind, than authorized by the instructions of his adopted superior, became no sooner apprized of the approach of Homayûn, towards the province over which he presided, than he determined on measures for intercepting the march, and if possible to seize the person of the injured monarch; and he actually proceeded on this design, after having placed the fortress entrusted to his charge in a competent state of security against attack. Homayûn does not, however, appear to have experienced any material human obstacle to his progress, until he reached the confines of Shaul; a district not more than three farsangs, or about eleven miles, from Kandahaur.

In the neighborhood of this district, two of Homayûn's attendants, who had hastened onwards to find out the watering place, were taken prisoners by a party of the troops of Mirza Asskery, stationed here for the purpose of conveying the earliest intelligence of his brother's approach. One of the prisoners, however, watching an opportunity, most fortunately effected his escape; and communicated to Homayûn the first positive information which had yet reached him, of the designs of his enemies, and which the prisoner had accidentally collected from the conversation of his captors. In consequence of this information, which seems to have been entirely unexpected, Homayûn at once abandoned his design of proceeding to Kandahaur; and instantly turned short towards Mustung, possibly in the direction of the neighboring province of Seiestaun. Pâyendah Mahommed, an officer in his confidence, received, nevertheless, his permission to continue the journey to Kandahaur; taking with him a letter to Mirza Asskery from his brother, again expostulating with him, in the mildest language, on his unprovoked and unaccountable hostility. But neither advice nor expostulation

* 9th of July, 1543.

were of any avail with that perverse and misguided prince, who proceeded, on the contrary, in his hostile preparations with increasing pertinacity; notwithstanding the endeavors of Kaussem Hûsseyne Sûltan, Mehedy Kaussem Khaun, and several others of his party, to dissuade him, even on considerations of ordinary policy, from compelling Homayûn to take refuge in the Persian territory, which they alleged must be inevitably followed by the most serious embarrassments. The suggestions of Meir Abûl Kheyr, and of others of a more malignant spirit, confirmed him, in spite of all, in his hostile resolutions, and he accordingly marched, in the early part of the ensuing day, on the direct road towards Mustung.

A. H. 950. A. D. 1543. Abûl Fazzel.

When he had proceeded a few miles on his march, it occurred to Mirza Asskery to demand, if any of those who accompanied him were acquainted with the road; and no one appearing disposed to reply in the affirmative but Jubby, or Hubby, Bahauder, the Ouzbek, a stipendiary in the train of Kaussem Hûsseyne Sûltan, who had undertaken to be one of the party on this occasion, Asskery observed that he was perfectly satisfied of the competency of the man, because he now recollected that he had held a small jagueir in that part of the country. The Ouzbek was then directed to take the lead, and point out the road to his associates; but as he represented the total inability of his horse, Tersoun Berlas consented, at the particular desire of the Mirza, although not without considerable demur, to lend him that on which he rode. The Ouzbek had, however, formerly served under the standard of Homayûn in Hindûstaun; and a sense of paramount duty, at this moment, resuming its influence over his mind, he had advanced but a very short distance at the head of the troops, when he suddenly gave the reins to his horse, and proceeded full speed, without stopping, until he found the tent of Beyram Khaun; to whom he announced the impending danger, and by whom he was immediately conducted into the presence of Homayûn.

Some of the attendants were now sent to request that Tereddy Beg Khaun, and others of the vassal chiefs with the imperial army, would convey to the tents of the Emperor, without delay, the number of horses, not many, that might be required for the removal of the royal family; but, incapable of estimating the pure happiness to be derived

A. H. 950.
A. D. 1543.
Abûl Fazzel.

from the reflection of having performed a piece of service of such urgent and vital importance, these sordid men positively refused to comply; and Homayûn was proceeding to mount his charger, in order to punish this foul and perfidious delinquency on the spot; when he suffered himself to be finally dissuaded by the expostulations of Beyram Khaun, who intreated him to consider the pressure of the occasion, and to remit the chastizement of the traitors to the vengeance of eternal justice, which sooner or later would doubtless overtake them. Homayûn, therefore, accompanied by a few only of his most devoted and faithful followers, quitted his camp, and made directly for the trackless wilds of the neighboring desert; conceiving afresh, at this crisis of peril, the design of passing through Irâk, on his pilgrimage to Mekkah, so often determined upon and again relinquished.

In the hurry of departure he did not, however, omit to provide that Khaujah Mauzzem, Nedeim Koukeltaush, Meir Gheznûy, and Khaujah Amber, the superintendant of the haram, should take charge of the litter of Hameidah Sûltaun, the mother of Akbar; with instructions to convey her in any way that might be found practicable, to join him in his flight, leaving his infant son to the protection of the Almighty, in perfect confidence that no evil should befal him. This piece of duty they contrived to accomplish with equal diligence and success, rejoining the royal party in the desert without accident; but when the whole had proceeded together a short distance on their retreat, the day closed, and was followed by a night of utter darkness. In these circumstances, after reminding him of the rapacious spirit and sordid love of gold, which notoriously predominated in the nature of Mirza Asskery, and suggesting that at this moment, there could be but little doubt, he was engaged in examining, and taking an account of the effects acquired by his unrighteous capture, Beyram Khaun proposed to his master instantly to return, and make an attack upon his unnatural brother, while totally unprepared for any thing of the kind; concluding, that their leader once taken off, his adherents who had all of them, in some shape or other, formerly tasted of the bounty of Homayûn, would naturally be impelled to return to their allegiance. To this, however, from a bias in his character strongly repugnant to deeds of deliberate bloodshed, Homayûn, although he entirely concurred in the equal advantage and practicabi-

lity of the plan, without hesitation declined to accede; declaring, that having finally determined on his journey into strange and distant lands, he could not now prevail upon himself to abandon his design; and accordingly, recommending his infant son afresh to the protection of *him*, who was its surest defence against evil, he continued his march towards the desert. A. H. 950. A. D. 1543. Abûl Fazzel.

On the other hand, Mirza Asskery, on approaching the vicinity of Mustung, had dispatched Meir Abûl Hussun Suddur on before him, in order, if possible, by engaging Homayûn in discourse, to detain him from proceeding on his retreat; and this personage had presented himself, accordingly, just as the monarch was mounting his horse, announcing that he had matters to communicate from Mirza Asskery, which were of the highest importance; and thus endeavoring, under all the pretexts that the genius of falsehood could devise, to protract the moment of departure to the very last. Providentially suspecting his purpose, Homayûn did not suffer himself to become the dupe of such an artifice, but hastened, as we have just seen, on his way into the Persian territory. Almost immediately afterwards, Mirza Asskery entered the encampment; having previously employed Shah Wullid and Abûl Kheyre, with a considerable force, to surround it in every direction, in order to prevent all possibility of escape. He now became apprized, through the report of the Suddur, of the seasonable information conveyed by the loyal Ouzbek, and of the subsequent precipitate flight of Homayûn. Tereddy Beg Khaun, with the train of refractory stipendiaries, lost no time in presenting himself to Mirza Asskery, from whom he experienced, however, a reception very different from what, in his folly, he might have taught himself to expect; being, together with the whole of his perfidious associates, committed to the custody of those, from whose vigilance there was little chance of escape. And thus early was he instructed to prepare for the miserable lot with which offended heaven hath been not unfrequently seen to visit, even in this world, such as basely forsake their benefactors in the hour of distress and danger.

To Meir Gheznûy, the foster-father of the infant Akbar who was early introduced to his presence, Mirza Asskery vehemently protested that he had no other object in his undertaking, than merely to secure

A. H. 950.
A. D. 1543
Abûl Fazzel.

an interview with the Emperor, and therefore affected great astonishment that he should have been induced to commit himself to the horrors of the desert; after which he demanded what was become of the young Mirza his son. Meir Gheznûy informed him in reply, that the young prince was in his tent; on which, directing him to take a camel-load of fruit from his travelling equipage, for the use of his infant relative, and telling the Meir that he would shortly follow, Mirza Asskery withdrew to one of his own tents; where, precisely as had been represented to Homayûn by his acute and intelligent minister, accompanied by two or three ordinary writers, he passed the whole of that night, inspecting, and taking an inventory of, some of the royal effects, which had been thus unexpectedly placed at his disposal.

On the day following, about the hour of the morning repast, Mirza Asskery, causing his great drum to be beaten, proceeded to take possession of his brother's encampment, pitching his own tents immediately before the entrance of the imperial pavilion. The whole of those who had been found in the encampment, were immediately collected and brought into the presence of this domestic plunderer; and Tereddy Beg Khaun in particular, was now finally transferred to the safe keeping of Shah Wullid. The disobedient vassals who had so shamefully betrayed their allegiance were, all of them, committed at the same time to the care of different bands of Mirza Asskery's troops, in order to be conveyed to Kandahaur; where, at a period not long subsequent, the greater part of them perished under the torture. Tereddy Beg was himself completely fleeced of his property; and thus early atoned for his misdeeds—if atonement that may be called, which bore so small a proportion to the enormity of his offences.

But to return to the infant Akbar; it is said that when conveyed, by Meir Gheznûy and his nurses, to the presence of Mirza Asskery, and it was expected that he should have exhibited some indications of surprise and terror, at the menacing looks designedly cast upon him by his hostile kinsman, the high born child evinced, on the contrary, the most perfect indifference; and this is described to have occasioned considerable displeasure in the mind of Asskery, which he could not restrain himself from betraying in the remark, that the boy would have belied his birth, if he had not shewn the unbending disposition derived

from his father. A little afterwards, attracted by the seal ring which depended from a collar of various colored gems round the neck of Mirza Asskery, the child stretched out its little hands to take hold of it; and the Mirza, with perfect good nature, immediately drew it off his neck, and presented it to the child. This circumstance in other respects so trivial, was, however, immediately construed, by men of shrewder, or more reflecting minds, into a striking presage of the imperial destiny, which, at no very distant period, awaited the acceptance of this illustrious scion of the house of Teymùr; when the stream of royal authority which had been permitted, for a time, to desert its natural channel, should be finally restored to its course, through the ever-flowing beneficence of the fountain of all perfection.

A. H. 950. A. D. 1543. Abûl Fazzel.

Mirza Asskery, accompanied by his infant captive and his attendants, now returned towards Kandahaur; when, on their way, availing himself of an opportunity to approach the litter which conveyed the royal child, Kougjy Bahauder, a person high in the confidence of Asskery, privately whispered to Meir Gheznûy, that if he could prevail upon himself to entrust his illustrious charge to his care, he would engage to restore him to the arms of his parents. To this proposal Meir Gheznùy prudently replied, that had there not existed some very forcible reasons to the contrary, his royal father would doubtless have taken the child away with him, in the first instance. Whether these reasons continued to operate he could not presume to be the judge; but, at all events, without the most positive instructions to authorize him, he would not, for an instant, permit himself to abandon his precious charge. Bahauder here explained that he had formed a resolution immediately to seek the presence of Homayûn, wherever he was to be found; in order, at a period when the whole world seemed to have forsaken him, to devote the remainder of his life to the service of that injured monarch: and that he had hoped, by restoring to him the person of his only son, to render his reception the more welcome. As this, however, was a happiness to which it appeared that he must not presume to aspire, he had only to request that he might at least be furnished with some token to exhibit as a proof, that he had actually seen, and recently parted with, the royal infant in perfect safety. On this Meir Gheznûy untied the fillet, or small turban, with which the child's brows were encircled,

A. H. 950. A. D. 1543. Abûl Fazzel.

and presented it to him; and the soldier set off in quest of Homayûn, most highly gratified.

On the eighteenth of Ramzaun of the year nine hundred and fifty,* just five months and seven days after the troops of Homayûn had left their encampment at Jown on the Indus, Mirza Asskery conducted his infant captive into Kandahaur, in the citadel of which place, near his own person, he immediately lodged him. The child was, however, attended by his several nurses, Mauhem Aghah, Jeijy Auttekah, and Auttekah Khaun; his early education being, at the same time, committed to the particular superintendance of Sûltaunum Begum, the favorite consort of Mirza Asskery; and she is acknowledged to have fulfilled her trust with exemplary tenderness and integrity. Our author here proceeds to describe with sufficient minuteness, a variety of circumstances in the infancy of the royal Akbar, all indicative of his future grandeur; but, as they are scarcely of adequate importance to the reader of a distant age and country, it would be inexpedient to introduce them into these pages. It would, indeed, have been very desirable to have marked the intermediate stages, in a country so little known to Europeans, as that between Sehwaun and Kandahaur; but this, from the total silence of the original from which we write, we are precluded from attempting. All the information to be derived from the narrative, on this subject, seems confined to the simple fact, that the march must have occupied, as above noticed, a period of more than five months, although the geographical distance does not exceed six hundred miles. Having, in the mean time, conducted the expatriated, and hitherto unfortunate Homayûn, to the extremity of his hereditary dominions, we shall now leave him to prosecute his adventurous journey into the territories of the Persian monarchy; and return to take a rapid sketch of the proceedings of his more successful opponent, the warlike and enterprising Afghan, on the plains of Hindûstaun.

After crossing the Beiah, the second of the five rivers coming from the east-ward, Sheir Khaun, then, is stated to have proceeded in his marches with a circumspection which bordered on timidity; being in perpetual apprehension that the troops of Homayûn, still in respectable force on different points around him, were only watching an op-

* 14th of December, 1543.

portunity to avenge their recent defeats. Hence, his line of march was usually preceded by formidable bodies of cavalry and infantry, in constant order of battle. But, at the expiration of some days, when the perfidy of Mirza Kamraun, and the general disaffection which had seized the Moghûls, became notorious through the neighboring provinces, the necessity of these timid precautions was at once removed; and the victorious Afghan, experiencing no further obstacle to his advance, soon made himself master of Lahour. From thence he proceeded, shortly afterwards, to Khoshaub and Behrah, and the territory in that direction, where he halted for some time; having dispatched his agents to require the presence of Sûltan Saurung the Gohggur, and Sûltan Adam, two of the most powerful Zemindaurs in that part of the Punjaub. But, as each of these chiefs had experienced, respectively, from the generosity of the departed and illustrious Bâber, some favors of essential importance, of which, in spite of the vicious example of the times, they thought fit to retain a lasting and honorable recollection, they treated the summons with indifference, if not with disdain; and the Afghan advanced in consequence to Huttia, one of the principal stations of the Gohggurs*—perhaps Bahotti, of which name there appears, in modern maps, a place on the left of the Behaut north of Khoshaub, from whence he detached a considerable force, in order to reduce that intractable nation to some species of submission. The Gohggurs, however, defended themselves with undaunted resolution; successfully repelling their invaders, great numbers of whom they captured and actually sold for slaves.

A. H. 950.
A. D. 1543.
Abûl Fazzel.

Sheir Khaun appeared now disposed to march in person against these independent and warlike tribes, but from this, on consultation with his principal officers, he was finally dissuaded; it being very prudently urged, that the Gohggurs, in possession of inaccessible mountains, covered on all sides by narrow and intricate defiles, were not to be successfully attacked otherwise, than by a plan of operations systematically and skilfully arranged, and deliberately carried into execution. It was therefore proposed that a competent division of troops should be permanently stationed on that frontier, so disposed as to be able, at the same time,

* Kakares and Gickers are the names by which these tribes are indifferently distinguished by other writers.

A. H. 950.
A. D. 1543.
Abûl Fazzel.

to keep up a war of incursion into the territory of the obnoxious tribes, and to provide against the probable attempts of Homayûn's armies. In order to effect this, however, with the greater security, it was further recommended that a respectable fortified post should be immediately established in the country, as a place of arms and retreat, in case of emergency; so that, in process of time, these refractory hords, gradually penned up within their fastnesses, would be ultimately wearied out, and compelled to submit to authority. In the mean time, it appeared indispensably expedient that Sheir Khaun himself should return without a moment's delay into Hindûstaun; in order to secure the establishment of his power in that extensive and opulent region.

In conformity with the plan thus suggested, Sheir Khaun immediately laid the foundations of the fortress of Rohtass, on the right, or western bank of the Behaut; nearly opposite to the place called Jeihlum, a name by which the river itself is sometimes distinguished. Then, leaving in the neighborhood a sufficient force to carry into execution his designs against the Gohggurs, he returned by a succession of marches to the metropolis of Agrah. Not long afterwards, he engaged in the siege of Gwaliar; which still held out for Homayún, under Meir Abûl Kaussem, recently spoken of in describing the escape of Beyram Khaun. Having, however, exhausted his whole stock of provisions, that unfortunate officer was compelled to deliver himself up, together with the impregnable fortress consigned to his charge, to the Afghan. Sheir Shah now found leisure to devote a few months to the arrangement of a regular system of government for his extensive conquests in Hindûstaun; the whole of which, with the exception of the favorite province of Bengal, which was probably reserved as an immediate appanage of the throne, he subdivided into forty-seven distinct departments. Another regulation, which our author has thought of sufficient importance to particularize beyond others, was that by which all the horses of his cavalry were required to receive a distinctive government mark from a hot iron; and in short, as he further contemptuously remarks, this successful usurper conceived perhaps that he might command the applause of succeeding generations, by merely reviving some of those numerous regulations of Sùltan Allâ-ud-dein, which he had heard described in the history of Feyrouz Shah.

Having dispatched these necessary arrangements, Sheir Khaun conducted his troops against Pourun Mul, the Rajah of Râeyssein and Tchundeiry; whom, on the faith of an insidious treaty, he persuaded to quit the protection of his works, and place himself at his mercy; and whom, at the suggestion of some iniquitous professors of the law, and sophists, who frequented his camp, he then basely betrayed to slaughter. He now returned once more to Agrah; where his attention was for a time devoted to the general improvement of the communications between the remote parts of his dominions. For this it cannot be denied that he adopted the most effectual and liberal plan, when it is here recorded, that, after the example of some of his predecessors in the kingdom of Bengal, all the way from Sennaumgaunu in that province, to the river Indus—a distance, according to Ferishtah, of fifteen hundred kôsse—he caused to be erected at intervals of a kôsse from each other, along the whole of the road, serâis, or fixed refreshing places, or hotels, with every species of convenience for the accommodation of every caste of travellers, whether Mahommedan or Hindû.* Recovering from a dangerous fit of illness, by which he had been attacked while at Agrah employed in these benevolent pursuits, he next engaged in hostilities with Maldeo, Râjah of Adjmeir, Nagour, and other celebrated towns in the same quarter; of the whole of which, either through perfidy, or superior address, he also succeeded in obtaining possession. From thence, with his characteristic celerity of dispatch, he led his troops against Tchitour and Runtempour; the governors of which, either through fraud or stratagem, were likewise compelled to lay at his feet, the keys of both those stupendous fortresses.

A. H. 950.
A. D. 1543.
Abûl Fazzel.

Leaving a sufficient force to secure the stability of his conquests in this quarter, he traversed the country to the eastward, and entered the territory of Dehndirah; where he proceeded to invest the celebrated fortress of Kalinjer. And here, on the tenth day of Mohurrem, of the nine hundred and fifty-second of the hidjerah,† when he had just completed his approaches both above and below ground, and had on some points raised them to a level with the works of the place, he finally

* According to Ferishtah, the same was done on the whole of the road from Agrah to Mandou, and both roads were planted on each side for the whole distance, with the most useful variety of fruit trees, &c. &c.

† 23d of March, 1545.

A. H. 950. A. D. 1543. Abûl Fazzel.

perished in consequence of an explosion among his own combustibles—perhaps, as is explained by Colonel Dow, by that of one of his own shells. In the original of Ferishtah, the event is, however, briefly recorded in the following terms.

After the reduction of Runtempour, which he bestowed in jagueir on his eldest son Auddel Khaun, Sheir Khaun proceeded towards *Kalinjer*, by this author represented as the very strongest fortress in Hindustaun. In consequence of the atrocious breach of faith, which had been observed in the instance of Ràjah Pourun Mul, the governor of Kalinjer refused to submit, and accordingly prepared for hostilities; and the fort was therefore invested by the Afghan. When his approaches had, however, been brought sufficiently close to the works of the besieged, and Sheir Shah was in one of his batteries, observing the effect of certain Hookkahs, or pots, loaded with gunpowder, which were occasionally discharged into the fort, one of these hookkahs, perhaps a shell, striking the top of the wall, unexpectedly rebounded back, and bursting among a heap of other materials of annoyance of the same description, the whole immediately exploded. By this explosion the Shah, together with Sheikh Khaleil, one of his pupils, or principal favorites, and Moulana Nizaum Dauneshmund, and Derria Khaun Shirwauny, was most dreadfully scorched; and in this state he was conveyed to his tents, continuing, as often as he could find breath, and his senses returned, to call upon his troops—still fiercely urging them on to the attack, and dispatching his attendants one after another, to stimulate and direct their efforts. Towards the close of the day, which is here pronounced to have been the twelfth of the former Rebbeia, of the year already mentioned,* it was announced to him that the fort was in possession of his troops; and he instantly breathed his last. The particular year of this event is exactly preserved in the sentence "z'autesh mûrd"—he died by fire; the Persian letters of which numerically applied give the total 952.

The character of this truly celebrated, able, and warlike monarch, has been delineated, with equal justice and impartiality, by Colonel Dow in his history; and to that work we do not hesitate to refer the reader. The subject is indeed dismissed by Abúl Fazzel, with this

* 23d of May.

brief remark, that he governed the noble empire of Hindûstaun, through the medium of every species of fraud and imposture, for the period of five years, two months, and thirteen days. On the eighth day after his decease he was succeeded, to the prejudice of the elder brother, by his younger son Jullaul Khaun; who, together with the vacant throne, for which he was entirely indebted to his immediate proximity to the spot, assumed the title of Isslaum Shah, which title, by an easy transition, was soon generally softened into Seleim Shah; and of him it is also simply stated, that, in the enormity of his crimes, he even surpassed the arch-usurper his father. When, however, continues our author, for purposes which we dare not scrutinize, a mysterious providence had permitted the power of this turbulent and perfidious family, to flourish for a few fleeting years, like the glow worm of the night beside the beams of Teymûrian glory, that same providence, after a short career of wickedness, finally levelled them with the dust; and the world was thus, at last, effectually relieved from the vices of this polluted race.

A. H. 950. A. D. 1543. Abûl Fazzel.

In a former page, we left Mirza Heyder engaged in preparations for his expedition into Kashmeir; and it may be here permitted to recur to the proceedings of that prince. It appears that, on reaching the station of Nousheher, he was, in conformity with the instructions of Homayûn, regularly joined by the several officers who had been directed to unite in the expedition. But, when he had already entered some of the passes leading into the country, that fatal disunion occurred among the troops of Homayûn, which has in the preceding pages been sufficiently dilated upon; and Khaujah Kullan Beg, yielding either to the unsettled disposition of his own mind, or to the invitation of Mirza Kamraun, suddenly withdrew to join the standard of that prince. The example immediately extended to others; and Mirza Heyder was soon left to prosecute his undertaking, with no more than the stipendiaries in his own pay, and a few of those who had repaired to join him under the personal authority of the Emperor. Knowing, however, that this delightful province was laboring, at the time, under all the horrors of anarchy and civil dissention, the Mirza determined on advancing; and on the twenty second of Rudjub of the year nine hundred and forty seven,* he accordingly proceeded through the pass of Panouje, or Pa-

* 21st of November, 1450.

A. H. 950. A. D 1543 Abûl Fazzel.

noach, and shortly afterwards obtained possession of the greater part of the country without resistance.

At the period under consideration Kashmeir had not, indeed, for a long time, acknowledged the predominance of any individual, or particular ruler; the several native chiefs exercising an independent authority over such parts of this elysian province as occasionally fell under their power. There was, it seems however, one who had recently raised himself to some sort of nominal pre-eminence, and this person had either received or assumed the title of *Nauzek Shah;* which very well corresponded with the unrivalled amœnities of the country. On the recurrence of the rainy season, which is described to have set in with considerable violence, Gaujy Beg, the chief through whose exhortations, principally, Mirza Heyder had been induced to undertake the reduction of the province, perceiving his own views defeated by the establishment of Mirza Heyder's power, with the natural perfidy inherent, it seems, in the character of the Kashmirians, suddenly withdrew from the country, to seek the protection of Sheir Khaun; taking with him the sister of Issmâeil the son of Mahommed Shah, formerly prince of Kashmeir—whom, in order to secure a favorable reception, he presented to the victorious Afghan. Through the medium of such an offering he rendered himself sufficiently acceptable to Sheir Khaun; and a force of two thousand Afghans, under Allawul Khaun and Hûsseyne Khaun Sherwauny, was immediately dispatched by that monarch, to reconduct him into the province. In the mean time, Ebdal Maugury, on whose support he chiefly relied for the permanence of his power, dying of a dropsical complaint, Mirza Heyder, after lodging his family in Indrakoul, a post of great strength and security, found it expedient to retire into the more inaccessible parts of the country; and being now abandoned by the whole of the Kashmirians, he was thus compelled for the space of three months, with a few of his own followers, to lead an unsettled and precarious life among the mountain ranges, with which the country abounds. At last, on monday the twentieth of the latter Rebbeia of the nine hundred and forty eighth of the hidjerah,* the opportunity occurred, and he ventured to give battle to the enemy; whom, although amounting altogether to a force of five thousand com-

* 12th of August, 1541.

batants, including natives and the auxiliary Afghans, he succeeded in defeating with great loss. By this victory, Mirza Heyder rendered himself, at all events, undisputed master of Kashmeir. A. H. 950. A. D. 1543. Abûl Fazzel.

Accordingly, for ten years afterwards, Mirza Heyder had an opportunity of devoting himself with laudable zeal and assiduity to the restoration of the affairs of the province—to watch its gradual recovery from a state of desolation and ruin—and he enjoyed the proud satisfaction of seeing it once more overspread with elegant and flourishing towns. At the same time, he actively encouraged the introduction, from all parts of the world, of every species of manufacture and ingenious invention. Yielding himself, however, more than all, to cultivate the fascinations of music in every branch, this latter circumstance, combined perhaps with the soft luxuries of the enchanting climate, and bewitching local scenery of Kashmeir, produced in the event, effects extremely inauspicious and debilitating; for while he suffered his faculties to be absorbed in the indulgence of this fascinating propensity, Mirza Heyder gradually lost sight of two most essential virtues—those of moderation and circumspection; one of them the right, and the other the left arm of prosperous power. But his grand and fatal error, after succeeding so fortunately in the reduction of this beautiful and charming province was, it seems, when, merely to conciliate the attachment of the native chiefs, he continued the regalities of the Khotbah and Sikkah, to the pageant Nauzek Shah; instead of assigning them, as his allegiance and sense of duty should have dictated, to his imperial benefactor then struggling with adversity. Yet in this it is to be hoped, remarks our author, that he must surely have been rather governed by the necessity of accommodating with the temper of the times, than by any spirit of disloyalty, of which the examples were, however, already sufficiently numerous. After all, when on his return from Persia, his imperial relative had subsequently repossessed himself of Kâbul and its dependencies, Mirza Heyder found it expedient to concede to him the honors, of which he had been so long and unwisely defrauded.

When, on the other hand, Mirza Heyder once permitted himself to deviate from the maxims of a just and beneficent government, and resigned himself to the indulgence of his passions, the perfidious charac-

A. H. 950.
A. D. 1543
Abûl Fazzel.

ter of the Kashmirians, which had been merely kept in check by the prudent measures of a vigorous administration, again displayed itself; and this inherently vicious people, returning to their treacherous practices, proceeded, without compunction, under the mask of friendship, to carry into execution the most hostile designs. That which, however, contributed most essentially to the accomplishment of their plans, was the system which they adopted, to separate the infatuated prince from his troops; the best of whom they contrived, under various pretences, to disperse into different quarters, some towards the confines of Tibet, others towards Pukkely, or Puhkoli, and the remainder towards Rajoury, on the opposite extremities of the province.

Having brought a multitude of others to unite in the conspiracy, and finally prevailed upon Hadjy Bekkaul, to whom Mirza Heyder had unfortunately entrusted the entire management of affairs, to engage in their design, the principal conspirators, Eiddy Rania, and Hûsseyne Maugury, son of Ebdal Maugury formerly mentioned, proceeded without further delay, at the head of their accomplices, in quest of the unsuspecting victim of the combination. In the neighborhood of Khaunpour, about midway between Srinuggur, the ancient metropolis of the country, and Hammeirahpour, they came upon the unfortunate Mirza; by night, as he was on his way to the palace of his perfidious minister Khaujah Hadjy, in order to set at large one of his servants of the name of Kâra Bahauder, who was in confinement. He was instantly put to death by one of the conspirators, of the name of Kummaul Zhezheny; although it is by others stated that he was accidentally killed, on the occasion, by an arrow from one of his own attendants. The death of Mirza Heyder is, however, recorded to have taken place, under whatever circumstances, some time in the course of the nine hundred and fifty-eighth of the hidjerah,* or about ten years subsequent to his final subjugation of Kashmeir.

The narrative will next be employed, in the same cursory manner, to trace the proceedings of the ambitious and ungrateful Mirza Kamraun. It appears, then, that after his ill omened separation from Homayûn, that misguided prince, at the head of his followers, went off immediately in the direction of Kabûl; but on his arrival in the neigh-

* A. D. 1551, commencing January.

borhood of Khoshaub, it occurred to him to suspend his march; in order to invest himself with the fleeting and forbidden attributes of a throne, to which he was not entitled. In this he conducted himself exactly as all others are known to do, who, equally unmindful of the claims of justice, and of the dictates of true benevolence, blindly and wickedly presume to erect their own fortune on the distresses and downfal of their fellow men. It cannot therefore be surprising that, in the issue, he should most justly be condemned to reap the fruit, of what he had thus sown in iniquity and ingratitude. Shortly afterwards, when he found it convenient, he prosecuted his march, by the route leading towards Deinkôte on the banks of the Indus.

A. H. 950. A. D 1543. Abûl Fazzel.

Here he was joined by the Mirza Mahommed Súltan, and his son Olûgh Mirza, who had recently failed in an attempt to gain possession of Mûltaun. Mirza Kamraun continued on the left bank of the Indus for a considerable time; until indeed the exhausted state of the country, and the scarcity of subsistance, compelled him to prepare for removal. Throwing therefore a bridge across, he passed to the opposite side of the river; and from thence proceeded, not long afterwards, for Kabûl, where he appears to have immediately established his authority without resistance. Thus, observes our author, referring to the expulsion of Homayûn, when the stately lion has retired to the cover of its native forests, the timid stag may brouze abroad in safety; and when the hawk has taken to its nest, the woodcock may venture to wing its devious flight, fearless of attack.

Gheznein with the territory in that quarter, was consigned by Mirza Kamraun, as soon as he had been joined by him, to his brother Mirza Asskery; and, much about the same time, Khaujah Khawund, or Khound, Mahmoud, was dispatched into Buddukhshaun, to require the submission of Mirza Sûliman. The messenger being, however, sent back by that prince with an unfavorable, and perhaps a disdainful reply, Kamraun led his troops in person across the mountains, into the province; and an action taking place near the station called Baury, in which the advantage inclined to the side of the invaders, Mirza Sûliman proposed an accommodation. This was acceded to, on his engaging that the honors of the mosque and mint should run in the name of Mirza Kamraun. The province was, however, dismem-

A. H. 950.
A. D. 1543.
Abûl Fazzel.

bered of several districts, which were bestowed by Mirza Kamraun on some of his own officers; after which he returned to Kabûl.

In the mean time, intelligence was conveyed to Mirza Kamraun, that his brother Hindal had made himself master of Kandahaur; in consequence of which, he immediately drew together the troops of his government, and proceeded at their head to invest that celebrated fortress. Mirza Hindal, after sustaining a siege of six months, being reduced to extremity by the total consumption of his means of subsistance, found himself, however, constrained to demand a capitulation. This was obtained without much difficulty, and the place was accordingly delivered up to Mirza Kamraun; by whom, in addition to his former government of Gheznein, it was now conferred upon Mirza Asskery.

Mirza Kamraun then returned to Kabûl, taking with him his captive brother Hindal, to whom, after having treated him for some time with great severity, he at last pretended to be reconciled; and as a proof of his sincerity, he condescended to put him in possession of the town on the royal canal of Kabûl, which, in honor of the imperial Akbar, at a subsequent period became distinguished under the name of Jullaul-abad. His authority is said to have been about this time, or shortly afterwards, further acknowledged by the ruler of Sind; the same who was engaged in the hostilities, recently described, with the persecuted Homayûn; and every circumstance appeared to unite, for a while, in contributing to lull him into a state of perfect security. From this he was, however, in a slight degree awakened by fresh hostilities with Mirza Suliman, who had embraced his opportunity to violate the recent treaty of peace, and to recover the places of which he had been deprived, in Buddukhshaun.

He now marched a second time into that province; and having defeated Mirza Suliman in a battle near Enderaub, the latter prince was compelled to shut himself up in the fortress of Zuffer. In this place he was immediately and closely besieged by his enemies, who, by totally cutting off his supplies, seemed confident of constraining him to an early surrender. In this emergency he was basely forsaken by his native subjects, and the total failure of subsistance reducing him to despair, he had no alternative left than to submit to the mercy of his be-

siegers. Kaussem Berlas, and Mirza Abdullah, and others under their orders, were now appointed, by Mirza Kamraun, to provide for the government of Buddukhshaun; after which, accompanied by Mirza Suliman, and his son Mirza Ibrauhim, as his prisoners, he returnedagain to Kabùl, which for a month afterwards, exhibited all the display of the most splendid triumph. In the season of prosperity which followed, he lived, however, utterly unmindful of his duty towards his maker, and of his sacred obligations to redress the injuries of the aggrieved; until indeed the returning ascendancy of his exiled brother's fortune, enabled that prince to recoil upon his adversaries; when, as will be shewn in its proper place, the ambitious Kamraun was not suffered to escape the retribution so justly due to his multiplied acts of treason and ingratitude. A.H. 950. A. D 1543. Abûl Fazzel.

Of Mirza Hindal it will be sufficient to say, that when at the period which produced so many examples of turbulence, disaffection, and treachery, he also pursued the course of ingratitude, this prince proceeded immediately towards Kandahaur; where Karatchah Khaun, the governor on the part of Mirza Kamraun, after hastening to give him a friendly reception, quietly delivered over to him the keys of his charge, together with the authority which he possessed over the surrounding territory. But he had not continued to enjoy his fancied power, for many months, before he was stripped of it, in the manner just described, by his more successful brother Kamraun; thus furnishing to the world, if that were of any utility, another example of the remorse and disappointment, in which the designs of a distempered and unprincipled ambition, are, almost invariably, destined to terminate.

It remains to notice the result of those undutiful and factious proceedings, into which Yadgaur Nausser had permitted himself to be misled by the insidious flatteries of the governor of Tattah. It has already appeared that this prince had, by some means or other, formed an establishment at Lohry, in the neighborhood of Bukkur, on the Indus; but not more than two months after the departure of Homayûn, to the north-west,* he had a sufficient opportunity of discovering, in a variety of instances, how little reliance was to be placed on the faith of this unworthy representative of the race of Arghoun; and that all his

* Qu.

A. H. 950.
A. D. 1543.
Abûl Fazzel.

specious professions had their foundation in the blackest falsehood. He found it therefore expedient, without loss of time, to relinquish his visionary prospects in this quarter; and in spite of the intreaties of his best friends, who remonstrated against the imprudence of attaching himself to the cause of Mirza Kamraun, and the perfidy of forsaking that of a just and virtuous sovereign, he finally determined on repairing to Kandahaur. Yadgaur Nausser happened to reach the vicinity of that place just at the crisis of the siege, in which it had been reduced to the last extremity by Mirza Kamraun; and having been admitted to a friendly interview, he accompanied that prince, at the conclusion of the siege, on his return to Kabûl.

From that city an agent was now dispatched, on the part of Mirza Kamraun, to the ruler of Tattah, Mirza Shah Hûsseyne, with a request that the princess Sheher Baunú Begum, one of the daughters of the emperor Bàber, and the consort of Yadgaur Nausser, together with her son Mirza Sunjur, who had, by some accident or other, been separated from the troops of her husband, and left in the neighborhood of Bukkur, might be conveyed without delay, and with all the respect to which by her exalted rank she was entitled, to his presence at Kabûl. This request was immediately complied with; but through some unpardonable neglect, or oversight, on the part of the Arghùnian, the convoy by which the princess was accompanied, was sent through a desert and inhospitable tract, equally destitute of forage and water, so that the greater part perished ere it reached its destination; and when the survivors had, with indescribable fatigue, at last made their way good to the station of Shaul, already described as within a short distance of Kandahaur, they were attacked by a dangerous and malignant fever; to which the greater part of them, including the illustrious princess whose person they had been employed to secure, now fell victims. And thus, of the whole escort consisting of nearly three thousand individuals, but a very few escaped to complete their journey to Kandahaur.

## CHAP. XIV.

WE now resume the thread of the narrative to attend the forsaken Homayûn in his precarious journey through the sandy and inhospitable tract, between Kandahaur and the neighboring Persian province of Seiestaun; and the first circumstance that claims our notice is the institution of a species of knighthood, for so it may be considered, called the order of the Tchoul, or Joul, which the fugitive monarch, at this conjuncture, conferred upon the faithful associates of his exile. While he wandered in these circumstances through the appalling solitude, in apparent uncertainty whither to direct his course, he fortunately fell in with the captain of a band of robers, whose name was Hauty Beloutch, by whom he was immediately conducted, in a very respectful and friendly manner, to the place of his residence; and who, after treating him with the kindest hospitality, became his guide to the adjoining territory of Gurrumseyr, the sultry region so called, to the westward of Kandahaur. A. H. 950. A. D 1543. Abûl Fazzel.

Meir Abdul Hey, the leading man of the district, although from mistaken motives of prudence, he neglected the opportunity of presenting himself in person to Homayûn, afforded him, nevertheless, all the assistance in his power, to alleviate his immediate distresses. At the same period also, Khaujah Jullaul-ud-dein Mahommed happened to be engaged in this quarter, in collecting the revenues for Mirza Asskery, and Bâba Doust, one of his Bukhshies, was employed by Homayûn to invite him to his camp. More disinterested, and less circumspect than his collegue, this personage joyfully embraced the opportunity to evince his sympathy in the misfortunes, and his attachment to the cause of the distressed monarch; at whose disposal, without the smallest reserve, he immediately placed the whole of the property in his hands, whether in specie or other effects. In compensation for this very seasonable supply, he was then invested by Homayûn, with the office of Meir Samaun, or steward of the household.

A. H. 950.
A. D. 1543.
Abûl Fazzel.

During his short stay in Gurrumseyr, on this occasion, Homayûn, beyond measure disgusted with the repeated proofs of treason and ingratitude, to which he had been so widely exposed, again, in the discourse which he addressed to his followers, indirectly intimated a design to withdraw from the world. But from this, and at his time of life perhaps, with no great difficulty, he was once more dissuaded by his friends; who urged the manifest disregard of moral obligation, and of the claims of humanity, which would be laid to his charge, should he persist in the design of burying in seclusion talents such as his, in the revolution of ages so seldom exhibited on earth, and so eminently calculated to promote the happiness of mankind. They further suggested that it would not be difficult to reconcile his duty towards God, with that which every virtuous man owed to the society of which he was the member; the utmost they required being, indeed, as they stated, that, while in private he communed with his Creator, he should in public exert himself for the good of his fellow creatures. They reminded him, lastly, of what was due to the rights of the illustrious infant, of whose final exaltation to supreme power, they expressed the most unreserved and assured belief.

In consequence of these intreaties, and of the further representations of his still faithful followers, it was therefore now determined to appeal to the generosity of the Persian monarch; in the confidence that the ties of hereditary friendship would be an inducement with him to render the assistance, which it was so abundantly in his power to afford. On the first of Shavaul, accordingly, of the nine hundred and fiftieth of the hidjerah,* a letter was dispatched, in charge of Tchouly Bahauder, one of the newly created knights probably, communicating to Shah Tahmasp, the first of that name, son of Shah Ismâeil, and second monarch of the race of Seffy, from Homayún, an unreserved relation of the circumstances by which he had been thus driven to claim an asylum in the Persian court. On the envelope of the letter is said to have been written the following sentence, probably by the hand of Homayûn himself; "Much hath this aching head endured amidst the waters—much among the rocks and mountains—and much among the sands of the desert—but all is past."

* 27th of December 1543.

Having dispatched his application to the court of Kazvein, Homayûn proposed to remain a few days longer in the territory of Gurrumseyr; but a message being shortly afterwards received from Abdul Hey, announcing that Mirza Asskery was about to send a large force into the district, which was very shortly expected to make its appearance, and recommending that the imperial head quarters might be removed into Seiestaun, before it was too late, Homayûn, taking all things into consideration, conceived it prudent to avail himself of this piece of advice. He accordingly retired into Seiestaun, to be more immediately under the protection of the Persian government, and there crossing the Heirmend,* proceeded not long afterwards to encamp by the side of a Koul, or fresh water lake, into which that river discharges itself—doubtless the lake of Zerrah, at the western extremity of the province. Ahmed Sûltan Shaumlû, the king's lieutenant, if we are to credit the author's statement, contemplated the arrival of the royal fugitive, as an occurrence of singular good fortune; and he hastened accordingly to visit, and afford to the august stranger, every proof of the most liberal hospitality. Homayûn continued in the neighborhood for some days, amusing himself and his followers in hunting the Keshlekdaugh; a species of animal of which, if it was not the zebra, we must confess our ignorance. It might, however, have been any other streaked or spotted animal of the chase—the spotted deer for instance; —or it might possibly have been the name of a mountain, the scene of these amusements.

A. H. 950.
A. D 1543-44.
Abûl Fazzel.

After recreating himself for several days in the manner thus described, Homayûn proceeded to the capital of the province, bearing the same name of Seiestaun; where the governor sent his own mother and the women of his family, to attend upon the princess Hameidah Baunû, always referred to under the appellation of Mereiam Makauny—in station like Mary—at the same time, placing the entire revenue of the country at the disposal of his imperial guest. Here, among other personages introduced to the presence of Homayûn, was Hûsseyne Kúly Mirza, the brother of the lieutenant of the province; who had repaired into Seiestaun, in order to complete his arrangements for a pilgrimage to Mekkah, and who on this occasion, held with Homayûn frequent conversati-

* This is sometimes written Hindmend.

A. H. 950.
A. D. 1543-44.
Abûl Fazzel.

ons on the subject of religion. During one of these conferences, the Mirza remarked that the doctrines of the two cardinal sects, the Sheiahs and Sounnies, had long been the subject of his most serious inquiries; that he had carefully and anxiously perused all that had been written on either side; and the conclusion he had been able to draw was, that according to the Sheiahs, anathema upon the memory of certain of the prophet's companions, was meritorious in the sight of God, while the same with the Sounnies was accounted the grossest heresy, or infidelity. "Now" concluded he, "it is very certain, that merit with God forms no part in the calculations of the infidel." The remark so favorable to the Sheiahs, was highly applauded by Homayûn, and he employed all the influence of intreaty to retain this nobleman in his service; but as he had already determined on the visitation to Hejauz, and the necessary arrangements had been completed, he civilly declined all advances on that subject.

In these circumstances, Hadjy Mahommed Bâba Kushkah, and Hussun Koukah, who had availed themselves of an opportunity to withdraw from the standard of Mirza Asskery, both presented themselves to Homayûn; to whom they undertook to propose that he should immediately return east-ward, to the territory of Dawer, the intendant of which they represented as zealously disposed to favor the royal cause. They stated, moreover, that Haleimah Beg, the governor of Bost, seemed also equally well inclined to return to his allegiance. In short, they held out the strongest expectations that Mirza Asskery would speedily be deserted by the greater part, if not by the whole of his troops; and that Kandahaur, and its dependencies, must then necessarily submit to the authority of Homayûn. When, however, these insidious representations became known to Ahmed Sûltan, the lieutenant of Seiestaun, and he could discover that the purpose of these men was, if possible, to prevent the projected journey into Irâk, that nobleman hastened, without delay, to the presence of Homayûn, and with an apparently sincere regard to his interests, most strenuously urged the expediency, as well as the certain advantage, of his appearance at the Persian capital; at the same time assuring him that these men had no other object, in what they proposed, than to betray their sovereign into the hands of his enemies. At all events, his remonstrances prevailed

with Homayún, and it was finally determined to proceed into Iràk; the governor of Seiestaun offering to accompany him immediately by the route of Tubbus-killeky, which would conduct him by the shortest way, through Isfahaun, to the capital. But as Homayún expressed a particular desire to visit Heraut, the whole proceeded towards the fortress of Awek, or Auvek; touching on the district of Ferah, on their way to that celebrated city. A. H. 950. A. D. 1543-44. Abûl Fazzel.

Our attention is now claimed towards the success of Homayûn's dispatch to the Persian monarch, who is described to have expressed himself indeed highly rejoiced at the opportunity, thus furnished, of entertaining the imperial exile at his court; and as a testimony of the satisfaction which he experienced, the imperial state drums at the metropolis were directed to strike up for three days successively. A reply full of respect and encouragement, and, in terms the most flattering and consoling, inviting the royal fugitive to hasten to court, was immediately prepared; and, together with a number of very valuable presents, delivered to the messenger, who was then dismissed on his return, after having experienced the most friendly and honorable reception. Instructions were, at the same time, conveyed to the several authorities, on the road by which the Moghûl monarch should pass towards the capital, enjoining them to provide in the most splendid manner for his reception throughout his journey; which they were required to consider as an event reflecting the very highest lustre on the reign of their master.

The mandate transmitted on this occasion to Mahommed Khaun, the governor of Heràt and Khorassaun, descends, indeed, to the very minutest circumstance to be attended to, in the reception and accommodation of the royal stranger; and is given at full length, by our author, as a precedent most worthy of imitation by all such as, at any future period, might be called upon to discharge the same sacred claims of humanity and hospitality. But as this piece would occupy, at its present stage, by much too large a portion of the work, extending to six full pages of manuscript, closely written in the original, we must be content to exclude it altogether. What may be considered more to the purpose is, that the letter from Kara Sûltan Shaumlû, announcing the arrival of Homayûn in Seiestaun, does not appear to have reached Kazvein before the twelfth day of Zilhudje;* although this seems contradic-

* 6th of March 1544.

A. H. 950.
A. D. 1543-44.
Abûl Fazzel.

tory to what will presently appear; and we are therefore warranted in considering that it must have been a month earlier.

However this may be, Homayûn had no sooner reached the territory of Ferah, than his messenger returned, accompanied by an envoy from the court of Persia, to announce the satisfaction evinced on the part of Shah Tahmasp, on intelligence of his arrival; and it was then that he finally determined, in compliance with the general wish of his followers, to accept of the invitation, now expressly communicated from the Persian monarch, to repair to his capital. In consequence of such resolution he proceeded accordingly towards Herât; being met, at the close of every subsequent stage, by the most distinguished inhabitants of the neighboring territory, vying with each other in activity and zeal, to fulfil the instructions of their sovereign, and to provide for the adequate entertainment of the royal stranger. In the mean time, an immense concourse of people of all classes from the surrounding districts, and particularly from the several towns of Jaum, Terbet, Serkhess, and Esfrâein, crowded to Herât, on intelligence of his approach; in order to witness the entry of Homayûn.

The moment it was announced, by a message from Tatar Sultaun and the other personages who proceeded to meet the Moghûl monarch, that he was arrived within a short distance of the Ziauretgâh,* Mahommed Khaun, accompanied by the principal Ameirs of the province, and the more distinguished inhabitants of Herât, hastened to the head of the bridge called the Pûll-e-maulan, the bridge of the oilwoman perhaps, to receive the august stranger; and there, together with his own protestations of zeal and attachment, presented the salutations of his sovereign. Directions had, in the mean time, been previously given, that the whole of the roads from this place to the gardens of Jahaunarà, should be kept regularly swept and watered; and that the whole of the respectable inhabitants, tradesmen, and ingenious mechanics, belonging to the city, should present themselves, every day, regularly arranged on opposite sides of the road, in expectation of the arrival of Homayûn. When the procession reached the station of Dilfezzâ, the

* A very satisfactory description of the present state of the favorite city of Herât, will be found in a paper inserted in the Annual Register for 1817, from the journal of Capt. Pottinger; whom the author of these pages is happy to recognize as a brother officer, likely to do credit to the long neglected establishment on which he serves.

shahzádah Sùltan Mahommed Mirza presented himself to the illustrious traveller; whom, with the nobles of the province, he now conducted to the palace appointed for his residence in the Jahaun-arà gardens contiguous to the city. On this occasion, all the way from the Ziauretgâh,* to the Pûll-e-maulan, and from thence to the above mentioned gardens, making altogether a distance of between three and four farsangs,—ten and a half to fourteen miles,—the hills and vallies were entirely covered with the population of Herât and the neighboring towns, assembled to behold the spectacle. A. H. 950. A. D. 1543. Abûl Fazzel.

It is here stated that Homayûn entered Herât, or at all events, the gardens in the vicinity appointed for his residence, on the first of Zilkaudah of the nine hundred and fiftieth of the hidjerah;† but in order to make the circumstances of the relation correspond, which would otherwise be irreconcilable, we conceive that this date should be altered to the first of Zilhudje,‡ and that, in the mandate of Shah Tahmasp, to the twelfth of Zilkaudah preceding,§ and all will then appear perfectly intelligible.

A splendid and sumptuous entertainment had been provided by Mahommed Khaun in the gardens of Jahaun-arà, at which he laid before his imperial guest, the presents prepared for his acceptance; neither was any thing omitted on the occasion that could in any shape contribute to console him under the recollection of his recent misfortunes. In short, Herât, and the beauties of the neighborhood, presented so many attractions to Homayûn, that he determined to remain there for some time; more particularly as the festival of the new year, when the sun enters Aries, was almost immediately at hand. During his stay, whenever he found himself disposed to visit any of the places which so numerously decorate this favorite city and the vicinity, he was invariably attended by the same Mahommed Khaun; and the same magnificent arrangements were prepared for his reception, whether his inclinations led him to recreate in the delights of the garden of the Gauzergàh, of the Baugh-e-muraud, of the Baugh-e-Kheyabaun, the Baugh-e-zoghoun, of the Baugh-e-sepeid, or the gardens of the white palace;

* So called from its being a place of religious resort— perhaps it was the tomb of Abdullah Ansaur.

† 25th of January 1544.

‡ 24th of February.

§ 5th of February 1544.

A. H. 951. A. D. 1544. Abûl Fazzel.

or, in short of any other of the gardens in this neighborhood, so celebrated for its local amœnities. Neither did he omit, before he proceeded on his journey, to visit the tombs of the departed heroes of his religion, and particularly that of the noble Abdullah Ansaury, the patron saint, or Peir, of Herât.

As soon, however, as the festival of the new year was over, Hômayûn commenced his journey for Kazvein; it being arranged that he should not neglect the opportunity of presenting himself by the way, at the shrine of Ally Ruzza, at Mûsh-hedd. In the mean time, Ahmed Sûltan the governor of Seiestaun, whose attentions had been unremittingly zealous and respectful, had been honorably dismissed to his government; Homayûn and his splendid retinue reaching the town of Jaum, about one hundred miles to the northward of Herât, on the fifth of Zilhudje*—doubtless it should be the fifth of Mohurrem nine hundred and fifty one, corresponding with the 28th of March, a few days after the vernal equinox. Here he visited the tomb of Zendah Peil Ahmed Jaum, a celebrated Peir formerly mentioned. Without noticing the intermediate stages, Homayûn is represented to have arrived in the neighborhood of Mûsh-hedd [170 miles] about nine or ten days afterwards; being here met by Shah Kûly Sùltaun Estaudjlù, the governor of this part of Khorassaun, who conducted him into the sacred city, on the fifteenth of the month of Mohurrem.† Homayûn proceeded immediately to the mausoleum of Imaum Ally Ruzza, for the performance of his devotions, taking up his abode, for several days, on the verge of the hallowed edifice.

From Mûsh-hedd he returned south-wards for nearly one hundred miles to Neyshapour, being met at some distance from that city, by Meir Shums-ud-dein Ally Sûltan, governor of these districts, by whom he was conducted, with the customary honors, to his residence in the town. On this occasion, Homayûn availed himself of the opportunity to view the sapphire, or rather turquoise mine, Kaun-e-Feyrouzah, in the neighborhood of Neyshapour; after which he continued his march to Subbuzwaur, and from thence to Bestaum. Adjacent to this latter place, is described to have been then existing a fountain of water, into which, through the operation of a Telessem, or Talisman, in times

* 26th of February. † 7th of April 1544.

long past therein suspended, whenever any impure substance was cast, an extraordinary turbulence in the superincumbent air was instantly produced, occasioning such a whirlwind of dust and atoms, as to darken all around. From this, observes our author, we can only derive another proof of the innumerable materials deposited by the wisdom of omnipotence, in the store house of nature, of which the understanding of man is too circumscribed to comprehend either the properties or effects. A. H. 951. A. D 1544. Abûl Fazzel.

From Bestaum the royal exile continued his journey to Ezrauny, of which we have no information, and from thence successively to Damaghaun and Semnaun; in the neighborhood of which latter place, at Soufiabad, he took up his abode in the mausoleum of Allâ-ud-doulah Semnauny. Wherever he came he was received, without variation, by the local authorities at the head of the resident population in their most splendid array, and with all the honor and solemnity that could be due to the most exalted of sovereigns. An intercourse by messenger was, at the same time, regularly kept up with the Persian court, the Shah dispatching, by frequent opportunities, such presents as by their rarity or utility might be worthy the acceptance of his imperial visitor.

In these circumstances, Homayûn prosecuted his journey to the ancient city of Rey; Shah Tahmasp removing about the same time from Kazvein, to take up his ordinary summer quarters near Sûltauniah and Sourlik. Not long afterwards, Homayûn proceeded to Kazvein, recently the abode of the Persian monarch; where he was received with the same formalities and distinguished respect as he had uniformly experienced during the whole of his progress. From Kazvein, after a few days repose, which were, however, devoted to a survey of the many sanctified spots with which the place abounds, the celebrated Beyram Khaun was dispatched to the presence of the Shah; who had not yet reached his destined quarters, when that nobleman was permitted to discharge the duties of his mission. Immediately on the return of Beyram Khaun, Homayûn appears to have quitted Kazvein, on his way to Sûltauniah; the camp of Shah Tahmasp being now stationary between Ebher and that city, the whole distance being apparently not more than five and twenty miles. Arrived in the neighborhood of the

A. H. 951.
A. D. 1544.
Abûl Fazzel.

encampment, a number of the Persian nobility in their several classes appeared to pay their respects to Homayûn; after them Behram Mirza and Saum Mirza, the brothers of the Shah, presented themselves; and last of all, on some day in the former month of Jummaudy of the nine hundred and fifty first of the hidjerah,* Shah Tahmasp, in person, proceeded to meet his imperial visitor. The interview passed in mutual expressions of esteem, and in the kindest inquiries on the part of the Shah; after which the royal stranger was conducted to a magnificent pavilion, or summer palace, which had for a considerable period employed the utmost skill of the most exquisite painters and sculptors; and which was now, for the first time, opened for the reception of Homayûn. Here he partook of an imperial and sumptuous entertainment, at which the Shah repeated, in the warmest terms, his professions of zeal and attachment, and his sympathy in the misfortunes of the royal exile.

During their conference on this occasion, the Persian monarch is said to have observed, as nearly as we can render the passage, that in enabling the illustrious Bâber, the father of his royal visitor, to achieve the conquest of Hindûstaun, the creator of the universe had placed in the hands of the Teymûrian family, a key which might yet lead to the subjugation of many and powerful regions; but with respect to any errors or failures that might recently have occurred in the management of affairs, it was too notorious that the evil was beyond the controul of Homayûn—that in truth it was to be entirely ascribed to the fatal want of concert, and disunion, which marked the proceedings of his disaffected brethren; for among all the variety of efficient causes, that which is known to produce the most important results, to dissolve the best cemented fabrics of government, is a cordial co-operation to the same object between members of the same family. In this persuasion, he only desired, for his part, to be considered in the light of a younger brother, zealously prepared to afford him every assistance in his power. And to this end such arrangements should be put in immediate activity, and such a military force equipped, as would be abundantly adequate to restore him to his authority—nay, should circumstances require it, he declared that he was perfectly ready to accompany

* July or August, 1544.

Homayûn in person, in order to re-establish him in the possession of his hereditary dominions. A. H. 951. A. D 1544. Abûl Fazzel.

With such, and many other professions equally generous, liberal, and sincere, Shah Tahmasp exerted himself to dispel the sorrows, and encourage the expectations of his guest. Day after day was destined to witness the same superb succession of entertainments, and the same protestations of truth and attachment. But, exclaims our author, why should an obscure and humble individual attempt to describe a spectacle in which the principal parts were performed by two such august personages? What verbal description can furnish any adequate idea of the beauty and variety displayed in the innumerable pavilions, and canopies of cloth of gold, and velvet, and taujah-bauf, the peculiar manufacture of Tebreiz, here set on foot—or of the curious tapestry hangings, and silken carpets, spread in every direction, above, below, and around? What probable estimate can be formed as to the noble Persian horses, the camels, and mules, all gorgeously and gaily caparisoned; as to the numberless pieces of rich apparel, to the swords, and cuisses, set with precious stones, suits of sable and ermine, and every description of beautiful and valuable furs; the vests of gold brocade, velvet, *taujah-bauf*, satin, and Mùshudjer,* as well European, Yezdian, and Kashmirian, goblets, and salvers, and candelabras, of gold and silver enriched with rubies and topaz, and other articles of plate, of the same precious materials and workmanship; and lastly to the superb and highly ornamented tents and tent equipage, and carpeting, in size and beauty wonderful to behold, together with every thing suitable to the state and grandeur of a powerful monarch, which were daily presented for the acceptance and accommodation of Homayùn? Of all these I say, what possible estimate can be formed of the extent and value? without mentioning the vast property distributed individually to every class and member of the royal retinue, in specie and every article of supply. On the part of Homayûn, indeed, as might have been expected, these were few, but very rare and costly. At the entertainment given to the Shah, when he returned the first visit of his imperial guest, the latter placed before him a diamond, alone equal in value to the revenues of many a province, and also a bulse of rubies from the

* A sort of flowred satin, of silk and cotton mixed.

A. H. 951. A D. 1544. Abûl Fazzel.

mines of Buddukhshaun, two hundred and fifty in number, of proportionate beauty and rarity. Nevertheless it is affirmed, that whatever might have been the extent of the charges incurred by the Shah and his officers, from the entrance of Homayûn into the territories of the Persian empire, to the moment of his departure, they were actually reimbursed, one way or other, in at least a two-fold proportion, on the part of the royal exile.

From the summer quarters of Sourlik, the two monarchs proceeded together to Sûltauniah, where the same course of festivity was continued, as we have already had occasion to notice. There were, however, not wanting those who had baseness enough to disturb this harmonious interchange of kind offices, and to engender suspicious jealousies in the minds of the royal friends. But, fortunately, the misunderstanding was not permitted to be of any duration, every uneasiness being early dispelled by sincere and mutual explanation. Among the recreations with which, in daily variety, the beneficent Shah Tahmasp sought to amuse his imperial guest, was the Shekaur-e-kummerghah, or royal circular hunt; the different species of wild animals, and beasts of the chase, being driven in for the purpose by the Shah's troops from various points, on a circumference of ten days journey in diameter, towards the fountain head of Saoukh, or Soukh-belaugh, which is the first stage on the way to Sourlik, and was, on this occasion, fixed upon as the centre of assemblage. Here according to practice, when the two monarchs had first exercised themselves to satiety, in dealing slaughter among the unnumbered animals thus driven together, the princes Behram Mirza and Saum Mirza, were then permitted to take their share in this indiscriminate destruction of game. After these followed the principal Ameirs of both courts, such as Beyram Khaun, and Hadjy Mahommed Koukeltaush, and Shah Kûly Sûltan, the keeper of the seal, and Roushen Koukah, and Hûsseyne Koukah, and sundry others in the train of Homayûn; and of the officers of the Shah, Abdullah Khaun Estadjlú, who was the son-in-law of the late Shah Ismàeil, with Abûl Kaussem Kholfa, and very many others whose names it would be further unnecessary to particularize: and, last of all, the mixed and impatient multitude was admitted, and every soldier and camp follower was allowed to seize, and bind, and carry off,

as much as he thought proper of the numerous victims of the hunter which lay before him. A. H. 951. A. D. 1544. Abûl Fazzel.

There is, at the same time, one circumstance recorded to have taken place on this occasion, which, under a more equitable system of legislation, might be supposed to have cast considerable gloom on the enjoyments of the concluding day. A latent grudge had, it seems, long subsisted in the bosom of Behram Mirza, one of the brothers of the Shah, against Abûl Kaussem Kholfa, a chief of some distinction among the vassals of the empire; and the former appears to have delayed his vengeance, only until he could find a favorable opportunity of quenching it in the blood of the obnoxious chief. Accordingly, when he observed that all others were sufficiently engaged in attending to the objects of the chase, he seized his opportunity; and, in an instant, transfixed the unfortunate nobleman through the body with an arrow, in consequence of which he expired on the spot. From a culpable deference to the rank and power of the assassin, however, this act of malignant bloodshed was never made known to Shah Tahmasp.

The royal armies were now directed to form again on the circumference, reducing the circle inwards to the neighborhood of the Howz-e-Sûliman, or reservoir of Sûliman, where, on closing to the centre, the two monarchs proceeded to satiate themselves afresh with this species of harmless slaughter. To all was added this day the two favorite games of Tchougan-bauzy, and Kebek-andauzy—the former a species of horse goff—the latter we are not able to explain. In the course of this, however, having probably signalized their skill, the faithful Beyram Beg was invested with the title of Khaun, and Hadjy Mahommed Koukah with that of Sùltan. But, what was of much higher importance, before the entertainment closed, which was given on this occasion, a *Toumaur*, or royal mandate, for the immediate assemblage and equipment of a body of twelve thousand horse to be placed under the orders of Mirza Mûrâd, one of the Shah's own sons, was definitively issued, for the purpose of assisting Homayùn to re-ascend the throne of Hindûstaun In addition to prince Mûraud, the following distinguished commanders were selected for the accomplishment of this undertaking. Bedaugh Khaun Kajaurleh; Shah Kûly Sûltan Afshaur, governor of Kermaun; Ahmed Sûltan Shaumlû, the son of Mahommed

A. H. 951. A. D. 1544. Abûl Fazzel.

Khaleifah; Sunjaub Sûltan Afshaur, governor of Ferah; and among many more, whom it would be unnecessary to particularize, Hûsseyne Kûly Sùltan Shaumlù, the brother of Ahmed Sûltan governor of Seiestaun, and Mahommedy Mirza, the grandson of Jahaun Shah Mirza, more generally known by the name of Shahwerdy Beg. To these were added moreover, three hundred Kourtcheis, royal guards, or household troops, with an abundant equipment of all things necessary to render this noble auxiliary force in every respect complete for service.

On the beautiful plains of Miaunah, celebrated for the mildness and purity of the climate, after treating his august visitor to a third circular hunt, near Aukziauret, the last stage on the way towards the summer quarters of Sereik, perhaps the Sourlek already mentioned, Shah Tahmasp paid his last visit to Homayûn; the two illustrious monarchs here taking their final leave of each other in terms of the utmost politeness and mutual regard.

From Miaunah, imitating the example of his august ancestor the invincible Teymûr, Homayûn now directed his course for Tebreiz and Ardebeil; having first dispatched his favorite consort the mother of Akbar, now pregnant with her second child, accompanied by a suitable escort and a numerous train of domestics, under the care of Hadjy Mahommed Khaun, whom on this occasion he invested with the command of the troops, instructing him, at the same time, to proceed by the road to the right hand towards Kandahaur. The twelve thousand Persian horse destined to aid him in the recovery of his dominions, were dismissed to their several habitations about the same crisis, in order to complete their equipments, and other necessaries for the expedition; the Shahzâdah being directed to join the standard of Homayûn, at the head of those troops, as soon as he should have reached the banks of the Heirmund, in Seiestaun already described.

His progress on this occasion led Homayûn first to the celebrated city of Tebreiz, or Tauris; at a short distance from which, near the embankment raised by Meiran Shah to confine the stream which runs into the town, from the foot of Mount Sehpend in the neighborhood, he was met by the chief magistrates and principal inhabitants—the city having been decorated for his reception in the gayest colors, by command of Shah Tahmasp. Here he was entertained with suitable splendor by

the governor; and all sorts of games were exhibited for his amusement. Among these are particularized the Kerrek-dowauny, a species of exercise with which we must for the present remain unacquainted, and the Peiaudah-tchougan-bauzy, or foot goff, a sort of game in which the Tebrizians are said to have particularly excelled, but from which, in consequence of certain indications of a turbulent spirit, they had, at this period, been for some time interdicted. The restraint had however been now taken off, by instructions from the Shah, in order to promote the gratifications of Homayûn. The various edifices which embellish the city, and the monuments of their grandeur erected by the monarchs of former ages, were also visited in succession; furnishing indeed ample subject of reflection, on the ever recurring mutability of fortune, and the instability of human glory.

A. H. 951. A. D. 1544. Abûl Fazzel.

When he had employed himself for a sufficient time in surveying the the curiosities of the place, he felt an unwillingness to leave it, without examining the astronomical apparatus, for which it had been long celebrated; and he accordingly directed Beg Mahommed, one of his equerries, to find him out a *Gûrrah*, or celestial globe, which he was desirous of inspecting before he finally departed. The officer, who was probably an Indian, with equal simplicity and ignorance, brought him the next day, a number of horses, [gourrah], which he conceived his master wished to purchase for his journey. Much amused with the absurdity of the mistake, Homayûn received it, however, as an omen auspicious to his departure; and having made a purchase of the whole lot, and finished his survey of this fair city, he quitted Tebreiz very shortly afterwards, and proceeded towards Ardebeil.

Arrived at Semaspy, a small town apparently nor far from the last mentioned city, Homayûn was met by the several Sheikhs descended from Sheikh Seffy, and related of course in various degrees to the family on the throne of Persia; and with them, by the whole of the principal inhabitants, who presented themselves for the discharge of every office of zeal and service, during his stay at Ardebeil, where he remained, accordingly, for the period of one whole week. From thence he prosecuted his journey successively to Khelkhaul, Taurom, and Jezzerbeil; at which latter place, celebrated for the mild temperature of its climate, and the deliciousness of its fruits, particularly for a species of

A. H. 951. A. D. 1544. Abûl Fazzel.

pomegranate without stones, he continued for three days. Nothing further is related of his journey until he appeared again at Subbuzwaur, where he re-joined the main body of his followers, and where he found that his beloved consort had produced him a daughter. During the whole of his progress he continued to experience from the local authorities, and from all classes of the inhabitants, the same unabated respect and attention, and a degree of hospitality, which appeared to increase rather than diminish with the exercise, so long as he remained within the limits of the Persian monarchy. From Subbuzwaur Homayûn proceeded once more to Mûsh-hedd, where he now continued for some time, awaiting the re-union of the troops under Shahzâdah Mùraud, who were to accompany him on his return towards the frontiers of Hindústaun.

Avoiding all further minuter digressions,* we shall proceed to relate that quitting Mûsh-hedd by the route of the Karvanserài of Terek, and the fortress of Gâh, and leaving Herât, on this occasion, apparently on the right hand, Homayún finally re-entered Seiestaun; on the borders of which he was now joined, according to appointment, by the force under the Persian Shahzàdah, and the Ameirs who accompanied him. Not long afterwards the whole proceeded together into the district of Gurrum-seyr. On the present occasion, very differently from what formerly occurred, Abdul Hey, or Heya, the intendant of the district, hastened from his castle of Lukki, and with a bow suspended to his neck, cast himself at the feet of Homayûn, making the most abject apologies for his conduct in declining to present himself to his sovereign, when on his retreat into Persia. The same liberal spirit, and indulgence towards the errors of others, which uniformly distinguished the actions of this humane monarch, led him as usual to accept of the apologies of his repentant vassal, and to admit him once more into favor.

In this place it may have been very proper to put upon record the

* While he remained at Mûsh-hedd on this occasion, he dispatched Moulana Nûr-ud-dein Mahommed Terkhan, to invite Sheikh Abûl Kaussem Jûrjauny, and Moulana Eliaus Ardebeily both of them eminently distinguished for their talents and learning, to his court; and it was in consequence of this that they subsequently joined him, on his return to Kabûl, where they became engaged in completing the memoirs contained in the Dourret-ul-tauje.

names of those faithful nobles and others who, stedfast in their allegiance, had adhered to the fortune of their sovereign, during the short, and certainly not very troublesome exile, from which he was now so happily returned. Among these the first, and not the least distinguished in fidelity and zeal, was the able and gallant Beyram Khaun. Next was Khaujah Mauzzem, half brother to the Princess Hameidah Sûltan, the mother of Akbar. This person had, however from the first, indicated a very turbulent disposition, and in the sequel, as will be seen in its proper place, could not be prevented from engaging in the most unwarrantable scenes of blood and depravity. Next in the enumeration is Aukkel Sûltan, the son of Auddel Súltan the Ouzbek, who was a grandson, by the mother's side, of Sûltan Hûsseyne Mirza of Khorassaun. This person also, it is discouraging to remark, although in the outset eminent in zeal, became in the issue notorious for his ingratitude. Fourth was Hadjy Mahommed Koukah, the brother of one who had held the most distinguished rank among the Ameirs of the court of Bâber. Hadjy Mahommed was himself a man of the most exalted personal courage; and Shah Tahmasp was repeatedly heard to declare that such were the men, of whom, if possessed of the choice, it behoved every discreet and prudent monarch to make the selection for the employments of his government. He was no less remarkable for his activity and skill in every species of manly exercise, and he received from the Shah, during his residence in Persia, the premium for striking, or throwing, the Kebek in the game of Kebek-andauzy, as formerly noted. Fifth was Roushen Koukah, who discharged the office of Koukeltaush in the household of Homayûn, and, during the journey to Persia, was for some time entrusted with the care of the imperial jewels. Certain embezzlements being, however, discovered to have taken place in the precious deposit consigned to his care, he was, for several days, placed under restraint; although finally pardoned through the unexhausted lenity of an indulgent master. Sixth was Hussun Beg, the brother of Mohurrem Koukah, one of those who perished in the fatal discomfiture on the Joussa. He was a man of the purest morals, and most liberal disposition, and although in the office of Koukeltaush to Mirza Kamraun, yet chose to attach himself inseparably to the fortunes of Homayûn. Seventh was Khau-

A. H. 951. A. D 1514. Abûl Fazzel.

A. H. 951. A. D. 1544. Abûl Fazzel.

jah Meksoud, a native of Herât. This was a person also of the strictest integrity, and most unblemished life, in consideration of which he became particularly attached to the suite of the princess Hameidah Sûltan, by the side of whose litter he usually rode during the journey. He was, moreover, the father of Seffy Khaun and Zeyne Khaun, two noblemen who rose to distinguished rank under the succeeding reign of Akbar, the former being, however, killed in the campaign of Gûjerât. Eighth was Khaûjah Ghauzy the Tebrizian, distinguished for his skill in arithmetic, and the science of numbers. He was also well acquainted with history, and the memorials of former times. At the period when Homayûn withdrew from Lahour towards the lower Indus, this person forsook the party of Mirza Kamraun, and attached himself to the destiny of his legitimate sovereign; by whom he was placed at the head of his exchequer. Subsequent to that, however, he was for a long time banished the royal presence; but towards the decline of life, when strength and intellect became equally impaired, he was nevertheless admitted to the court of Akbar. Ninth was Ameir-uddein Mahmoud, also a native of Heraut, not less distinguished for his skill in arithmetic, than for his unparalleled dexterity in arranging the most perplexing, and intricate accounts. He was moreover extremely skilful in writing the Shekustah, or running-hand, usually employed in correspondence, or other matters requiring celerity and dispatch. For some time he was placed by Homayûn in the appointment of Bukhshy, at a subsequent period, about the person of young Akbar during his minority; and the latter prince, on his accession to the throne, advanced him to the highest dignities of the state, ultimately bestowing upon him the proud title of Khaun-e-jahaun. Tenth was Bàba Doust the Bukhshy, also a very skilful accountant, which he sufficiently proved by his protracred services in the office of the Exchequer. Eleventh was Derwaish Mahommed Bungally. He belonged to one of the religious establishments at Herât, was a person of singular simplicity of manners, and of the soundest principles. He had been left with Jahaunguir Kûly Beg in Bengal, and was the only person who exerted himself to make good his escape from that province to the presence of his master. Twelfth was Hussun Ally Eyshek Agassy, [first master of the ceremonies] distinguish-

ed for his undaunted courage and invincible intrepidity of mind. This officer had repeatedly signalized his zeal and attachment by the most meritorious services; but a favorite youth in the train of Homayùn, of the name of Yàgoub, having been privately assassinated in an old building near Tebreiz, by some Kuzzulbaush, or ordinary Persians, and a misunderstanding being known to subsist between Hussun Ally and the minion, he became implicated in the crime of murder; and for this reason being prevented from accompanying the imperial standard on its departure, he was under the necessity of remaining in Irâk: although, at a subsequent period, when Homayûn had been reinstated in his authority at Kabùl, he was again admitted to the presence. A. H. 951. A. D 1544. Abûl Fazzel.

Thirteenth, in this enumeration, was Ally Doust Baurbeggy, the son of the just mentioned Hussun Ally. He followed the imperial standard to Músh-hed, and continued, from first to last, to evince his attachment by the most zealous services. Fourteenth was Ibrauhim Eyshek Agassy, another of the gentlemen ushers perhaps, and one of the most zealously devoted among the servants of the imperial court. Fifteenth, Sheikh Yússuf Jouly, or Tchouly, who claimed his descent from Sheikh Ahmed Yessûi. He was a man of independent spirit, and unblemished manners. Sixteenth, Sheikh Behlowul, descended from some of the most venerated Sheikhs of Tartary. He was also an officer of considerable merit. Seventeenth, Moulana Núr-ud-dein, a person not inadequately skilled in astronomy and geometry; and having at an early period accompanied Kauzzy Bûrhaun, the Khowaufite, to the court of the late Emperor Bâber, he became in time a frequent associate in the convivial parties of Homayûn. He ultimately received from Akbar the distinguished title of Terkhan. Eighteenth was Mahommed Kaussem Mou-tchei, who, at a subsequent period, served with considerable distinction, under Homayûn, in Budduk hshaun. He was nearly related to Meir Mahommed Tchalabaun, and in the province just mentioned, was employed in the same branch of service, apparently that of director of the barges, perhaps of pontoneer. In Hindùstaun, on the accession of Akbar, he became Meir Bahar, or prefect of the marine, or admiral: and building a beautiful and splendid villa, on the banks of the Jown, or Jumna, he there quietly conducted his frail bark to the harbour of death. Nineteenth, Heyder Mahommed Aukhtah Beggy, one of those

A. H. 951. A. D. 1544. Abûl Fazzel.

grown old in the service of the imperial court. Twentieth, Seyud Mahommed Tekkeiah, a very brave officer, singularly expert in every martial exercise, and, accordingly, he bore away the prize at Herât, in the game of Kebekandauzy. Twenty-first, Seyud Mahommed Kauly, a native of the just mentioned city of Herât. For a few days while at Bukkur, he was invested with the office of Ameir-e-auddel—minister of justice; and he was included in the number of those admitted to a seat, in the imperial circle. Twenty-second, Hafez Sûltan Mahommed, surnamed Rûkhnah—the fracture, perhaps fracturer. This person had joined Homayún near Bukkur, in the disguise of a mendicant, and apparently made himself known by reciting two favorite couplets in verse. Becoming enrolled among the Eytcheks, he enjoyed considerable favor under the succeeding reign of Akbar. Nevertheless engaged in the rebellion at Sehrind, it would be unworthy of the subject of these pages to take any further notice of such an ingrate. Twenty-third, Mirza Beg, the Belowtch, whose father had enjoyed in Khorassaun, the dignity of head of the tribe of that name. Twenty-fourth, Ameir Hûsseyne, the son of the abovenamed Belowtch. Twenty-fifth, Khaujah Amber Nauzer—an eunuch, superintendant of the department of the women to Homayûn; and he received from Akbar the title of Ettebaur Khaun. He was moreover one of the chamberlains attached to the retinue of the princess Hameidah Sûltan. [Merreiam-makauny]. Twenty-sixth, Aurref Toushek-tchei—keeper of the wardrobe. He was a Maumlùk, but professed to be of the race of the Seyuds. Under the authority of Akbar, he obtained the title of Pahar Khaun, and was otherwise employed in appointments of the highest trust. The author concludes his list with the names of twelve others, domestics and household slaves, whom it would be here unnecessary to particularize.

Let us now, for a moment, attend to the effect produced on the conduct of his adversaries, by the rumours which announced the return of Homayûn. The instant, then, the alarm was communicated to Mirza Kamraun, considering that the crisis of reconciliation was long since past, the first idea that occurred to him was to secure the person of the infant Akbar; and for this purpose, the brother of Khuzzer Khaun Hazaurah was immediately dispatched, to convey the young prince

from Kandahaur to Kabûl. On the arrival of this person at Kandahaur, the object of his mission occasioned some debate in the councils of Mirza Asskery, many endeavoring to dissuade him from the impolicy of sending away the young prince; whom, on the contrary, they urged him by every consideration to detain at Kandahaur, as the surest instrument of reconciliation with his elder brother; since by restoring the child to its august parent, he could always ensure forgiveness for the errors of his former conduct. Others maintained, however, that it was his interest to comply with the views of Kamraun, without the smallest reserve; since the nature of his dispute with Homayûn, was such as to preclude all hope of effectual reconciliation, by whatever means attempted.

A. H. 951.
A. D. 1544.
Abûl Fazzel.

Unhappily the latter opinion prevailed with Mirza Asskery; and the young prince was accordingly sent off towards Kabûl, in the midst of rain and snow, and in the very depth of winter. He was accompanied, at the same time, by his infant sister Bukhshy Baunû Begum, and his two principal nurses, Jeijy Auttekah, the mother, as we have already observed, of Mirza Azziz Koukeltaush, and Mauhem Auttekah the mother of Audhem Khaun, and most of his other attendants; at the head of whom was Shums-ud-dein Mahmoud of Gheznein, the husband of his favorite nurse, who was distinguished by the title of Auttekah Khaun. To preserve the greater secrecy in the transaction, they were instructed to address the infant prince by the appellation of Meirek, and his sister by that of Beitchah; nevertheless, on their arrival at Kolaut one of the first stages, and putting up at the habitation of one of the Hazaurahs, or native chiefs, for the night, the exalted rank of the royal child was discovered by the simple majesty alone which beamed on his forehead; and the master of the house could not withhold himself from proclaiming, the very next morning, that the heir apparent of the throne had reposed under his roof the night before. In consequence of this discovery, the brother of Khezzer Khaun, who had charge of the escort, conceived it expedient to hasten the journey towards Gheznein, and finally to Kabûl; where the whole arrived without accident not long afterwards. The royal infant was there lodged by Mirza Kamraun in the mansion of Khaunzâdah Begum, the sister of Bâber;

A. H. 951. A. D. 1544. Abûl Fazzel.

and, on the following day, at a public audience in the garden of Sheher-ará, his princely nephew was introduced into his presence.

Without, however, enlarging on the particulars of this interview, during which the little Akbar was put to wrestle with his cousin Ibrauhim Mirza, the son of Mirza Kamraun, from whom, although his elder by several years, he bore away the prize of a painted kettle-drum; nor on the consequent mortification of Kamraun, since it might be construed to prognosticate future more important triumphs, it will be more satisfactory to return to the proceedings of Homayûn and his Persian auxiliaries, subsequent to their entrance into Gurrumseyr. The first object, then, towards which they turned their views, was the siege and reduction of Bost, here described to be included in the territory of Gurrumseyr, and subordinate to the provincial government of Kandahaur. Seyud Ally Sùltan Teklû, or Toklû, a Persian commander, with a division of his countrymen, was selected for the execution of this piece of service; and that officer proceeded accordingly to invest the fortress in question, which was defended for Mirza Kamraun by the two local jaguirdaurs, Shauhem Julláeir, and Meir Khilidje. As he was, however one day, directing the operations of the siege, the Persian commander was unfortunately killed by a musquet shot from the works of the town; but instead of discouraging, this circumstance appears to have added fresh stimulus to the ardor of the besiegers; since they continued their exertions with greater activity than ever, after conferring the command on the son of the fallen general, although a youth of not more than twelve years of age, and at the same time dispatching to announce to the Persian court, a report of what had happened. Not many days afterwards, the garrison findiug themselves gradually straitened in their resources within, and entirely cut off from all hope of relief from without, determined to convey to Homayûn proposals of submission; to which, through his accustomed lenity, he readily acceded. Homayûn now encamped under the walls of the fort; and the two commanders, Shauhem Julláeir and Meir Khilidje, being conducted to his presence, each with a quiver suspended to his throat, were not only admitted to pardon, but generously enrolled among the vassals of the empire.

While Homayún remained encamped near Bost, on this occasion, a

report was circulated that Mirza Asskery was collecting his treasure, and preparing to withdraw towards Kabûl, and a great part of the Persian auxiliaries, with not a few of the royal troops, were not to be restrained, in consequence, from hastening immediately to Kandahaur; although Homayûn himself, on the faith of undoubted intelligence, and peradventure from a wish that his brother's retreat might be unmolested, expressly assured them, on the contrary, that Mirza Asskery was determined to maintain his ground to the very last extremity. The result was as might have been expected. For, appearing before Kandahaur like a disorderly rabble unprepared to meet with resistance in any shape, these refractory bands found themselves suddenly exposed to a tremendous discharge of canon and small arms, from all the works that could be brought to bear upon them. Their loss in killed and wounded was severe; and it is probable that they would have been entirely cut to pieces by the garrison, part of which had sallied from the town to attack them, were it not for the activity and exertions of some distinguished officers, both Moghûl and Persian, who hastened to cover their retreat, and succeeded with some difficulty in repulsing the assailants.

A. H. 951. A. D. 1544. Abûl Fazzel.

The consequences might, indeed, have been more extensively fatal, if Mirza Asskery had not obstinately disregarded the pressing importunities of Jemeil Beg, one of his best officers; who sent to intreat that he would himself come down from the fort at the head of the remainder of his troops, and take a part in the action—assuring him of the utter disparity of the force opposed to him, and that this once disposed of, there would remain but little further to do. Fortunately, Mirza Asskery entertained an opinion that his adversaries were too well acquainted with the strength and circumstances of the garrison of Kandahaur, to expose themselves to such unwarrantable risks. He expressed his conviction that the force of Homayûn was not limited to the number which had now shewn themselves—and that, without a doubt, they were well supported by ambuscades in the rear, prepared to act the moment the occasion might require it. He was therefore, as he alleged, not so inexperienced as to become the dupe of such a feint; on the contrary, that he should attend the more cautiously to the security of his post, and decline all hazard of a contest in the open plain, until he should be joined by Mirza Kamraun.

A. H. 952.
A. D. 1545.
Abûl Fazzel.

Thus happily rescued from that imminent destruction to which, by a criminal disregard of discipline, and the sordid love of pillage, they had so rashly exposed themselves, the troops of Homayún had perhaps some cause to rejoice in their unmerited escape, as in a sort of victory. At all events, Homayùn himself was not unmindful of the gracious interposition of providence in this early manifestation of favor. Not many days afterwards he broke up from his encampment before Bost; and on saturday the seventh of Mohurrem, of the nine hundred and fifty second of the hidjerah,* he appeared at the head of his whole force, under the walls of Kandahaur; fixing his head quarters in the garden of Shums-ud-dein Ally, the Kauzzy of the town, obliquely fronting the Derwauzzah-Mashour—gate of the cloth-workers, or perhaps weavers. Arrangements were expedited, without a moment's delay, for the commencement of the siege—the ground for opening the trenches was regularly divided—the proper officers were nominated to superintend the operations—and partial conflicts daily occurred in the environs of the place, between the troops of the garrison and their besiegers.

To enter at length into the minutiæ of the operations of a siege, although pregnant with interest and amusement to a particular class, might nevertheless prove oppressively tedious to the generality of readers. We shall therefore confine our narrative to such particular passages as may be essentially necessary to the illustration of the subject before us. Finding, then, that Mirza Asskery seemed determined on resisting to the last extremity, Homayún, when he had continued for some time before Kandahaur, conceived that it might yet be possible, by opening a correspondence once more with Mirza Kamraun, to recal the brothers to a sense of their common interests; and for this purpose he selected his faithful general Beyram Khaun, who was accordingly instructed to proceed to Kabúl, with two confidential letters which he was to deliver to Mirza Kamraun. After experiencing some obstruction from the Hazaurah tribes between Kandahaur and Gheznein, whom he succeeded in chastising for their insolence, Beyram Khaun finally reached Kabûl; where he was honorably received, and permitted without restraint, to execute the objects of his mission. Among other indulgences, of which, on particular application, he was allow-

* 20th of March 1545.

ed to avail himself, was a visit to the hope of the empire, the yet innocent and princely Akbar; and this indulgence was at the same time extended to separate interviews with the Mirzas Hindal, and Súliman, and Yadgaur Nausser, and Olúgh Mirza, all of them residing, at this period, at Kabûl, although not all under circumstances of equal freedom from restraint. A. H. 952. A. D. 1545. Abûl Fazzel.

When, however, he had detained him at Kabûl for about six weeks, in a state of indecision between the belief of his inability to contend any longer against his brother, with any prospect of success, and the fatality by which he was irresistibly witheld from hastening to be reconciled to him, Mirza Kamraun, after a thousand importunities, at last consented to the departure of Beyram Khaun. But this consent does not appear to have been even then obtained, before he had prevailed upon Khaunzaudah Begum, the elder sister of the emperor Bâber, already spoken of as entrusted with the care of young Akbar, to accompany the envoy to Kandahaur; ostensibly, because, as he pretended that his advice had but little weight with Mirza Asskery, the intreaties, the remonstrances, of this respectable lady on the spot, might have the desirable effect of inducing him to surrender the place to Homayûn; but, in reality, should circumstances finally concur to put this important place in possession of the imperial troops, to intercede with the emperor for the present indemnity of his perfidious brother; who was, in truth, actuated in his determined resistance, by the express instructions of Kamraun.

In the mean time, Mirza Asskery, who was already sufficiently disposed to concur in the hostile designs of Kamraun, was devoting all the resources in his power towards a vigorous defence of Kandahaur, having planted a numerous and well appointed artillery on the fortifications, in every direction. The place was in itself, as stated in the narrative, extremely strong; the ramparts being no less than sixty cubits thick, and constructed, from the plinth upwards probably, of masses of clay dried in the sun, of all materials the most difficult of subverion by the effect of artillery. The Moghûls from without were, however, not less indefatigable in their exertions, which excited the astonishment and applause of the Túrkmans, who composed perhaps the strength of the Persian anxiliaries; and who were impelled

A. H. 952.
A. D. 1545.
Abûl Fazzel.

by the examples of dauntless intrepidity thus placed before them, to emulate the exertions of their allies. Nevertheless, owing to the able and vigilant precautions of Mirza Asskery who, to prevent all possibility of collusion with the besiegers, although it evinced considerable want of confidence in the attachment of his followers, never permitted the same guards to occupy the same post upon the works for more than one day, successively, the Persian generals, perceiving, that the siege was protracted far beyond their expectation, and that of all the imperial vassals not one yet appeared disposed to join the standard of Homayûn, began to grow tired of the service, and to agitate the design of returning homewards.

Happily, from some circumstances in the conduct of these auxiliaries, discovering the design in agitation, Homayûn determined to push the operations of the siege with additional vigor; and for this purpose, removing one night from the entrenchment which he usually occupied before the town, he effected a lodgement on the side of the old city of Kandahaur; where he immediately threw up a strong and formidable breast-work, within a stone's throw of one of the principal gates, near what was denominated the Tchaur-derrah—the four passages; perhaps the Barbican.* On the following morning the Tûrkmauns in the service of the Persian monarch, observing the boldness and ability with which this operation had been executed, in a moment resolved to make a desperate effort at once to carry the place; and rushing forward accordingly, from all sides, pressed so daringly inward on that particular point of his defences, that Mirza Asskery became beyond measure alarmed at his danger. Under these apprehensions he therefore conceived it immediately expedient to dispatch, by a certain Meir Tauher, the brother of Khaujah Doust Khawund, a letter to Homayûn, requesting a cessation of hostilities, until the arrival of their common aunt Khaunzádah Begum, then on her way from Kabûl; through whose introduction he alleged that he should be able to present himself to his offended brother, with greater self-possession, and confidence of a kind reception. To this, with his usual generosity, Homayûn very imprudently consented; and the garrison being thus left for several days unmolested, the perfidious Asskery proceeded in secret, under

* With equal probability it might have led to four passes in the neighboring mountains.

his mask of affected humility, to add every possible repair and strength to his works. A. H. 952. A. D. 1545. Abûl Fazzel.

On the arrival of Beyram Khaun, accompanied by the same Khaunzâdah, Mirza Asskery, however, contrary to the faith of his engagements, and to the urgent intreaties of that respectable female, who had been permitted to enter the fort on a visit to her nephew, suddenly threw off his mask of moderation, and resumed his original plans of determined and unabating hostility; in which he carried his presumption to the extremity of detaining his venerable relative in the fort of Kandahaur, instead of allowing her to return to the camp of Homayûn. Convinced therefore at length, that he had nothing to expect from this unnatural brother but unmitigable animosity, that monarch now resumed the operations of the siege with greater activity than ever.

In the mean time, while things were thus drawing to a a crisis, the prospects of Homayûn were not a little improved by the arrival of Olûgh Mirza, the son of Mahommed Sùltan Mirza; a grandson by the female line, of Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne of Herât, so often mentioned in these pages. To him were added Sheir-afkunn Beg, the son of Kouje Beg, and Fezzeil Beg, brother of Munnâeim, or Monneym, Khaun, and Meir Berrekah, and Mirza Hussun Khaun, both sons of Meir Abdullah, one of the Seyuds of the Subbuzwaury branch of the Benni Mokhtaur; with many others who had recently quitted Kabûl, and rejoiced in the opportunity of once more appearing in the presence of their acknowledged sovereign.

Mirza Kamraun had, it seems, for a short time past, thought it expedient to place the person of Olúgh Mirza under a sort of restraint at large; consigning him for the greater security, week and week about, to the custody of some particular individual who became responsible for his safe keeping. When, however, the charge of this obnoxious, or suspected chief, devolved to Sheir Afkunn, that officer, who labored also under some apprehensions with respect to the displeasure of Mirza Kamraun, at once determined on the liberation of his prisoner; and, together with the individuals just mentioned, accompanied him, without further delay, in his flight to Kandahaur; where, it would be almost unnecessary to remark, they were all very graciously received by Homayûn. Olûgh Mirza was rewarded, in particular, by an imme-

A. H. 952. A. D. 1545. Abûl Fazzel.

diate grant of the territory of Dawer, doubtless that which is distinguished in the maps by the appellation of Rauer, and of which Bost is the chief town. Kaussem Hûsseyne Sûltaun the Ouzbek had quitted Kabûl at the same time, indeed, with the other fugitives, on this occasion, but losing his way in the night, and wandering into the Hazaurahs, or Afghan establishments in the neighborhood, he did not reach the camp before Kandahaur for some days afterwards; when he made his appearance in wretched plight, miserably lame, and plundered of every thing which he had about him.

Not long after this, Duddah, or perhaps Dawah, Beg, one of the Hazaurah chiefs, together with the whole of his tribe, joined Homayûn, bringing letters from the greater part of the Ameirs and principal inhabitants at Kabúl. This circumstance produced the most lively satisfaction throughout the Moghûl camp, and altogether removed every symptom of discontent from among the Persian auxiliaries, who were thus induced, afresh, to unite cordially in the general effort to obtain possession of Kandahaur. The garrison had, moreover, by this time, relaxed very perceptibly in the vivacity of their resistance; and, by billets attached to their arrows, conveyed from the ramparts daily intelligence of the proceedings of Mirza Asskery, and encouraged the besiegers to persevere in their exertions, since their adversaries were already reduced to the very extremity of distress.

Matters, indeed, arrived at such a crisis at last, that Asskery's most distinguished officers, one after another, began to desert him, followed by the cannoniers and foot soldiers, who contrived to let themselves down from the works, and escape into the country. The first to set the example among the Ameirs was Khezzer Khaujah Khaun, who seized the earliest favorable opportunity to precipitate himself from one of the bastions, which lay nearest to that part of the trenches occupied by Homayûn, and to throw himself upon the mercy of that generous monarch. Next came Múeyud Beg, who let himself down from the ramparts by a rope, and sought the royal presence. These were followed by Issmâeil Beg, formerly attached to the court of the emperor Bâber, and who was equally distinguished in the council and in the field. He was accompanied, on this occasion, by Abûl Hussun Beg, the nephew of Karatchah Khaun, and by Mûnower Beg the son of Nour Beg.

In the course of one of the following nights, Khezzer Khaun Hazaurah also effected his escape from the fort, and retired towards the mountains of Lekky, followed by between two and three thousand of the men of his tribe. He was, however, pursued at day-light by some of the troops of Homayûn, and narrowly escaped capture by concealing himself in the cavity of a rock. A. H. 952. A. D. 1545. Abûl Fazzel.

It became thus pretty evident that the fort of Kandahaur could not be much longer defended against the returning re-ascendancy of Homayún's fortune, and the persevering devotion of his troops; and Mirza Asskery being at length awakened from his dream of security and strength, it is very possible that he should have experienced considerable embarrassment in the midst of so many difficulties, convinced as he was that he now possessed neither the means of escape, nor the power of opposing the progress of the besiegers any longer. In this extremity, he sent to make known to Homayûn that he was ready to deliver up the fort into his hands, demanding, at the same time, that he might be permitted to withdraw towards Kabûl. To this, however, Homayùn peremptorily refused to accede; and Asskery perceiving that any attempt to over-reach was now in vain, finally resolved to avail himself of the only alternative left, in the mediation of Khaunzâdah Begum, who was accordingly sent out to intercede for pardon with Homayûn. As appears to have been early foreseen, the intermediation of this respectable princess produced the desired effect in his favor; and a promise was obtained, in compliance with her intreaties, that the multiplied injuries of which this perverse and perfidious man had been the occasion, should be again forgiven.

On Thursday the twenty fifth of the latter Jummaudy, of the nine hundred and fifty second of the hidjerah,* Mirza Asskery, relying upon the assurances thus obtained, ventured, without further demur, to accompany his venerable relative to the camp of Homayún; by whom, in the presence of all his officers, and of the generals of the Kuzzulbaush, his Persian auxiliaries, severally arranged according to their stations, he was received with awful formality. Previous to his introduction he had indeed been compelled, in the first instance, to submit to a very degrading ceremony, the faithful Beyram Khaun being instructed to

* 2d of September, 1545.

A. H. 952. A. D. 1545. Abûl Fazzel.

suspend a naked sword to his neck, in which state the humbled prince was then ushered into the presence of his royal brother. Yes! exclaims our author, notwithstanding the repeated proofs of mortal hostility which he had experienced at his hands, and in obvious disregard of the best interests of his government, and the common maxims of prudence which sustain the basis of thrones and empires, Homayûn, yielding to the mere impulse of his own compassionate disposition, at once consented to cancel the black catalogue of offences accumulated upon his ungrateful brother; at the same moment evincing a desire to overwhelm him afresh with the most abundant proofs of kindness and generosity, to be returned, on the very first occasion, by the same course of treason and disloyalty.

It was, however, from a sense of gratitude to heaven for this first substantial proof of returning prosperity, that Homayûn is said to have been determined in his earliest indications of indulgence towards the crimes of his brother, and he began by directing that the sword which hung suspended to his neck, should be removed; after which, and the due performance of the usual ceremonies of personal homage, as to his sovereign lord, he was permitted to seat himself. This dispatched, Mahommed Khaun Jullâeir, and Shauhem Khaun, and Mokeym Khaun, and Shah-e-Seiestaun, together with thirty more of the principal individuals of the garrison, with their swords and quivers also suspended to their throats, were next conducted to the presence of Homayûn, before whom they were then permitted to make their prostrations. Of these, Mokeym Khaun and Shah-e-Seiestaun were ordered to be detained, and what is here called a Zhûlaunah to be fastened from their feet to the neck; but what sort of fastenings these constituted, unless they were gyves, we cannot explain. And thus, at all events, after an irregular sort of siege, of about five months and ten or twelve days, the important fortress of Kandahaur was placed at the disposal of Homayûn.

The whole of the succeeding night, to the dawn of the following day, was devoted, it seems, to celebrate this welcome prelude to future triumphs, with all the fascinations of vocal and instrumental music; in the course of which the most admired singers and musicians then known were employed to dispel the recollection of past calamities, and to re-

cite, from ancient lore, all that might serve as an example for the future. When, however, the entertainment was at its height, and the minds of all were elevated to the most exalted pitch of convivial enjoyment, a letter which had been written by Mirza Asskery to the Beloutchies and other roving tribes, at the period when Homayûn had taken to the bordering desert, was designedly produced, by the monarch's instructions, and communicated to his brother through some of the guests. From a state of comparative happiness, the wretched man was instantly thrown into one of the bitterest mortification and regret. In short, it was finally resolved that Asskery should be detained in custody for some time, and at regular periods brought to make his obeisances at court; until, deriving instruction from salutary restraint, a returning sense of duty might entitle him to a more extended enjoyment of the royal clemency.

A. H. 952. A. D. 1545. Abûl Fazzel.

In the course of the day following Homayûn, accompanied by Mahommed Mùraud Mirza, and the other Persian commanders, made his public entry into Kandahaur, where he fixed his abode for that and the three succeeding days. On the fourth day, in concurrence with the secret arrangements of his own breast, and possibly not less in discharge of his engagements with the Persian monarch, he finally delivered up the city to Múraud Mirza, and withdrew, himself, to the gardens laid out by his father on the river Arghundaub in the neighborhood. And here, in the refreshing shade of the groves and plantations, he proceeded to inspect the accounts now laid before him of the accumulated treasure and various effects of Mirza Asskery; the whole of which, with his usual disinterested liberality, he immediately distributed to relieve the numerous wants of his followers.

In the mean time, on intelligence of the reduction of Kandahaur, and a report that Homayûn was preparing to march towards Kabûl, Mirza Kamraun took the alarm; and suddenly removing the young Akbar from the mansion of Khaunzâdah Begum, where he had hitherto resided, to his own palace within the castle of Kabûl, he there consigned him to the care of his own favorite consort. At the same time, seizing the person of Shums-ud-dein Mahommed, or Mahmoud, of Gheznein, well known by the title of Auttekah* Khaun, from his situ-

* Foster-father perhaps.

A. H. 952.
A. D. 1545.
Abûl Fazzel.

ation about the person of the young prince, he threw him into a prison, or dungeon, where he was exposed to every species of indignity and inconvenience. He then proceeded to consult with his Ameirs as to the measures which it would be advisable to adopt with regard to Mirza Sûliman, whom he had deprived of the government of Buddukhshaun. Moulla Abdul Khaulek, one of those who had been employed as the Mirza's preceptors, and who had for some time despaired of being otherwise admitted to hold any appointment of consequence in the state, boldly recommended, that in order to conciliate the friendship of that prince he should be immediately set at large, and the government of which he had been divested freely restored to him; in the persuasion that, at a moment of emergency, his assistance might prove of the most essential value.

Other circumstances, however, concurred at this crisis, very materially to hasten the enlargement of Mirza Sûliman; for, not many days before, Meir Nuzzer Ally and other chiefs in Buddukhshaun, had contrived to possess themselves of the fortress of Zuffer, and to secure the persons of Kaussem Berlas, and other officers employed in the government of the province. Having so done, they dispatched to announce to Mirza Kamraun, that if he sent Mirza Sûliman into the country he should be immediately re-invested with the government; if not, that the officers whom they held in custody should be put to death without mercy, and the country delivered up to the Ouzbeks. In consequence of this menace, Mirza Sûliman with his son Mirza Ibrauhim, and his mother Hurrim Begum, was immediately set at large, and permitted to proceed towards Buddukhshaun; but, when he had just reached the station of Pâei-minaurah, a well inhabited halting place on the road, he was overtaken by a messenger from Mirza Kamraun, who had already repented of this involuntary act of grace; and who now requested that he would immediately return to Kabûl, as he had some affairs to communicate, of which it would be highly imprudent to speak, but at a personal interview. With his suspicions awakened by such a message, it would have been extraordinary if Mirza Sûliman had submitted to put himself any more in the power of his oppressor; and he therefore merely sent a letter to apologize for his refusal, and to explain, that as he had at a happy conjuncture taken his leave, he

could not perceive any reasonable expediency for his return to Kabûl. In the mean time, he added, that if Mirza Kamraun had in reality any thing of importance to communicate, he trusted that there would be no difficulty in committing it to paper, and conveying it to him through some confidential person. Mirza Súliman then made the best of his way into Buddukhshaun, where he no sooner arrived than he openly cancelled all engagements with Kamraun. A. H. 952. A. D. 1545. Abûl Fazzel.

While his attention was yet occupied with these occurrences, the selfish and ambitious Kamraun was doomed to witness another serious defection, in the departure of Yadgaur Nausser; who also withdrew, about the same period, towards Buddukhshaun. In short, every circumstance seemed to indicate that fortune was at last preparing to retaliate upon this unhappy man, his own example of perfidy and ingratitude, insomuch that in the course of a very few days, not one of his kindred Mirzas remained about him, but Mirza Hindal; whom he therefore conceived it expedient to attach to his interests by all the proofs of confidence in his power to exhibit. To him, therefore, he devolved the charge of pursuing, and bringing back, the fugitive Yadgaur, assuring him, at the same time, under the most solemn pledge, that, of the territory in his present possession, and of all that might at any future period be reduced under his authority, one third part should be faithfully allotted to Mirza Hindal. To all these things, as far as words could be of any value, Hindal appeared to signify a very cordial assent; but, having been long since wearied out by the capricious fancies of Kamraun, he rejoiced in the first opportunity that offered to relieve himself: and he had, accordingly, no sooner passed the Pâeiminaurah, already mentioned, than, instead of proceeding in the direction of Buddukhshaun, he suddenly turned off to the left, and made the best of his way to join Homayûn.

This unexpected desertion threw Mirza Kamraun into the most embarrassing perplexity, and he seemed, for a time, to lose the faculty of attending to, or directing, the most ordinary affairs of his government; neither does there appear to have existed among his associates, or the officers of his court, a single individual sufficiently devoted to his welfare, to tell him one sincere, or wholesome truth. The greater part of his people, indeed, either wilfully closed their eyes upon his

A. H. 952.
A. D. 1545.
Abûl Fazzel.

errors, or were incapable of perceiving what might contribute to relieve him from his embarrassments. Others who possessed sufficient judgment to distinguish the means by which his distresses might have been in some degree alleviated, were deterred, probably by their inferiority of rank and importance, from expressing their opinions. To speak more pointedly, for the lesson is rather instructive, Mirza Kamraun was exposed to two inconveniences, either of which in any situation would be sufficient to produce the most serious misfortunes. Some there were, as we have seen, who could not presume to address him under any circumstances. Others were of that class who, anxious to keep the prince in good humour, did not always find it seasonable to disclose what they knew for his interest; because, from his inveterate self-will and perverseness of disposition, they had experienced that the disclosure was never welcome, and that it usually ruffled his temper: a circumstance which they well knew to be uniformly succeeded by loss of rank and power, in some shape or other, to the unfortunate intruder. Never, continues our author, for a moment recollecting that it is, on the contrary, the surest proof of genuine zeal, and faithful attachment, to sacrifice every consideration of selfish convenience, to the welfare of him to whom we are bound by our allegiance—and that to govern their conduct by such unworthy considerations, at such a crisis, was the very worst of treasons. Thus, at all events, unendowed with the faculty of judging for himself by the lessons of experience, and destitute of the aid of disinterested and faithful counsellors to guide him in his actions, the unhappy Kamraun proceeded to accumulate one fatal error upon another, until his misfortunes became, at last, irretrievable.

Having, on the other hand, succeeded at length in arranging the affairs of Kandahaur, Homayûn resolved, as soon as he found himself completely at leisure, to conduct his troops to the reduction of Kabûl; preparatory to which, he now broke up from his agreeable retreat in the gardens of Bâber, and removed to the Gŭmbuz-e-seffeid, or white portico, in the mausoleum of Hussun Abdal, where he again encamped for the present. Here he continued to deliberate with his officers, for some time, on the best means of carrying his design into execution; while the greater part of the Persian auxiliaries, disgusted with the

tedious delays of the service, separated from the army without authority, and returned into their own country; and others, by their importunities, obtained a sort of constrained permission to follow the example. But worse than all, Bedaugh Khaun and the other Persian commanders, under the orders of the son of Shah Tahmasp, little regarding the impoverished state of the country, proceeded to exercise over the unfortunate inhabitants every species of violence and extortion; as if, by such unwarrantable practices, it were ever possible to secure a life of ease and undisturbed tranquillity. They were very shortly undeceived; for the oppressed inhabitants of the city in particular, of every class and description, hastened, without reserve, to lay their grievances before Homayûn, loudly demanding redress of injury. And here, as was very natural, the generous monarch felt himself under considerable embarrassment, lest, in satisfying the demands of justice by inflicting punishment on the oppressors, he might give offence to his good ally the king of Persia; or by suffering the guilty to escape entirely unpunished, they might be encouraged to extend their malpractices, an hundred-fold, against the unfortunates still subject to their authority—his conscience pretty distinctly reminding him that by this latter course, he should most surely incur the just vengeance of an offended God. Nevertheless, such were the difficulties of his situation, that he was in some measure constrained to postpone the redress of those grievances, until circumstances should arise more favorable to his just designs.

A. H. 952.
A. D. 1545.
Abûl Fazzel.

His arrangements for the expedition to Kabûl being now in sufficient forwardness, Homayûn sent to Bedaugh Khaun to request that some proper places, within the fort of Kandahaur, should be allotted for the accommodation of the women, and for the security of such effects as he should find it necessary to leave behind him. To this, with an ignorance of what was due to the situation of his illustrious suitor, for which, considering the terms in which the request was conveyed, there existed no apparent apology, the Persian commander peremptorily refused his consent. In consequence of this, the principal generals of Homayûn unanimously declared that the possession of Kandahaur was a measure without alternative; since it was indispensably necessary, in the arduous undertaking in which they were about to engage, that their minds should be completely at rest, with regard to the security of all that they

A. H. 952.
A. D. 1545.
Abûl Fazzel.

might be compelled to leave behind. Still anxious, however, to testify his gratitude for the services, and his regard for the virtues of Shah Tahmasp, Homayûn forbore to authorize any proceeding that might compromise the safety of his troops; and it was accordingly determined, that this contumacious refusal of the claims of hospitality, as it would very naturally appear to the Moghûls, should be left, together with preceding misdeeds, to that just retribution by which, at some period or other, it would doubtless be overtaken.

In the mean time, Mirza Mùraud the son of the king of Persia, who had nominally commanded the auxiliary force, paid the common debt of nature; and the ministers of Homayûn availed themselves of this circumstance, to renew their importunities with their sovereign—to represent that the winter was now at hand, and that the idea of carrying their families and effects with them through the intervening mountainous districts at such a season, appeared a dangerous, if not an impracticable scheme. They again therefore very pressingly urged the impolicy of leaving Kandahaur in the hands of the Tûrkomauns, now that the Persian prince was no more; and, especially, when their refractory disposition had been already proved in such a variety of instances, notwithstanding the express injunction which they had received to accompany the imperial standard in all its movements, and to devote their very existence, if necessary, to support the claims of their master's august ally. They further employed a multiplicity of arguments to give additional weight to their remonstrances; and among others they urged that it was totally unworthy of his imperial power, to withhold any longer that redress from the persecuted inhabitants of Kandahaur, which their injuries so loudly demanded. Neither was it probable, as they stated, that so just a proceeding should give offence to the respectable monarch who swayed the sceptre of Persia. They called upon him to recollect the distance of the march to Kabúl, and the number of Hazaurah tribes, and other Afghans, all hostile to his cause, who occupied the whole of the intervening territory; which rendered the posssession of some place of security in their rear, a circumstance of vital importance; and so suitable to their purpose, in every respect, there did not in the whole country exist but one place, and that was Kandahaur. Last of all, they therefore proposed that

Bedaugh Khaun should be immediately required to deliver up that fortress by fair means; otherwise, they demanded that they might be permitted, without further delay, to take possession of it by force of arms. At the same time, they suggested that a letter might be dispatched to the court of Shah Tahmasp, apprizing him in friendly terms of the causes which had produced this apparently hostile proceeding; confident that that excellent prince, who was equally distinguished for his prudence and his love of justice, would entirely concur in the necessity. A. H. 952. A. D 1545. Abûl Fazzel.

To Hadjy Mahommed Khaun Bâba Koushkah, who took the lead in these remonstrances, Homayûn repeated his repugnance to the employment of any violent measures, from an unwillingness to endanger the lives of any of the Shah's troops, in the service of Bedaugh Khaun; but he, nevertheless, signified his consent that some stratagem might be devised to obtain possession of the fort, if possible, without coming to actual hostility. A person was accordingly sent to announce to Bedaugh Khaun, that, as the imperial troops were about to take their departure, it had been found expedient that Mirza Asskery should be confined in the fortress of Kandahaur; and that it was expedient the Persian commander should take charge of him during their absence. To this, Bedaugh Khaun appears to have very readily assented; and it was immediately arranged that several divisions should then take their stations, secretly, on the different avenues leading to the town, under the following commanders, prepared to enter the place the moment an opportunity offered. Beyram Khaun took post with one division, near the Derwauzah Kendegaun. Olûgh Mirza and Hadjy Mahommed, with another division, lay before the Derwauzah Mashour; while Mûeyud Beg, with a third division, proceeded towards the Derwauzah Noujâei. Just at dawn of day, however, anticipating the enterprize of his brave associate, Hadjy Mahommed approached the Mashour gate, and a string of camels loaded with forage happening, fortunately, to be going in at the same moment, he promptly availed himself of the opportunity to enter, under cover of the packages thus conveniently presented to mask his approach. The keeper of the gate now came forward to oppose his entrance, and persevering in his endeavor to close the gate, notwithstanding it had been announced to him that, in conformity with orders from Bedaugh Khaun, it was

A. H. 952.
A. D. 1545.
Abûl Fazzel.

the escort of Mirza Asskery conducting him into the fort, Hadjy Mahommed at last drew his sword, and struck off his arm. A number of the Moghûls had now reached the spot, and being opposed in considerable force by the Persians, who advanced, on the first alarm, to defend the entrance into the city, a conflict of some obstinacy ensued, in which many of the garrison were put to the sword; but, as Beyram Khaun succeeded, about the same time, in forcing his way through the Derwauzah-kendegan, the fortress was shortly afterwards in possession of Homayûn's troops, the Persians retiring altogether into the citadel.

At noon of the same day, Homayùn in person entered the city by the same Derwauzah-kendegan, the gate of the dikes, or perhaps of the engravers, ascending in the first instance the bastion, called the Aukhtchah tower; the whole of the inhabitants testifying their gratification at the auspicious change by the loudest acclamations of joy. Very shortly afterwards, at the intercession of Heyder Sûltan, the governor, Bedaugh Khaun, was admitted to the presence of Homayûn; and having made the requisite apologies for his contumacious behavior, was allowed to return peaceably into his native country. Beyram Khaun was then invested with the command of this important fortress, and a letter immediately dispatched to Shah Tahmasp; advising him that the late governor, regardless of the royal instructions of his sovereign, having presumed to dispute the orders of Homayûn, it had been found expedient to remove him, and to transfer the government of Kandahaur, to the same Beyram Khaun, still subject to the authority of the Persian monarch.

In the mean time, unmindful of the clemency to which alone he was indebted for the enjoyment of life, Mirza Asskery, taking advantage of the moment in which all were so anxiously engaged in the design of seizing Kandahaur, succeeded in effecting his escape from custody. In a few days, however, an Afghan appeared at Kandahaur to announce that the fugitive lay concealed in his dwelling, and to desire that the proper persons might be sent to secure him—but in such a way as to prevent him, the Afghan, from being suspected of having any concern in the discovery. Shah Mirza and Khaujah Amber were accordingly dispatched to the abode of the Afghan; where they found the unhappy

fugitive under a coarse blanket, from whence they brought him to the presence of his brother. Again impelled by the natural mildness of his own disposition, not less than by a religious regard to the dying instructions of their common father, Homayûn overlooked his offences; committing him, however afresh, to the custody of Nedeim Koukeltaush, one of those who enjoyed his particular confidence. The province of Kandahaur was now distributed among his principal generals according to the following allotment. The district of Puttery, or Pattery, was conferred upon Olûgh Mirza; that of Lehû fell to the share of Hadjy Mahommed Khaun; the territory of Dawer was assigned to Issmàeil Beg; Kulaut and its dependencies to Sheir Afkunn; Shaul to Heyder Sûltaun; and, in the same arrangement, all others of the imperial vassals, without exception, received particular jagueirs, every one according to his rank and station in the service. A. H. 952. A. D. 1545. Abûl Fazzel.

Having adjusted the affairs of Kandahaur thus to his entire satisfaction, Homayûn now prepared for his actual departure on the expedition to Kabûl; and first of all, his attention was directed to provide a place of security for his royal consort, the mother of Akbar, who was accordingly conveyed to a suitable habitation within the fort. At this crisis, among the circumstances which contributed beyond his hopes to favor the designs of Homayûn, the following is described to have operated with most material advantage. A great Kauffelah, or caravan, of Merchants, from Hindûstaun, had recently arrived in the neighborhood; and having derived a profit, to the extent of their expectations, on the sale of the various commodities which they had brought to market, laid out a considerable part, if not the whole, in the purchase of a great number of horses of the breed of Irâk, from the Turkomauns who served with the troops of the king of Persia. The leading men of the caravan now proposed to Homayûn to accept of the whole of these, for the use of his army, on the sole proviso that they should be paid for, as soon as he should be again in possession of the throne of Dehly; rejoicing, as they said, in the opportunity of proving themselves, by this humble piece of service, among the most zealous advocates of the imperial cause. Considering this liberal and advantageous proposal as a signal instance of divine favor, Homayûn very readily agreed to it; and accordingly gave directions that promissory notes, at the discretion of

A. H. 952.
A. D. 1545
Abûl Fazzel.

the holder, should be made out, and delivered to the merchants, to the full amount of their demand. After which, proceeding in person to the summit of an eminence in the vicinity of Bâba Hussun Abdal, formerly mentioned, where the horses were probably conveyed for inspection, Olûgh Mirza, and Beyram Khaun, and Sheir Afkunn, and Heyder Mahommed, one of the equerries, there received orders, after making a selection for the royal stables, to permit the remainder to be distributed, to the principal officers first, and then to the troops in general. And thus was the matter adjusted, not less to the satisfaction of the dealers, than to the relief and accommodation of the whole army.

Homayûn was thus enabled to commence his march, without further delay, towards Kabûl, proceeding to the neighborhood, in the first instance, of the castle, or fortress, of Sattery, or Pattery; where, in consequence of the previous arrangements of their chief, Duddah, or Dawah, Beg Hazaurah, formerly mentioned, he found the inhabitants so well disposed to do him every kind of service, and the country in other respects so extremely agreeable, that he determined to remain there for some time, in order to repose and recreate himself. From thence, having discharged the last solemn duties to the remains of his illustrious kinswoman, Khaunzâdah Begum, who died at this place after an illness of some duration, Homayûn prosecuted his march, apparently without interruption, until compelled to suspend it by an alarming mortality which, from some insalubrity in the climate, and the inclemency of the season, attacked and carried off great numbers of the troops, and among others of some distinction, the Heyder Sùltaun occasionally mentioned above.

Mirza Hindal, it may be necessary to observe, had previously joined his royal brother in the neighborhood of Kandahaur, and had been received by him with the humanity and indulgence inseparable from his character. The arrival of this prince had, indeed, produced more than ordinary satisfaction throughout the army; and, what was of no little importance, had set the example of desertion among the most distinguished officers in the service of Mirza Kamraun, to such a degree, that they now quitted Kabûl, and came over to his adversaries in entire squadrons. The severity of the weather appearing, however, to increase, instead of abating, Mirza Hindal, although the followers in his

train were but comparatively few in number, took the liberty of representing to Homayún that it was advisable to return to Kandahaur until the close of winter; and that it was obviously more consistent with prudence to defer the expedition to Kabúl to the commencement of the ensuing spring, when they would be able to prosecute the design in more favorable weather, and with recruited strength and improved equipments. Homayún at first said not a word in reply; but the moment the conference broke up at which this opinion was broached, he dispatched a message to the Mirza, by Seyud Berrekah, to the following effect. The monarch desired it might be remembered, that while yet unapprized of his coming, and of the separation of Yadgaur Nausser from the cause of Mirza Kamraun, he had not, in himself, felt the slightest hesitation to embark in his design; and now, that circumstances had arisen so unexpectedly favorable to his views, he was curious to know what adequate reasons there existed to prevent his proceeding? If the hardships endured by his people had influenced Mirza Hindal in his advice, he had only to say that the territory of Dawer, and the districts in that quarter, were entirely at his disposal, there to retire and pass the winter, if he so thought fit; and for his own part he should be perfectly satisfied if he, Mirza Hindal, made it convenient to join the imperial standard, after the reduction of Kabûl should have been accomplished.

A. H. 952.
A. D. 1545.
Abûl Fazzel.

Mirza Hindal felt himself, in consequence, so sensibly ashamed of his error, that the subject was entirely dropped; and Homayûn, with unabated confidence in the justice of his cause, and well grounded hopes of success, finally proceeded on his march. Not long afterwards, Jemeil Beg, the brother of Bapous, or Pâbouss Beg, whom Mirza Kamraun had selected to be the Ataulik, or preceptor, of his son-in-law Auk Sûltan, and placed in command of Gheznein, voluntarily made his submission to Homayûn, at the same time soliciting a pardon for the offences of his brother. On the other hand, when the royal army had advanced to the station of Sheikh Ally, not far from Niauman and Arghundy, Mirza Kamraun began to exhibit some uneasy apprehensions at the approach of his adversaries; and he thought it expedient to detach Kaussem Berlas, with a division of troops, on the road towards Kandahaur; while Mokhless Tirhetty, the director

A. H. 952. A D. 1545 Abûl Fazzel.

of his ordnance, was made to convey a park of artillery to the village of Dourry, not far from the residence of the above mentioned Bâpous Beg; where he was instructed to dispose his guns in such a manner as at once to menace the approach of the enemy, and peradventure to check the secret designs of this officer. At the same time, the families of those who resided in the neighborhood were removed, to places within the fortifications of Kabúl: so that every precaution having been thus taken for the security of his capital, the confidence of Mirza Kamraun seemed to revive, and he proceeded, in heedless arrogance, to establish his head-quarters without the city, near the palace of Bapous Beg, already mentioned; where he completed his arrangements for the battle which he finally proposed to give to his brother's army.

When his general Kaussem Berlas had, however, with his division, proceeded as far as the station of Tegnah, or Tengnah-Khummaur, [the vintner's pass perhaps], he was vigorously attacked by the advanced guard of Homayûn's troops, under Khaujah Mauzzem, Hadjy Mahommed Khaun, and Sheir Afkunn; by whom he was compelled to retreat with considerable precipitation. In consequence of this success, when the distance which separated the two hostile armies was now reduced to a very narrow space, Mirza Hindal, at his own earnest request, was placed at the head of the advance; and the imperial troops had no sooner passed the Tengui-e-Khaujah-Poushteh range, and taken up their ground in the neighborhood of Arkendy, perhaps Arghundy, than they were joined by the Ameirs Bâpous and Jemmeil, with the whole of their followers; as well as by Shahverdy Khaun, the jaguirdaur of Gurdaiz, Bunguesh, and Nughz;—all of whom, as might have been expected, were favorably received by Homayûn. These were followed, in a short time, by Mússauheb Beg, the son of Khaujah Kullan Beg, together with very many more, who experienced also from the grateful monarch a reception equally kind and liberal. Things were, in short, arrived at such a crisis, when the Bapous Beg recently introduced to our notice, and who to all appearance possessed considerable influence in the country, embraced the earliest opportunity of pressing upon the attention of Homayûn, that this was not a season for delay. On the contrary, that it behoved him to hasten onwards with all practicable celerity; in the event of which there did not exist the smallest

doubt but that he would be speedily joined by the greater part, if not by the whole, of the troops of Mirza Kamraun. The advice was too reasonable to be disregarded by Homayûn, and he accordingly expedited his march towards Kabûl. A. H. 952. A. D. 1545. Abûl Fazzel.

Almost immediately afterwards, Karatchah, or Kerautchah Khaun, another very powerful Ameir, hastened to present himself to Homayûn, and, like those who preceded him, was most graciously received. In short, through all these alarming defections, distinguishing at last pretty clearly the catastrophe that awaited him, unless he took some early steps to avert it, Mirza Kamraun came to the resolution of sending two of his remaining Ameirs, Khaujah Khawund Mahmoud, and Khaujah Abdulkhaulek, to propose certain terms of accommodation, and to solicit a reconciliation with Homayûn. When these two personages were introduced to the presence of the emperor, there remained between the adverse squadrons of the two armies not more than the distance of half a kôsse, or perhaps something more than an English mile; and the monarch declined making any definitive reply to their proposals, previous to that interview which he trusted must shortly take place between him and his ungrateful brother. In other respects he expressed himself most favorably disposed, and the messengers were dismissed after a very civil reception: but, what was of more essential concern, Homayûn at once suspended his march altogether. The object of his insidious brother in dispatching the two Khaujahs on this hollow mission, was indeed nothing more than to gain time, and, as far as possible, to delay the approach of the imperial troops; in order that he might avail himself of his opportunity to withdraw secretly from the scene of danger. Accordingly, when the ensuing night was sufficiently advanced, Kamraun hastened privately to the citadel of Kabûl, and taking from thence his son Ibrauhim with some others of his family, retreated with all diligence, by the way of Beini-hessaur, towards Ghez nein. The flight of Kamraun was early made known to Homayûn, and Mirza Hindal, with a competent division, was immediately detached in pursuit of the fugitive; while Bâpous, with some troops in whose discipline and attachment the monarch reposed his confidence, was sent into Kabûl, in order to protect the garrison and inhabitants from outrage, and to assure them of the royal favor.

A. H. 952.
A. D 1545.
Abûl Fazzel.

The submission of Kabûl, which immediately followed on this occasion, is stated to have taken place on wednesday the twelfth of Ramzaun, of the nine hundred and fifty-second of the hijerah ;* Homayûn making his public entry into the city, about two hours after sunset on the same evening. The flight of Mirza Kamraun, and the reduction of his capital were, however, it seems, in the estimation of Homayûn, considered as circumstances of trivial importance, when compared with the restoration to his embraces of his darling son, the illustrious Akbar, now exactly two years, two months, and eight days old ;† an event which he now hailed with the most grateful satifaction. On the day following, seated on his throne, Homayûn received the homage of all the Ameirs, and principal inhabitants, and in short, of all classes of the people, on the spot, subject to his authority. He then finally took up his residence in the citadel of Kabûl, where he continued during the whole of the ensuing winter;‡ devoting his whole attention at once to the service of his Creator, and to the general welfare and happiness of the people committed to his care. Not long afterwards, he discovered, nevertheless, that two of the most distinguished among his adherents, Khaujah Mauzzem, and Múkuddum Beg, were actually engaged in a design to forsake his standard, and go over to Mirza Kamraun ; in consequence of which, the one was banished towards Kashmeir, and Khaujah Mauzzem was deservedly deprived of the royal favor, and degraded from all employment.

On the return of spring, Homayûn found leisure to recreate himself and his court in a series of sumptuous entertainments, which were provided by his command in the Artah, or perhaps, Ortah Baugh ; a garden which, at this period, flourished in great beauty, in the neighborhood of Kabûl. But, at this stage of our labors, we have no longer room to indulge in copying the diffuse and florid strains of Abûl Fazzel; and henceforward, our attention must be employed to confine the narrative to those circumstances only, which may be indispensably necessary to keep up the thread of the history, to that period at which the noble minded Homayûn finally determined on returning into Hindûs-

* 16th of November, 1545,

† Referring, however, to the period of his birth in the preceding chapter, it will be seen that he was strictly speaking three years, one month, and one day old.

‡ That of 1545-46.

taun. Before the festivities in the Artah Baugh were brought to a conclusion, the mother of the princely Akbar rejoined her husband, from Kandahaur, having been conducted from that place by the Ameirs Kerautchah Khaun, and Mûssauheb Beg: and she must have experienced singular delight at the extraordinary instance of recognition among a crowd of other females, evinced by her child, when restored to her arms after so protracted a separation. Not long afterwards, Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, who had reached Kandahaur sometime subsequent to the departure of the imperial standard, and had been hospitably entertained by Beyram Khaun, also joined Homayûn at Kabûl. The circumcision of Akbar now followed, on which occasion, the royal Homayûn, in common with the Ameirs of his court, condescended to engage inthe athletic games exhibited in honor of the ceremony; himself wrestling with Imaum Kûly, one of the Kourtcheis, or captains of his guard, and Mirza Hindal with his kinsman Yadgaur Nausser. A. H. 952. A. D. 1545 Abûl Fazzel.

Among the assignments in jagueir which took place about this period, it may be convenient to notice that the government of Gheznein was allotted to Mirza Hindal, and the territory of Dauer and Pattery, conferred afresh upon Olûgh Mirza; and among the occurrences of the same crisis, it may be proper to mention the embassy from Shah Tahmasp, which now presented itself to congratulate Homayûn upon his recent success. Another from Mirza Sûliman, in Buddukhshaun, arrived about the same time. To this latter mission it was, however, announced that the only proof of the sincerity of Mirza Sûliman's professions which could be accepted, was his personal appearance in the presence of his sovereign. There were others who embraced the opportunity to present themselves to Homayûn, and among these was Meir Seyud Ally, a chief of great distinction among the Afghan, and Beloutchy tribes, residing in the neighborhood of Douky, here stated to be a dependency on Hindùstaun, and now graciously conferred upon this chief. Another was Loung the Beloutch, a personage of distinguished eminence with his tribe, who now appeared before Homayûn, accompanied by several of his brothers, and was remunerated for this proof of voluntary zeal, by a grant of the districts of Shaul and Mustung, formerly mentioned.

Notwithstanding the repeated proofs of clemency which he had experienced from Homayûn, Yadgaur Nausser was not, however, to be

A. H. 953. A. D. 1546. Abûl Fazzel.

withheld from engaging in fresh intrigues against the authority of his benefactor, and it became, therefore, necessary to confine him altogether to the citadel of Kabûl, close by the spot where the person of Mirza Asskery was also held in safe custody.

Having received intelligence which placed the hostile designs of Mirza Sûliman beyond all manner of doubt, Homayûn, towards the commencement of the nine hundred and fifty third of the hidjerah,* prepared to march into Buddukhshaun; and having again committed his son to the protection of heaven, in the citadel of Kabûl, he quitted that city and proceeded two stages to the station of Kárabaugh, where he encamped for the present. It had been found expedient that Mirza Asskery should accompany the expedition; but with regard to Yadgaur Nausser it was now determined to put him beyond the possibility of any future attempts against the authority of his imperial kinsman. Mahommed Ally Toghài, who had been left in command of Kabûl, was accordingly directed to apply an effectual extinguisher to the turbulent spirit of this prince. It is something singular that the governor of Kabûl should have actually declined the execution of the sanguinary mandate, however just in its principle; and his apology is not less remarkable. From him, said he, who has never killed a sparrow, it can scarcely be expected that he should embrue his hands in the blood of a fellow creature. Overlooking for the present the extreme simplicity of the man, in thus daring to trifle with the orders of his sovereign, Homayûn next made choice of Mahommed Kaussem Mou-tchei, to carry into execution this severe, but necessary, act of justice; and the life of the unhappy prince was terminated by the application of the bow-string, on the self-same evening.

Homayûn now ascended the mountains, without further delay, and proceeded into Buddukhshaun, to the vicinity of Enderaub; where he encamped in the gardens of Ally Kûly, a respectable native of that town, either then living, or formerly resident, in the place. Mirza Sûliman had entrenched himself, with the determination of disputing possession of the country to the very last extremity, at the station of the arrow-makers, a place also dependent on, and at no great distance from Enderaub. He was, however, immediately attacked; and, after a

* Commencing 3d of March 1546.

very gallant resistance, driven from his camp, by a division of Homayún's troops under the orders of Mirza Hindal, aidedby Kerautchah, and Hadjy Mahommed Khauns, and accompanied also on this occasion, by several distinguished officers of the guards of the king of Persia, who had proceeded with the expedition from Kabûl. A. H. 953. A. D. 1546. Abûl Fazzel.

In consequence of this victory, the majority of the native chiefs of Buddukhshaun came in and submitted to Homayûn; Mirza Sûliman, with a few followers, having finally retired beyond the main branch of the Oxus, which runs through this part of the province. Konduz, with the territory in the neighborhood, was now conferred upon Mirza Hindal; and the remainder of the province was, at the same time, regularly distributed in fee, according to their respective stations, among the imperial generals; Mùnnáeim Khaun being appointed, in particular, to collect the revenues in the district of Khousset, and Bâpouss to a similar trust at Taulekan. Homayûn had, by this time, advanced to the town of Kouthem, and, after making such arrangements as appeared most necessary to the security of his government in that part of the country, was proceeding, for the purpose of passing the winter, to the fortress of Zuffur; when, on his arrival at Shakhdaun, a station about midway between Kouthem and that fortress, he was attacked by a very serious fit of illness, which confined him to the spot for a period of nearly two months. On this occasion, having continued for four days successively in a state of insensibility and stupor, some very alarming apprehensions were excited, and the most unfavorable reports were instantly in circulation. In consequence of these reports many of the princes and principal feudatories were indùced to quit their stations, and to present themselves at the head-quarters of their sovereign, without invitation. The adherents of Mirza Sûliman also began to raise their heads in different places, and possibly to prepare the way for the return of their master.

At such a crisis, with a spirit of loyalty of which the times afforded but few examples, Kerautchah Khaun, at the head of a faithful band attached to the cause of their sick sovereign, came and pitched his tent at the very entrance of the imperial pavilion; having previously secured the person of Mirza Asskery, on whom the views of the turbulent and disaffected principally rested, and confined him to the same tent

A. H. 953. A. D. 1546. Abûl Fazzel.

with himself. He caused his own bed, moreover, to be laid on the very threshold of Homayûn's apartment, whom he unremittingly attended in person, in order to see that every thing was administered that could contribute to the relief and comfort of the suffering monarch. On the fifth day, however, the crisis of the disorder having terminated favorably, Homayûn was restored to his faculties; and Meir Berrekah entering about the same time to make his usual obeisances, could not suppress the transport which he felt at observing that his master was in a state of convalescence. After the king had assured him that God, in mercy to his transgressions, had thus vouchsafed his restoration, Meir Berrekah proceeded to describe the confusion and dismay that had pervaded all classes, during the crisis of his disorder, and to do justice to the determined zeal and important services of Kerautchah Khaun; who was immediately sent for, and now received from the lips of his sovereign the most flattering acknowledgements for his unshaken loyalty.

Mirza Hindal, and the other jaguirdaurs who had hastened together to the imperial encampment on intelligence of Homayùn's in disposition, now returned to their stations; and matters seemed on all sides gradually re-settling into tranquil repose. In the midst of this deceitful calm, on the evening of the twenty first of Ramzaun,* and under the pretext of zeal for his religion, Khaujah Mauzzem, whose turbulent disposition, like a noxious weed, seems to have stifled every virtuous feeling, having formed a conspiracy with other disorderly persons, suddenly entered the abode of Sûltan Mahommed Reshidy, one of the ministers, and instantly put him to death. This personage held the dignity of Vezzeir, at the period under consideration, and was thus basely assassinated while partaking of some refreshment after the inanition of a rigorous fast, which probably furnished the pretext for the zeal of his murderers; but the true cause was, probably, the share which, on a former occasion, he had had in detecting the perfidious designs of this same Khaujah Mauzzem. The assassin and his accomplices, for the present however, effected their escape to Kabûl, although shortly afterwards they were seized, and cast into prison, by order of Homayûn; who, it must be confessed, appears on this occasion more indulgent towards the crime of murder, than towards that of resistance against his authority,

* 14th of November, 1546.

A. H. 953.
A. D. 1547.
Abûl Fazzel.

although it is possible that he may only have postponed the just punishment, until he should return to Kabûl.

Being at last restored, in some degree, to health, Homayûn quitted the station of Shakhdaun, and pursued his march to Zuffur, of which, unless it be the town to which the modern maps have assigned the name of Badakshan, we must confess our ignorance; and here, in a very short time, all remains of his disorder were entirely removed, a circumstance which is described to have diffused universal satisfaction throughout the empire. About this conjuncture the districts of Gahmurd, [perhaps Ghuinrud] Zohauk, and Bâmian, were conferred upon Sheir Afkunn, the son of Kouje Beg, with a promise that when Homayûn should return to Kabûl, he should be favored with a further grant of the territory of Ghourbund, at the foot of the mountains north-west of that capital. In the mean time, the residence of Homayûn in Buddukhshaun, is said to have occasioned some very alarming apprehensions throughout the neighboring regions of Tartary, and more particularly among the Ouzbeks, at Balkh, who could not then discover any advantage in hostilities with so warlike a monarch.

While that monarch, however, seemed to consider his affairs in a train so prosperous, and continued to amuse himself in hunting, and other recreations, in Buddukhshaun, his brother Kamraun most unexpectedly surprised and re-possessed himself of the city of Kabûl; where among others, in spite of recent obligations, the first to join him was the very Sheir Afkunn, whom we have just mentioned as so eminently distinguished in the favor of his sovereign.

As it might lead us too far out of the regular course of the narrative, we are compelled to decline entering at large into the previous proceedings of Mirza Kamraun, on his retreat from Kabûl towards Gheznein, and finally, on his failure to obtain possession of the latter place, from thence to Bukkur and the territory on the lower Indus—into the circumstances of his reception by Shah Hûsseyne Arghûn, the prince of Tattah, to whose daughter he had been long betrothed, and whom he now espoused—or into the means by which, with the assistance furnished by his father-in-law, on intelligence of the indisposition of Homayûn, he was on this occasion enabled to make himself successively master of both Gheznein and Kabûl; and again to pos-

A. H. 953. A. D. 1547. Abûl Fazzel.

sess himself of the person of young Akbar, the cherished hope of every zealous friend of the house of Teymûr. It will be sufficient to remark that the surprise of Kabùl was indeed so complete that Mahommed Ally Toghài, the scrupulous governor, was actually taken while enjoying the luxuries of his bath, and, in a state of nudity, brought to the presence of Kamraun, who with his own hands put him instantly to death; and the same Mirza Kamraun demanding of Hadjy Mahommed Essess, a respectable officer who went to visit him in the course of the day, if in his departure and return there were not something singular, it has been thought not unworthy of record, that the Hadjy should have replied, rather drily, "true sir! you went away at night, and returned in the morning."

While he treated his captives, and the inhabitants of Kabûl, who had been thus betrayed through the disgraceful remissness, and entire neglect of the most ordinary precautions on the part of Homayûn's officers, with every species of oppression, and even sanguinary cruelty, Mirza Kamraun early applied himself, nevertheless, to make the most active preparations in men and arms, and every other requisite, in order to support his precarious authority. In a very short time he succeeded, accordingly, in collecting round his standard a numerous body of soldiers from the warlike population of the neighboring territory. He was in these circumstances giving audience, one day, to the different chiefs who presented themselves, in his palace in the citadel of Kabùl, and among these to Wulleid Beg and Abúl Kaussem, with several others of the Kourtcheis, or guards, of the king of Persia, who had obtained permission to return into Irâk, and were now introduced to pay their respects to the usurper, when it happened that the royal Akbar should also be present on the occasion, and the servants of Kamraun, like bees round a grocer's stall, were crouding into the assembly. At such a moment it occurred to Abùl Kaussem that an opportunity was thus offered of performing a most useful and acceptable piece of service, to the monarch whose cause he had been employed to promote; and he secretly whispered to Wulleid Beg, that it would only be discharging a debt of gratitude, if with the thirty resolute followers whom they had at their elbows, they availed themselves of the confusion of the assembly, to dispatch Kamraun, and to bear the blooming shoot of the imperial fa-

mily, alluding to the royal child, in triumph to the arms of his sorrowing parent. Wulleid Beg, however, whose heart was not sufficiently steeled against the horrors of such a scene, shrunk from the proposal, timidly observing that being merely travellers on the spot, he considered it an act of officious intrusion, if they presumed to interfere in any shape, much more so to engage in an attempt so apparently rash and extravagant—the chain of sublunary events has indeed its termination so unalterably attached to some particular period, by the laws of everlasting destiny, that either to anticipate, or protract, must be equally beyond the scope of human exertion.* A. H. 953. A. D. 1547. Abûl Fazzel.

On the other hand, when intelligence of these unfavorable and alarming changes were conveyed to Homayûn, he prepared, notwithstanding the rigors of winter, to return without delay, through the pass of Aubderrah, for the purpose of restoring his authority, and repressing the dangerous designs of his ambitious brother It became, however, expedient, first of all, to enter into an accommodation with Mirza Sûliman; to whom he accordingly agreed to cede afresh the districts in Buddukhshaun, formerly allotted to that prince by the emperor Bâber. At the same time, in addition to the territory of Kondúz already assigned to him, the districts of Enderaub, Khousset, Gahmurd, and Ghoury, with other townships, were now further conferred upon Mirza Hindal. By the heavy snow, which fell for several days without intermission, Homayûn was detained for some time at Taulekan; but availing himself of the first cessation, he prosecuted his march to Konduz—not a little to the joy, as it is said, of the Ouzbek tribes, who felt themselves relieved from the most alarming anxiety, by his departure from their neighborhood. Having, at the request of his brother Hindal, remained at Konduz, to celebrate the festival of the tenth of Zilhudje,† he again continued his march; and proceeding successively across the ranges of Shebertû, and Reig-gûzzer, finally encamped his troops at the station of Khaujah-seyauran.

In the mean time, Sheir Ally, an officer of distinguished character in the service of Mirza Kamraun, had employed his utmost diligence

* It is not easy to decide whether this remark belongs to Abûl Fazzel; or to the Persian, as an apology for the coldness with which he received the spirited proposal of his companion.

† 31st of January, 1547.

A. H. 954. A. D. 1547 Abûl Fazzel.

to fortify, against Homayûn, the pass of Aubderrah, in the intervening mountains of Hindû Koh; but being attacked and defeated by a division of the imperial troops under Mirza Hindal and Kerautchah Khaun, that officer retaliated for the discomfiture, by plundering the baggage in the rear of the army; which after descending the pass, encamped without further obstacle, at Tcharekauran, or Charikaran, a station which is still to be recognized in modern maps, to the North-west of Kabûl. Here the author is constrained to acknowledge that Homayûn was forsaken at this crisis by many of his most distinguished officers, the greater part of whom had, indeed, left their families in Kabûl, on their departure for Buddukhshaun; and among these we find in particular the name of Mirza Sunjur Berlaus, the son of Sûltan Jenneid, and sister's son of the illustrious Bâber, who with several others, now embraced the opportunity to go over to the enemy. In these circumstances, when he had continued for some time stationary in the neighboring districts, endeavoring in various ways to support the drooping courage of his troops, the perplexed monarch summoned a council of war; at which he particularly requested that all would declare their opinions, with perfect freedom from reserve.

The result of this consultation was an opinion generally expressed that, since it appeared to be the determination of Mirza Kamraun to keep within the cover of his works, the success of the imperial cause would be, for the present, best promoted by leaving Kabûl on one side; and removing towards Poury and Khaujah-bustah, the more conveniently to secure the subsistance of the army. Homayûn accordingly decamped from Zemmah; but when he had for a short distance retraced his steps, to the west, it suddenly occurred to him, that if he proceeded, as had been determined upon, in the direction of Khaujah bustah, it would be immediately concluded that he was retiring once more to Kandahaur; which would be the occasion of desertion among his followers, far more extensive and alarming than what he had already to regret; the greater part of them having, as we have just seen, their families at Kabûl, and it was but natural that they should be anxious to revisit them. He therefore boldly determined on making an attempt to possess himself of the city; considering that if Kamraun could, by any means, be constrained to come to a battle, nothing on earth was

more desirable; but at all events that the pretext for desertion would be thus removed, and he should be able to put his army under convenient shelter from the severity of the weather. A. H. 954. A. D. 1547. Abûl Fazzel.

Having taken his final resolution, Homayûn sent, without a moment's delay, for Hadjy Mahommed Khaun, to whom he explained the nature of his plan; which met, of course, with enthusiastic approbation. In conformity with the design now agreed upon, the same Hadjy Mahommed, with some other commanders devoted to the service, returned, accordingly, at the head of a division of the army towards Kabúl, by the way of Minaur koutel; while Homayûn in person, with the main body, proceeded by that of the Payan Koutel, another ridge or gauht, which, in that direction, possibly traverses the approach towards the city. When, however, Mirza Hindal with an advanced division, had reached the village of the Afghans, not far from the tomb of Bâba Sheshpurr, he was vigorously attacked by the whole, or a very superior, force of Mirza Kamraun, under the apostate Sheir Afkunn, and a very desperate conflict immediately ensued. Thus, perhaps unexpectedly, assailed, the troops of Homayûn are acknowledged to have given way; although Mirza Hindal himself, with a few who remained stedfast to their duty, continued to maintain his ground with equal gallantry and self-devotion, until supported by a fresh body of troops, dispatched to his assistance by Homayún, the moment he became apprized of his danger, under Karautchah Khaun, and Meir Berrekah. Almost at the same crisis, Hadjy Mahommed Khaun with his division, also made his appearance, most seaonably, and the event remained no longer doubtful. The enemy were entirely defeated, and their general, the ungrateful Sheir Afkunn, became a prisoner in the hands of the conquerors. Being conducted immediately to the presence of Homayún, that prince with his usual clement spirit would have been contented merely to put him under a little salutary restraint, and, after a short time, to reinstate him once more in his rank among the imperial vassals; but in consequence of some strong remonstrances from Kâratchah Khaun and certain other chiefs yet faithfully attached to the authority of Homayûn, who bore in deep resentment the recent treachery and ingratitude of Sheir Afkunn, he was, without further ceremony, put to death on the spot. Ho-

A. H. 954. A. D. 1547. Abûl Fazzel.

mayûn then advanced upon the town, directing his attack by the Kheyabaun quarter; and the troops employed in pursuit of the fugitive garrison pushing on to the Derwauzzah-ahenein, or iron gate, Mirza Khezzer Khaun, and others of the tribe of Arghûn, instantly made off for the Hazaurah, or Afghan vallies, followed by the whole of their dependents. In consequence of this, the Sheherbund, or fortified suburb, was taken possession of by the imperialists, without further resistance.

On the same day Homayûn took up his residence in the gardens of Karautchah Khaun; and a considerable number of the prisoners taken in the recent conflict, were here put to the sword without mercy. Nevertheless, the arrival of Sheir Ally, who contrived to make his way through the besiegers, is said, in a great degree, to have restored the confidence of the garrison of Kabûl. Homayûn, on his part, after successively visiting the gardens of the diwaun Khaun, and the Artahbaugh, formerly mentioned, finally removed his head-quarters to the hill of the eagles; which is described to command, or overlook, the fortifications of the town, or perhaps the citadel. A fire from every species of artillery was now opened upon the place; the besieged, on their part, making frequent and formidable sallies, to disturb and retard the operations of their adversaries. During one of these, while employed to select a spot nearer to the town for the construction of a new battery, Hadjy Mahommed Khaun was wounded in the arm by Sheir Ally himself. Not long afterwards, however, a detachment of the garrison, employed under the same Sheir Ally and Tereddy Mahommed Tchengtcheng, contrary to the advice of the latter officer, on an expedition to plunder a caravan of merchants, who had arrived at the station of Tcharikaran, with a numerous adventure of horses, although the design against the defenceless merchants was successful, was intercepted on its return, and compelled to withdraw towards Gheznein. Neither did these marauders then entirely escape punishment, for being immediately pursued by a division of the imperial troops, they were overtaken and defeated in the pass of Sejawund; and the greater part of their ill-acquired booty wrested from them—all that could be fairly recognized, being restored to the owners by the justice of Homayûn.

All that remained alive of the prisoners taken on this, and perhaps

on the former occasion, were now brought in front of the besieger's batteries, and there, by various methods, publicly put to death under the eyes of the garrison. For this, Mirza Kamraun instantly retaliated, by consigning the wife of Bàpous Beg to the common Bazar, and by shedding the blood of his three innocent and helpless children, the eldest not more than seven, and the youngest but three years of age; whose dead bodies he threw from the top of the parapet, opposite the batteries occupied by Karautchah Khaun, and Mùssauheb Beg. At the same time, he caused Serdaur Beg the son of Karautchah Khaun, and Khodadoust the son of Mûssauheb Beg, to be suspended alive from the battlements; while a message was conveyed to the two chiefs inviting them to behold the spectacle, and declaring that unless they either gave him free egress to quit the place, or prevailed upon Homayûn to raise the siege, both their sons were destined to share the fate of the children of Ameir Bâpouss. Karautchah, who at this period held the office of first minister of state without controul, instantly replied aloud that not only their sons, but their own lives and all they possessed on earth, would be willingly devoted to serve the cause of their sovereign. Nevertheless, they adjured Mirza Kamraun to beware of plunging himself deeper in guilt, by further embrüing his hands in innocent blood; for which, they desired him at the same time to remember, it was so easy to retaliate a thousand fold. If, on the contrary, he would be induced to take the only step which could now save him from destruction, by repairing at once to the presence of his magnanimous brother, Karautchah Khaun here openly pledged himself to exert whatever influence he possessed, to promote his views. Both Karautchah Khaun and his associate were, in the mean time, consoled under their apprehensions by the highest applause of their master; and although Mirza Kamraun does not precisely appear to have carried his threats into execution against the children of the two chiefs, he proceeded, nevertheless, to gratify his vindictive spirit, by every species of violence and outrage towards the helpless families of his besiegers; among other brutal enormities, causing the unprotected and unoffending wife of Mahommed Kaussem Mou-tchei, to be publicly suspended by the breasts.

A. H. 954.
A. D. 1547.
Abûl Fazzel.

Had his atrocities terminated here he might still, perhaps, have been

A. H. 954. A. D. 1547. Abûl Fazzel.

allowed some claim to indulgence—but not so. Conceiving that it might be possible to ensure his own safety by an act of inhumanity almost without precedent, he went so far as to set his nephew, the yet young and innocent Akbar, exactly in the face of the besieger's artillery; and in such a situation that it was indeed scarcely less than a miracle, that he should have escaped the unceasing fire of the imperialists directed to the spot. By some chance or other the attention of Sumbul Khaun, the general of artillery, while watching the effect of his ordnance, and the other missiles, and who possessed the visual faculties in singular perfection, was providentially attracted to the same spot; and most happily recognizing the person of the young prince, and causing the fire to cease, at the same time that he gave a truce to the sufferings of the garrison, rescued from the very jaws of destruction the darling child of his master's affections. Abûl Fazzel does not indeed scruple to declare in express terms, that the hands of the Gulandauz, or cannoniers, were on the occasion suddenly seized with an unaccountable tremor—that the balls and arrows flew wide of their mark—that the matches refused their fire—and that the commander of artillery feeling an indescribable chill running through his veins, the circumstance awakened his attention, and led to the discovery of the illustrious victim exposed to the fire of his batteries. Be this, however as it may, the proofs of inhumanity and cruelty exhibited on the part of Mirza Kamraun, were of a nature so revolting that every just and moderate man was led to predict that his fall was approaching; and the exertions of his besiegers continuing, with an activity that rather increased than abated, the unhappy prince was now soon reduced to the greatest extremity.

Finding, therefore, all his projects of ambition, defence, and retaliation, rendered otherwise utterly abortive, Kamraun determined to recur to the more congenial system of deception; and affecting, accordingly, a very becoming sense of remorse for what was past, finally employed the influence of Karautchah Khaun to bring about a reconciliation with his brother—to whose generosity he expressed a perfect willingness to submit himself and all that belonged to him. To these overtures Homayûn is described to have yielded his usual indulgent attention: but since it would have been entirely adverse to the selfish views

of Mirza Hindal, of Karautchah Khaun, and Mûssauheb Beg, nay of the majority, indeed, of the leading chiefs among the imperial vassals, always directed to scenes of turbulence and commotion, an interview between the rival brothers was an occurrence of which they never sincerely desired to witness the accomplishment. They contrived, therefore, to keep awake the apprehensions of Mirza Kamraun; to whom they conveyed a secret message, in which, after expostulating on the absurdity of resting any hope on the result of a conference with Homayûn, when all his means of resistance were at an end, they urged the absolute necessity of his withdrawing from the fort, without a moment's delay—making his retreat from a particular tower, through the battery of Hussun Ally Aga, an officer in the secret, and thus effecting his escape from the dangers by which he was on every side surrounded. Accordingly, on the night of Thursday the seventh of the former Rebbeia, of the nine hundred and fifty fourth of the hidjerah,* Kamraun, quitting the fort by the Durwauzzah-aheńein, and taking the course indicated to him by his friends in the camp of Homayûn; fled with all the speed in his power on the road to Buddukhshaun; trusting to the contingency of receiving aid from Mirza Súliman, or, at all events, that he should be able to make another effort for the recovery of his power through the assistance of the Ouzbeks. The moment his flight became known, Hadjy Mahommed Khaun was dispatched in pursuit of the fugitive, Homayûn then re-entering Kabûl, without further resistance, and being thus once more happily restored to the embraces of his family.

A. H. 954.
A. D. 1547.
Abûl Fazzel.

Aided, on the other hand, as was shrewdly suspected, by some sort of collusion on the part of his pursuers, Mirza Kamraun made good his retreat across the mountains; and being joined shortly afterwards by Sheir Ally, and others attached to his cause, found no great difficulty in gaining possession of the fortified post of Ghoury, near one of the branches of Hindû Ḳoh, looking towards Balkh. Mirza Sûliman, however, contrary to his hopes, rejecting all his solicitations for aid, he was finally compelled to bend his steps to the city just mentioned; in order to claim the assistance of Peir Mahommed Khaun sovereign of the Ouzbeks, at this period the prevailing power in that part of the

* 26th of April, 1547.

A. H. 955. A. D. 1548. Abûl Fazzel.

territory on the Oxus. The castle, or fortress, of Ghoury was, however, soon recaptured by Karautchah Khaun, and other generals detached by Homayûn to restore his authority in the country; although these were very shortly afterwards compelled to retreat in their turn, at the approach of Mirza Kamraun, accompanied by Peir Mahommed and a powerful reinforcement of the troops of Balkh. Upon this, as the emergency indeed seemed to require it, Homayûn hastened in person to encounter the danger; but, for the present, his entrance into Buddukhshaun was effectually prevented by a fall of snow, which blocked up the passages of Hindû Koh, and constrained him to return to Kabûl, there to pass the approaching winter.*

After placing Mirza Kamraun in possession of the major part of Buddukhshaun, Peir Mahommed withdrew to Balkh, leaving, however, a considerable force to support the authority of his ally. In the mean time, while yet engaged in preparation to resume his expedition, Homayûn found himself suddenly deserted by three of his most distinguished generals, Karautchah Khaun, Bâpous Beg, and Msssauheb Beg, together with many others, to the number of three thousand horse; all of them seduced from their allegiance through the malignant suggestions of the ungrateful Karautchah, now grown insolent beyond endurance, through the possession of uncontrolled authority. Being, however, immediately pursued, they were for the moment overtaken, and obliged to disperse at Ghourbund; but night coming on, and the insurgents breaking down the bridge near that place behind them, they succeeded in effecting their escape by different ways, and finally joined Mirza Kamraun some time afterwards, at the station of Kouthem, in Buddukhshaun. On this occasion, Homayûn was for the present content to mark his displeasure at the perfidy of these men by parodizing their names; that of Karautchah for instance, he perverted into Kârabukht, ill-destined, or reprobate—Issmâeil Beg's was changed into Khurrus, bear—(ursa)—Mûssauheb Beg's into Mûnnaufek, hypocrite—and that of Bâpous into Deyouss, cuckold, or pandar—referring to the exposure of his wife in the public bazar, by the enemy.

His arrangements being, however, at last completed, Homayûn, on the fifth of the former Jummaudy, of the year nine hundred and fifty

* Of A. D. 1548.

five,* proceeded in earnest on his second expedition into Buddukhshaun. As far as the station of Gùlbahar, on the other side of Kàrabaugh, he was accompanied by the young Akbar and his mother; but from that station they were sent back to Kabûl, under the care of Mahommed Kaussem Mou-tchei, who was invested, on this occasion, with the government of the city. The officers of Mirza Kamraun entrusted with the defence of Enderaub, were, on the other hand, no sooner apprized that the advanced guard of the royal troops had ascended the passes of Hindù Kôh, than they withdrew from that place, and retired to join their master; Homayún in person encamping in the neighborhood very shortly afterwards. Being joined at Enderaub by his brother Hindal Mirza, and many of the feudatory chiefs of Buddukhshaun with their followers, Homayún immediately placed that prince at the head of the vanguard of the army; and the whole now proceeded towards Taulekan, which was known to be defended by the fugitive Ameirs, together with Mirza Abdullah, and a strong garrison of the troops of Mirza Kamraun. Before the imperialists could however reach Taulekan, Mirza Kamraun, with all the troops he could collect at Zuffur and Kouthem, and the neighboring territory, had hastened to the support of his friends; so that when the advanced guard of Homayùn, on the fifteenth of the latter Jummaudy,† had just crossed the Bangui, one of the smaller branches possibly of the Oxus, they found that prince at the head of a very superior force posted on an eminence in their front, called the Jelleissan; and they were constrained, as it would seem, to recross the river in the greatest confusion, leaving their baggage to be plundered by the enemy. At this perilous crisis, Homayún with the main body of the army appeared on the river side, and was about to pass, immediately in presence of his adversaries; but some of those whom he had employed to survey the country and procure intelligence, representing the ford as extremely dangerous, from the rocks and cavities in the bed of the river, and reporting a more favorable spot by a mill about a kôsse higher up, where, from the greater stability of footing, he would be able to cross with less hazard, he availed himself of the information; and proceeding immediately to the place, effected his passage, accordingly, without difficulty.

A. H. 955.
A. D. 1548.
Abûl Fazzel.

* 11th of June 1548. † 21st of July, 1548.

A. H. 955.
A. D. 1548.
Abûl Fazzel.

The march of Homayûn was now directed towards the rising ground, on which Mirza Kamraun had taken post with the main body of his troops; and Futtah-ullah Beg, the brother of Roushun Koukah, who had been sent in advance at the head of a smaller division, was already engaged with the enemy, and had been beaten from his horse, when the imperial standard fortunately appeared to support him, and Kamraun now tamely declined the contest, to shelter himself behind the walls of Taulekan.* In that place he was immediately besieged by Homayûn; and having defended himself with considerable resolution until the twelfth of Rudjub,† in expectation of relief from Peir Mahommed the Ouzbek, he found it expedient, on that day, to submit to the mercy of Homayûn—stipulating only for permission to proceed on pilgrimage to Mekkah, and consenting to deliver up the whole of the fugitive Ameirs into the hands of their offended sovereign. On these terms, accompanied by Bàpous Beg, who, after all, at his particular request, had, with a few others, been permitted to attend him, Mirza Kamraun finally quitted the fortress of Taulekan, and proceeded on his way to Arabia. In the mean time, Karautchah Khaun, his son Serdaur Beg, with Mûssauheb Beg, and others of the apostate nobles who had forsaken the standard of their benefactor, were now conducted to his presence, with their swords and quivers suspended to their throats, in order to receive from him the just award of their crimes. With singular humanity, and with the most soothing expressions of concern and indulgence, towards the errors by which they had been led astray, Homayûn, on this occasion also, most generously forgave them all.

Not many days afterwards, namely on the seventeenth of the same month of Rudjub,‡ when he had yet made but little progress on his journey to Hejauz, Mirza Kamraun, availing himself of the counsels of his friend Mirza Abdullah, suddenly returned to the camp of Homayûn; from whom he experienced a reception equally kind and fraternal, and to whom he was once more, to all appearance, sincerely reconciled. On the same day, Mirza Asskery was released from his fetters, and permitted to resume his place at court. The unexpected return of Kam-

* We are not perfectly satisfied that this should not be Beylekan, or Bacalam, about forty miles to the westward of Enderaub.

† 16th of August, 1548.

‡ 21st of August.

raun appears, indeed, to have given extraordinary expansion to the kinder feelings of Homayûn, which displayed themselves in language the most sympathizing and conciliatory, during his conference with this ungrateful and unworthy relation. A. H. 955. A. D. 1548. Abûl Fazzel.

The subject of an expedition against Balkh was now brought under consideration; but, finding that the opinions of those whom he consulted on the occasion were not yet sufficiently matured for his purpose, Homayûn conceived it advisable to defer coming to any thing definitive, until he should have reached Naury, here described as a station in Buddukhshaun, where the road branches off in two directions—the one leading immediately towards Balkh, and the other towards Kabûl. On his second day's march from Taulekan, coming to the spring head of Bundgûshá, not far from the station of Eshekmesh, on the very spot where, many years before, his father Bâber, on the submission at that place, of his brothers Khaun Mirza and Jahaunguir Mirza, had caused the date of the event to be inscribed on the rock, Homayùn also, not less rejoiced at a similar occurrence, there caused the return of Kamraun, and the conjunction of the four brothers, to be now commemorated on a part of the same rock.

Proceeding from Bundgûshâ to the before mentioned station of Naury, the attention of Homayûn was there employed in making a fresh allotment of the territory of Buddukhshaun. In this the district of Khotlan, then better known by the name of Kùlaub, to the boundaries of Mour and Kaurenguein, was assigned to Mirza Kamraun, Tchauker Khaun being commissioned as his Ameir-ul-oomra, or lieutenant general. Asskery Mirza was also destined to accompany him, with the district of Kaurenguein for his jaguir. The arrangement was, however, at this early stage, by no means satisfactory to Mirza Kamraun; although he appeared to acquiesce in it for the present, from a consideration of the recent act of generous clemency exhibited on the part of his brother. The fortresses of Zuffur and Taulekan, with some other purgunnahs, were allotted to Mirza Sûliman and his son Mirza Ibrauhim; while Kondùz, and Ghoury, and Gahmurd, and Bakalan, and Eshekmesh, and Naury, were conferred on Mirza Hindal, with Sheir Ally for his Ameir-ul-oomra. It was now, also, finally arranged that the enterprize in contemplation against Balkh, should be postponed to the following year.

A. H. 955.
A. D. 1548.
Abûl Fazzel.

At the last conference held between the brothers, on this occasion, Homayûn called for a bowl of Sherbet, and having first taken a draught, presented the same to Mirza Kamraun, and so successively to each of the other princes; with a request that they would all follow the example, in confirmation of the solemn pledge of perpetual and inviolable friendship, by which they had just mutually bound themselves. The whole now separated; the several Mirzas proceeding towards their respective jaguirs, and Homayûn to Khousset, on his return towards Kabûl, by the route of Perrian. This latter place was a fortress then in ruins, formerly erected by Teymúr, when he had succeeded in chastizing the Hindûs of Kettour; and which it was now proposed to put in a state of repair and defence, with the new name of Islam-abad. When the imperial army reached the spot, Pehlewaun Doust, the Meir Berr, surveyor general perhaps, or superintendant of fortifications, accordingly received instructions to restore and strengthen the whole of the works, distributing the labour as usual, in adequate proportions between the several generals; and thus, in the course of seven days only, as it would appear, the entire was again completed, including the gates, and battlements, and sung-andauz, or Balistæ, with every requisite to place it in a competent state of defence. Beg Meirek, an officer of trust, was then left in command of the place; Homayûn proceeding to view the silver mine in the neighborhood, which was, however, found too poor to defray the charge of working. The monarch now pursued his march across the mountainous range to the banks of the Punje-sheher river, where he encamped near the Koutel, or gauht perhaps, of Ashtergueraum. And finally, towards the commencement of the winter, the earth having already put on her garb of snow, he terminated his march, without further accident, in the neighborhood of Kabûl; into which he made his public entry on the second of Ramzaun of the year nine hundred and fifty five,* that being the auspicious day selected by the court astrologers.

It was at this conjuncture that Meir Semunder arrived with dispatches, and a profusion of presents, from Mirza Heyder in Kashmeir; describing, for the thousandth time, the unrivalled amoenities of that delightful province, and inviting Homayûn in very pressing terms,

* 4th of October 1548.

to hasten without delay to share in the enjoyments there to be found, in endless variety. The more important object of the mission appears, however, to have been, to urge the recovery of the Moghûl conquests in Hindûstaun; an undertaking towards which every argument, that he could draw, either from reason, experience, or invention, was now employed on the part of Mirza Heyder, to stimulate the ambition of Homayûn. To these dispatches the monarch replied in terms of corresponding kindness; acknowledging that although constrained by present circumstances to postpone the recovery of his possessions in India, to some more favorable opportunity, it was a design which had never yet been dismissed from his contemplation. About the same crisis we find recorded, among other minor events, the death of Olûgh Mirza the son of Mirza Mahommed Sûltaun; who was killed in an imprudent attack, upon some of the Hazaurahs, or independent cantons, if we may be so permitted to call these independent tribes, in the neighborhood of Gheznein; to which he is, indeed, described to have been impelled by the rash counsels of Khaujah Mauzzem, formerly mentioned as under the displeasure of Homayún. In the course of the same year may be also noticed an embassy from Abdurreshid Khaun, prince of Kashghâr, which was graciously received, and as promptly dismissed by Homayûn. And lastly may be remarked the arrival about this period, at Kabûl, of Abbas Sûltan, an Ouzbek prince, who received from Homayûn in marriage, the hand of his youngest sister, Gûltchehera Begum.

A. H. 956.
A. D 1549.
Abûl Fazzel.

As soon as the weather became sufficiently moderate, toward the commencement of the nine hundred and fifty-sixth of the hidjerah,* Homayûn, however disposed to prefer the attempt on Hindûstaun, or a visit to the beauties of Kashmeir, prepared to carry into execution his design against Balkh; previously dispatching to require that the Mirzas Kamraun, and Hindal, and Asskery, and Sûliman, and Ibrauhim, would be ready to join him, in conformity with their engagement the preceding year, on his arrival in Buddukhshaun. He was, however, detained on his march for nearly a month, at the station of Tchalauk, awaiting the arrival of Hadjy Mahommed Khaun, from Gheznein, and arranging other necessary concerns of his gov-

* Beginning 29th January, A. D. 1549.

A. H. 956. A. D. 1549. Abûl Fazzel.

ernment. Proceeding at length to the station of Astaulef, Homayùn found himself, at that place, rather unexpectedly deserted by his newly chosen brother-in law, Abbas the Ouzbek; and while he continued his march from thence with the necessary deliberation, in order to afford to the several Mirzas sufficient time to repair to the appointed rendezvous, he was compelled by intelligence of some suspicious indications on the part of Mirza Kamraun, to turn back into the road for Punje-sheher, and direct his steps towards Enderaub. Halting three days at the latter place, he proceeded next to Naury, and thence to the plains of Neilberr, distinguished among the districts of Buddukhshaun, for fertility and verdure. He was here joined by the Mirzas Hindal, and Sûliman ; Mirza Ibrauhim being left, at the recommendation of his father, to provide for the security of Buddukhshaun.

From the neighborhood of Bakalaun the Mirzas Hindal and Sùliman, accompanied by Hadjy Mahommed Khaun and a strong divisi- of the best troops, were sent forwards, in order if possible, to make themselves masters of Eybek, or Jybuk; one of the dependencies of Balkh, on that side most considerable in point of population, abundant in resources, and equally desirable to possess, from the known salubrity of the neighborhood. While the army was on its march at this crisis, it happened that one of the Yessawuls, tchoubdaur, or exempts, should have shot a panther, which he brought to lay before Homayùn; on which it was observed by Hússeyne Kûly Mohrdaur, (keeper of the seal) that among the Tatar tribes it was ever considered an omen of inauspicious promise, if an animal of this description was at any time killed, at the head of the troops on their march; and that he knew an instance in which the Ouzbek sovereign of Balkh had been induced, by such a circumstance, to suspend the movement of his army, when actually on his way to Herât.

Disregarding the hint, however, Homayún continued to advance towards Balkh; and on the subsequent day his advanced guard appeared under the walls of Eybek; for the defence of which, Peir Mahommed had previously detached his own Ataulek, Khaujah Mauk, with many of the most distinguished officers under his government. Knowing that the main body of the Moghúls was at hand, the Ouzbek

chiefs thought it prudent to confine their operations to the defence of the fort, which was immediately invested on all sides, and vigorously attacked by Homayûn. At the expiration of not more than two or three days, the garrison was constrained to demand a capitulation, which was of course granted without difficulty; and the chiefs being conducted to the presence of Homayûn, the place was put in possession of the Moghûls. A. H. 956. A. D. 1549. Abûl Fazzel.

Being invited to partake of a royal entertainment given by that monarch, the Ataulek was rather surprised by a question from Homayûn, as to the best plan of accomplishing the subjugation of Mawur-un-neher. The captive chief very properly demanded with what consistency such a question could be proposed to a man in his situation? But Homayûn stating, in reply, that he must ascribe it to the air of truth and candor so conspicuous in his demeanor; and, being encouraged to communicate without reserve any thing that he might be disposed to mention, the Ouzbek chief, entirely won over by these obliging expressions, proceeded to remark that the ablest and bravest officers in the service of Peir Mahommed had fallen into his hands, by the surrender of Eybek, and that if he dispatched these the way of all flesh, Mawur-un-neher would be his without another stroke. On this, Homayûn, with generous feeling, observed that by every virtuous and liberal mind, such a perfidious breach of treaty would be forever stigmatized with just reprobation in any man, but more than all, in one whom heaven had placed in an exalted rank among the sovereigns of the earth. For his part, he had spontaneously granted to these persons a regular capitulation, which if he presumed to violate, there was no possible perversion of reasoning that could ever induce him to reconcile with the common maxims of justice, or with the dictates of a good conscience. The Ataulek then proposed to Homayûn, since he declined a measure which he himself seemed to consider not less vigorous, than well adapted to the circumstances of the moment, to detain him in custody, and agree to a treaty of peace with Peir Mahommed; engaging, in behalf of that prince, to cede to Homayûn, in such a case, the whole of the territory on that side of Khullum, to be added to his possessions in Buddukhshaun: and, furthermore, whenever he might finally determine on prosecuting his designs for the re-

A. H. 956. A. D. 1549. Abûl Fazzel.

covery of Hindûstaun, that a body of Ouzbeks should be ready to accompany him, sufficient in strength and equipment to render the most essential and important services. But as all this was at variance with the arrangements of an eternal destiny, other measures obtained the preference, of which the result could not then be foreseen.

Although the situation of Eybek was in itself sufficiently attractive, and its productions beyond measure abundant and desirable, there existed yet another very cogent reason by which Homayûn was induced to defer his departure from that place, for many days. This was the expectation still anxiously cherished for the arrival of Mirza Kamraun. And in truth, were it not for the unfortunate delay occasioned by such a circumstance, there were many discerning and intelligent persons, who did not scruple to pronounce that Peir Mahommed, who was, at the crisis, destitute of any competent means of resistance, must have been either entirely destroyed, or compelled to submit to such terms as the conqueror might have thought fit to impose upon him. But the opportunity thus lost, the enemy was joined by Abdulazziz Khaun, and other Ouzbek chiefs, with reinforcements in sufficient strength to cope with the invaders without disadvantage, of which there existed otherwise but little expectation.

It becoming, however at last, absolutely necessary either to advance or retreat, Homayún, after directing the Ouzbek chiefs captured at Eybek, to be conveyed on the road towards Kabûl, but retaining the Ataulek with his army, proceeded, successively by Khullum and Bâbashahú, to Astaunah, a well known station at no great distance from Balkh. Here, before he had been long encamped, his scouts brought him intelligence that the Ouzbeks were approaching in considerable force; and Homayûn, without delay, proceeded to arrange his troops in order of battle, as it would appear, at some distance from the ground which he had chosen for his camp. In the mean time, a large division of Ouzbeks, under one of their most distinguished commanders, made a sudden and desperate attack, upon the camp itself; which was, however, very gallantly and successfully defended by those who had been left for its protection, the assailants being finally repulsed, and one of their principal leaders brought a prisoner to the presence of Homayûn. Nevertheless, though the commencement of hostilities appeared thus

far favorable, the unsteadiness and insincerity of his Ameirs again operated to disappoint the fairest expectations of Homayûn, principally through the distrust and uneasiness which they contrived to spread throughout the army, by propagating the most discouraging and contradictory reports, respecting the designs of Mirza Kamraun. On the very day following to that on which they had made their ineffectual attempt on his camp, the whole force of the Ouzbeks presented itself in order of battle before the lines of Homayûn; Peir Mahommed in person commanding on the right, Abdulazziz Khaun in the centre, and the Sûltans of Hessaur in the left wing. The whole of the forenoon appears to have been consumed in arrangements preparatory to the conflict; but, from the period at which the sun reached the meridian, until night-fall, the armies engaged with equal fury and obstinacy in the work of mutual destruction. The Ouzbeks were, however, finally compelled to retreat; and were pursued, by the advanced guard of the Moghûls, across the intervening streams, to the very barriers of the city of Balkh. Homayûn evinced sufficient ardor to follow up the victory, and to advance his standard also to the gates of that metropolis; but in this he was audaciously opposed by the pusillanimity of his refractory Ameirs, who still pressed upon him the uncertain rumors by which they were haunted, of the hostile designs of Kamraun; their apprehensions of the treatment of their wives and families on the seizure of Kabûl by that prince; the inferiority of the imperial army on the spot, and the appalling superiority in numbers on the side of the enemy. Under all these considerations real and pretended, in short, they urged, in peremptory terms, the indispensable and absolute necessity of immediate retreat.

A. H. 956.
A. D. 1549.
Abûl Fazzel.

After a thousand struggles with his own conviction, Homayûn was at length constrained to yield to their remonstrances, and to consent that the army should draw off towards the pass of Derrahkezz, or perhaps it was Derrah-guzz, the pass of Bamboos; where, as it was a position of great strength, it was represented that he might halt for some time without risk, and not only be reinforced by the feudatory chiefs in that quarter, but obtain more positive information, with regard to the proceedings of Mirza Kamraun. After this, it was stated that he might engage with full confidence of success in the subjugation, not only of

A. H. 956. A. D 1549. Abûl Fazzel.

Balkh, but of the whole of the territory on the Oxus. Compelled thus by the usual failure of support from disaffected men, and with the city of Balkh in a manner at his mercy, Homayûn, without alternative, withdrew towards the pass in question; having first dispatched the Sheikh Behlowul to recal the advanced guard, which, as we have already observed, had pursued the flying Ouzbeks to the very gates of Balkh. In these trying circumstances, Mirza Sûliman, at the head of a strong division of the best troops, was the person selected to cover the retreat; which, although designed to terminate at the Derrahguzz pass, yet leading unfortunately along the direct road towards Kabûl, and the faithless and evil disposed gladly availing themselves of any pretext to throw the whole into confusion, a report was circulated that Mirza Kamraun was in full march for that metropolis; and that this was the true cause of the sudden retrocession of the army. It is therefore not surprising that a sensation of alarm should have generally seized the troops, and that they should in the end begin to disperse in various directions. Neither were the endeavors of Homayûn, nor of the officers still faithful to their duty, at all availing to bring back the fugitives; this being indeed contrary to the designs of an unerring destiny. For, observes our author, had Homayûn been permitted to advance his conquests on the Oxus, it is extremely clear that the emancipation of the oppressed and defenceless inhabitants of Hindûstaun, must have been deferred to some very remote period, if not relinquished altogether. The result may be comprehended in a very few words.

Early apprized of the confusion exhibited in the movements of the Moghûl troops, the Ouzbeks, as usual, deriving courage from the despondency of their adversaries, suddenly recovered from their recent consternation, and appeared in close pursuit. Homayûn continued, for a long time, to expose his person with the most determined valour, in covering the retreat of his troops; until overpowered by numbers, and having had his horse killed under him, he was finally compelled to make his escape to a place of safety on one with which he was very seasonably supplied by Heyder Mahommed, his Aukhtah Beg, or grand equerry. The greater part of his troops, after witnessing the inevitable consequences of pusillanimous counsels, were entirely broken, and betook themselves to a disorderly flight, in every possible

direction. It would be superfluous labor to record the names of all those who were present with the army of Homayûn, on this disastrous expedition. Among the most distinguished commanders were the Mirzas Hindal and Sùliman, and the Ameïrs Karautchah Khaun, who had, it is to be supposed, been in some degree restored to favor, Hadjy Mahommed Khaun, Tereddy Beg Khaun, Mûnnâeim Khaun, and others to the number of four or five and twenty, of the highest class of nobility; all associated, in some shape or other, in the perils and mistakes of the enterprize which we have thus briefly endeavoured to describe. At the expiration of the third day, Homayûn ventured to halt, with a few of his attendants, at the station of Tchaurtcheshmah, the four springs, where he was very shortly joined by others, who had also made good their retreat in various ways. From hence he dispatched advices to Kabûl, in order to relieve the apprehensions of his son, and the princesses of the imperial family; as well as to Reshid Khaun the ruler of Kashghâr, to whom he announced the failure of his views on Mawur-un-neher, which he distinctly ascribed, for the greater part, to the bad faith and refractory conduct of his brother Kamraun.

A. H. 957.
A. D. 1550.
Abûl Fazzel.

The interval of another night conveyed Homayûn safe to Ghourbund, on the eastern side of the mountainous range of Hindû Kouh; another march brought him to Khaujah-seyauran—a third to Kárabaugh—and a fourth to Mammourah, where he was met by the young Akbar, who now hastened to throw himself into the arms of his royal parent. And finally, when the favorable moment had as usual been ascertained by the astrologers, Homayún once more re-entered the metropolis of Kabûl. It remains to state what befel the associates of his unfortunate campaign. Mirza Sùliman, during the retreat, embraced an opportunity of withdrawing into Buddukhshaun; Mirza Hindal to Kondúz, whither he was accompanied by Múnnâeim Khaun; and many other Ameirs re-appeared successively at Kabùl. Shah Bedauk, who had eminently signalized himself in the retreat, fell into the hands of the Ouzbeks; which was the case with four or five more of Homayûn's most devoted and confidential servants. The remainder, with few exceptions, appear to have ultimately succeeded in effecting their escape from the pursuit of the enemy.

A. H. 957.
A. D. 1550.
Abûl Fazzel.

During the confusion of so disorderly a retreat, the Ataulek Khaujah Mauk, and the other prisoners captured at Eybek, found little difficulty in regaining their liberty; but on their arrival at Balkh they made, of the humane and liberal conduct of Homayún, a report so favorable as to excite the surprise, and claim the approbation of Peir Mahommed. In consequence of this, the whole of his Moghûl prisoners were immediately set at large, and conducted on their way to Kabûl; after having been treated with equal kindness and generosity, and without being exposed to the slightest further inconvenience.

If it were not already sufficiently obvious that in the generous Homayún the milder virtues were carried to a fault—that by his frequent forgiveness of domestic treason, in particular, he had over and over again encouraged the revival of the same scenes of disloyalty and rebellion, and thus exposed his truest friends to endless hazards of life and fame, for the re-establishment of his power, we should be disposed to expatiate, with no ordinary complacency, on this spontaneous tribute of homage to his superior benevolence, coming from him whose capital he had so recently menaced with havoc and desolation, and from whence he had been compelled to retire, with such circumstances of disgrace and loss. Even as it is, we cannot but hold it out to our readers, among the rare examples of the kindlier feelings of our nature; and as a bright spot in the gloomy annals of oriental violence, to illuminate his course to the termination of these volumes.

With regard to Mirza Kamraun, whose conduct was so deeply implicated in the recent, as well as in former disasters, it will be sufficient to observe, that after disappointing his brother's just expectations of aid, in the expedition towards Balkh, and after having been defeated, at a subsequent period, by the Mirzas Hindal and Sùliman, in his attempts to obtain possession of Buddukhshaun, he at last determined, on the invitation of the perfidious Ameirs who infested the court of Homayún, and at the head of whom was the traitor Karautchah Khaun, to proceed towards Kabûl; dispatching, however, in the first instance, to acquaint the injured monarch with his design, and to protest that his views, in thus obstruding himself once more into his presence, was to obtain forgiveness for the past, and for the future to devote himself with good faith and sincerity, to the service

of his indulgent brother. On the repeated expostulations, and at the earnest intreaty of many of his more faithful captains, Homayûn prepared to counteract these insidious plans; and about the middle of the nine hundred and fifty-seventh of the hidjerah,* he hastened with such troops as were present about his capital, towards Ghourbund, the direction in which it was understood that Kamraun was approaching. A. H. 957. A. D. 1550. Abûl Fazzel.

Having continued his march on this occasion to the river Baran, which seems to pass to the northward of Ghourbund, and being about to cross some of the smaller streams communicating with that river, certain of his attendants appeared to hesitate, and nicely sought, in different directions, for a spot where they might pass to the opposite side with the least personal inconvenience. Homayûn observed this circumstance of cautious self-regard with manifest displeasure; and he could not forbear quoting, to the disadvantage of his officers, the unparalleled zeal and self-devotion of the guards of Shah Issmàeil I. of the race of Seffy, who were known to cast themselves without scruple from the summit of the most fearful precipices, and to inevitable death, merely to follow the handkerchief of their sovereign.* At such a crisis, nevertheless, Karautchah Khaun, and Mûssauheb Beg, with the other traitors combined against the interest of their benefactor, undertook to remind Homayûn that as the mountainous range in his front was intersected by numerous defiles and narrow passes, it would be advisable to station in each of them, a detachment of troops, in sufficient strength to prevent the approach of Mirza Kamraun; it being, in reality, the object of these perfidious men, as far as possible, to divide and disperse the royal army, at this period assembled in considerable force; in which, through the culpably complying temper of Homayûn, they too well succeeded. Hence it was that the Ameirs Hadjy Mahommed Khaun, and Berrekah, and Mirza Hussun Khaun, with several others, were sent off towards Zohauk, and Bamian, and Mûnnaeim Khaun at he head of another respectable division, was advanced in the direction of Aulung; while the treacherous Ka-

* July 1550.

† We are disposed to think that this refers to the disciples of the Sheikh ul Jubbul, or prince of Almowut, mentioned in oriental history; and the old man of the mountain of western writers.

A. H. 957. A D. 1550. Abûl Fazzel.

rautchah, and Mûssauheb Beg, and Kaussem Hûsseyne Sûltan, with the other disaffected chiefs who remained about the person of Homayún, regularly transmitted to Mirza Kamraun a daily account of every thing that was passing in the camp of his adversary.

Thus instructed, Mirza Kamraun might venture to take his departure from Bamian and Zohauk, both then dependent on Kabûl, directing his march for the pass of Kehjauk, and proceeding himself with the principal division of his troops; while Yessoun Doulut, Mûkuddum Koukah, and Bàba Sâeid with another division led the march in advance. Such then was the state of affairs, when one day towards noon, it was announced to Homayûn by one of the natives, that Kamraun was approaching, and with designs evidently hostile. Still his evil genius, in the person of the perfidious Karautchah, interposed to deceive him, with expostulations on the absurdity of giving credit to the intelligence of an unknown and obscure peasant. The traitor, at the same time, artfully expressed an apprehension that if Mirza Kamraun, who was, as he chose to say, avowedly accompanied by a very insignificant force, should perceive the imperial troops in order of battle, he would necessarily take the alarm, and be thus prevented from approaching the royal presence. Homayûn, whose mind, notwithstanding repeated experience, was yet a stranger to suspicion, suffered himself to be misled by the delusion; from which he was not awakened, until the designs of Kamraun were placed beyond all doubt by his appearance in hostile array. Then, and not before, he caused his generals to prepare for battle, immediately mounting his horse for the combat, which commenced almost instantly afterwards.

In order, however, to obtain a more distinct and convenient survey of the action, Homayûn had taken post himself on an eminence which commanded a view of the adjoining plain; and from thence, in the spectacle, which now presented itself, of the troops in entire squadrons deserting his standard, and going over to the enemy, he beheld at last a decisive proof of the profligate duplicity, by which he had suffered himself to be so completely over-reached. In a paroxysm of indignation at this discovery, he rushed at once among the thickest of his adversaries, and for a moment, by the extraordinary prowess exhibited in his example, produced among those opposed to him, the

utmost consternation. Unfortunately his charger was transpierced by an arrow, from some unknown hand, on one of the flanks, and the monarch found himself exposed to the most imminent danger. At the same instant, Beg Bábái, a native of Kûlaub, either inadvertently or by design, came upon him from behind, and made a stroke at him with his scimitar; but Homayún at the same moment casting a fierce look at the soldier, his arm faltered, and he missed his stroke, which, as far as can be understood, only slightly grazed the monarch's leg. Providentially before he could repeat his blow, Mehter Segpâi, afterwards better known by the title of Ferhett Khaun, came up and beat off the assailant; and Homayûn, receiving from Mirza Nejeib, in exchange for his own wounded charger, the pyebald horse on which he rode, was enabled to renew the combat with greater chance of success. A. H. 957. A. D. 1550. Abûl Fazzel.

In these circumstances of obvious hazard, a respectable and intelligent Yessawul, or exempt, of the name of Abdulwâhab, hastened to announce to Homayûn the actual defection of the perfidious Ameirs; and seizing his horse by the bridle, freely represented the necessity of yielding, for the present, to the force of an over-ruling destiny. Without alternative, Homayûn, therefore, determined on making the best of his way towards Zohauk, in which direction, as we have already seen, he had been persuaded to detach some of his most active and faithful generals; and the same Abdulwâhab, and another officer of the name of Mahommed Amein, having undertaken to make head against the enemy while he made his retreat, he accordingly receded from the conflict, accompanied by Ferhett Khaun, above-mentioned, and Sundul Khaun, with some few more attendants still devoted to the person of their sovereign. When he had withdrawn to a short distance from the field of battle, Homayún, finding himself greatly exhausted with fatigue and the uneasiness of his wound, put off his coat of mail, and delivered it to Sundul Khaun; and that officer, without reflecting on the consequences, in the hurry of his retreat very unguardedly threw the armour away; and it subsequently fell into the hands of the enemy, by whom it was successfully employed, as a token to induce the governor of Kabûl to surrender his charge. On the day following, the fugitive monarch was joined by more of his officers; but of ten Ameirs, including Shah Budauk Khaun, Medjnoun Kakshaul, and Towlek Koutchin,

A. H. 957. A D. 1550. Abûl Fazzel.

whom he had dispatched to protect his rear and procure intelligence, the latter was the only one who evinced sufficient loyalty to rejoin his master; for which, and for his distinguished intrepidity during this crisis of danger, he was very deservedly advanced to the appointment of Kourbeggy, or captain of the imperial guards.

On the first cessation from toil, and the pressing danger of pursuit, Homayûn summoned a council of the few remaining Ameirs, in order to deliberate on the most advisable plan of proceeding, for the restoration of his affairs. Hadjy Mahommed Khaun, who had been invested with the government of Gheznein, and whose fidelity had become already more than questionable, proposed that they should return immediately towards Kandahaur; that being the direction in which he could more conveniently withdraw to his jaguir. But this was instantly rejected by Homayún. Others, spurred on by the dictates of a more ardent courage, declared for returning without delay towards Kabûl; averring that, whilst yet intoxicated with the recent unexpected success, for which he was alone indebted to the treachery of individuals, it would not be difficult to wrest from Kamraun the fruits of his surreptitious victory. But the proofs of disaffection and disloyalty among those who enjoyed his confidence in an unlimited degree, were too recent in the recollection of Homayún, to command any attention to these vaunting professions of zeal, however loudly repeated. Others again, whose views were more sincerely directed to the welfare of their sovereign, urged a continuance of their retreat into Buddukhshaun; from whence, when joined by the Mirzas Hindal, Súliman, and Ibrauhim, they would be able to return with ample means to undertake the repossession of Kâbûl, without the hazard of failure. To this opinion, as most consistent with prudence, and the exigency of his affairs, Homayún thought fit to subscribe; and he prosecuted his march accordingly towards that province by the way of Yekah Oulung—probably the Aulung formerly mentioned.

Here it becomes sufficiently apparent that it would be impossible to continue altogether the circumstantial details of Abûl Fazzel, within the narrow scope of the remaining pages of this volume; and we shall therefore submit to the reader the following passages borrowed from the work of Colonel Dow; which will serve to bring down the

narrative to that period of the history when the course of events seem naturally to have led to the final recovery of Hindústaun: reserving the sequel of the life and reign of Homayùn, for more circumstantial relation in the concluding chapter. A. H. 957-59. A. D. 1550 52. Dow's History.

"Humaioon was now in great distress for money to pay the few troops who had continued faithful to his fortunes. He was obliged to borrow the horses, camels, and merchandise, of some great caravans, with which he mounted and paid his troops. He privately sent Bidda [Budauk] Toglick [Towlek Koutchin] Mudgnow [Mudjnoun] and others, to the number of ten persons, to support his interest at Cabul, and to send him intelligence of what passed in that city. But of all these Toglick alone remained true to his interest, which they now found was greatly declined. Soliman, Ibrauhim, and Prince Hindal, returning with their detachments to join the king, he found himself again, in a condition to make an attempt to recover his kingdom; and he accordingly marched towards Cabul. Camiran, upon the approach of Humaioon, came out, and drew up on the banks of the Punger [Punjsheher]. Camiran was defeated with great slaughter, and in his flight he was obliged to shave his head and beard, and to escape in the disguise of a mendicant to the mountains of Limgan, [Limghânat]. Ashkary was taken prisoner, the perfidious Kirrachi [Karâutchah] fell in the engagement."

"Humaioon now returned in triumph to Cabul; where he enjoyed a whole year [1551] in peace and festivity. Intelligence was brought to him that the restless Camiran was again at the head of fifteen hundred horse, while some Omrahs [Ameirs] fled from the royal presence to Ghizni. The king marched against his brother, who fled towards the Indus, so that Humaioon without effecting any thing returned to Cabûl. Camiran no sooner heard of his brother's return, than he returned again among the Afghans, to raise up more disturbances. Humaioon was under the necessity of taking the field a second time. He wrote to Byram [Beyram Khaun] who still held the government of Candahar, to march against the Omrahs, who fled to Ghizni, and had invited Camiran to join them at that place. Camiran by the way of Peshawir, Bungish, and Curvez, [Gurdaiz] was then on his march towards Ghizni: but before his arrival Byram had come

A. H. 957-59. A. D. 1550-52. Dow's History.

to Ghizni, and carried the revolted Omrahs prisoners to Cabûl. Camiran disappointed of his allies, returned to Peshawir, and the king directed his march to Cabúl."

"Before the arrival of Humaioon at his capital Mahommed, [Hadjy Mahommed Khaun] one of the imprisoned Omrahs, found means to escape a second time to Ghizni, from whence he was persuaded to return, no doubt upon the most sacred assurances of pardon. Ashkary [Asskery] having preferred a petition to the king, soliciting his enlargement from prison, in order to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, was now sent to Soliman, governor of Buddukhshaun, to proceed to Balich. Ashkari died in the year 961, on his way crossing the Arabian deserts."*

"Camiran was in the mean time levying troops among the Afghans, and carrying on a private correspondence with Mahommed at Ghizni. The treason was discovered, and the old traitor condemned to death.† Humaioon had by this time, marched against Camiran, but he was surprized in his camp near Chiber [Tcheiberyaur, somewhere between Gundemuk and Gheznein] on the night of the twenty-first of Zicada 958;‡ upon which occasion Prince Hindal lost his life. Camiran, however, gained no advantage but the death of his brother, being overthrown by Humaioon, and obliged to take shelter again among the Patans. The king after this victory returned to Cabul, and in gratitude to the memory of Hindal, who had well expiated his former disobedience by his services and blood, he gave the daughter of that prince, Rixia Sultana [Rekkeiah Sûltan Begum], to his son Akbar in marriage. He conferred at the same time upon the royal pair, all the wealth of Hindal; and appointed Akbar [at this period in the tenth year of his age] to the command of his uncle's troops, and to his government of Ghizni."

"The Afghans, a few months after these transactions, rose in favor of Camiran. The king marched into their country which he laid

* According to Abûl Fazzel, he died in the 965th of the hidjerah [1557], in some part of the territory between Syria and Mekkah.

† He was regularly impeached and found guilty, under 110 several articles of accusation, either of which is said to have deserved the highest punishment of the law; and he was accordingly strangled, together with his brother Shah Mahommed, the accomplice, and reputed instigator of his crimes. Abûl Fazzel. ‡ 19th November, 1551.

waste with fire and sword. Finding, at last, that they got nothing but mischief to themselves, by adhering to Camiran, they withheld their aid, and expelled him from their country." A. H. 959-61. A. D. 1552-53. Dow's History.

"The desolate Camiran fled to Hindostan, and was reduced to solicit the protection of the emperor Selim, [Seleim Shah the son of Sheir Shah the Afghan] whom he beheld, by his own baseness, ruling his father's empire. But it was not to be expected that Selim would treat Camiran favorably. The unfortunate fugitive fled from the court of Dehli, and, like a poor vagabond, sought protection from the Indian prince of Nagercot. [Nuggurkote; according to Abûl Fazzel, it was at Jummou and Maunkote]. Being from thence driven by Selim, he fled among the Gickers. [Guikkers, Guggurs, or Kakares] *"

"Hyder, one of the posterity of Teymûr, then reigned in Cashmire. He requested the assistance of Humaioon to quell some disturbances in his kingdom. The king accordingly marched towards India, and crossed the Indus. Adam the prince of the Gickers, fearing the king's resentment, for giving protection to Camiran, imprisoned that unhappy man; and acquainted the king that he was ready to deliver him over to any body he should be pleased to send. The king dispatched Monim, [Mûnnâeim, or Mûneym Khaun], to Adam, and Camiran was accordingly given up to him, and brought to the royal presence."

"The Moghûl chiefs [Oulouss-e-Tcheghattâi, or race of Tchegha-tâi] to a man solicited that he should be put to death, that he might distress them no more: but the king would by no means consent to imbrue his hands in the blood of his brother, however deserving he was of death. Humaioon on account of his lenity was threatened with a general sedition in his army; and every body openly complained of that merciful disposition in the king by which his subjects were so often involved in misfortunes. He was, at last, though much against his will, necessitated to permit them to render Camiran blind, by means of antimony.† Some time after this sentence was executed upon the unfortunate prince, the king went to see him. Camiran immediately rose,

* A nation settled between the Indus and the Behaut. Abûl Fazzel.

† Meyl keshîdund. The usual method of destroying the eyesight was, by holding a red-hot copper, or brass plate, to the eyes, until the visual nerve was annihilated. According to Abûl Fazzel this operation was executed upon Mirza Kamraun towards the close of the year 960, corresponding with November or December 1553.

A. H. 959-61.
A. D. 1552-53.
Dow's History.

and walked some steps forward to meet him, saying "the glory of the king will not be [ought] diminished by visiting the unfortunate!" Humaioon immediately bursting into tears, wept very bitterly: Camiran endeavored to comfort him by confessing the justice of his own punishment; and by way of expiating his crimes requested leave to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The request was granted, and he went by the way of Sind. [Tattah]. Having resided three years at Mecca, he he died in that place, in the year 964.* He left one son Carem, who was, some time after his father's [Homayún's] death, assassinated by the order of Akbar in the fort of Gualier; Camiran had also three daughters."†

"Humaioon being now delivered from the restless spirit of Camiran, began to extend his dominions. He first turned his arms towards Cashmire. Selim the Patan emperor of India having at that time advanced to the Indus, his omrahs represented to Humaioon that if he should enter Cashmire, as there was but one pass through which he could return, that Selim might block up his rear, and reduce him to great distress. The king, however, would not listen to their representations, but marched towards Cashmire. Having advanced about halfway, a mutiny arose in the army, and the greatest part of the omrahs refused to proceed, while others actually returned to Cabûl. This obliged Humaioon to take a circuit by way of Sind, ordering a fort called Bickeram to be built in his route. In Bickeram he left a garrison under one Secunder."‡

"When the king arrived in Cabul, [in the early part of the year 961],

* According to Abûl Fazzel, he died at Meina, or Meena, of which name there still appears a town near the entrance of the Gulf of Persia, on the 11th of Zilhudje of the year 964; corresponding with the 4th of October 1557; after having thrice performed the pilgrimage to Mekkah.

† According to Ferishtah, Kamraun left one son whose name was Abúlkaussem Mirza; who was imprisoned by Akbar in the fortress of Gwaliar, some time in the 974th of the hidjerah; and who was finally put to death by that prince, when he was proceeding to quell the rebellion of Khaun-e-Zemaun. His three daughters were all of them united to suitable husbands.

‡ According to Abûl Fazzel the fortress of Bikraum was that more generally known by the name of Peshawer, which had been destroyed by the Afghans; and which Homayùn now caused to be repaired, and put in a state of defence, leaving Sekunder Khaun, an Ouzbek chief, in command.

he sent his son Akbar to his government of Ghizni, under charge of Jellâl." A. H. 961. A. D. 1553. Dow's History.

"In the course of this year, Humaioon became jealous of Byram, by the calumny of some of his courtiers, who pretended that that great man was carrying on intrigues with the Persian government. The king marched towards Candahar by the way of Ghizni. Byram, who was quite innocent of the charge, when he heard of the king's approach, came out with five or six friends only, to congratulate him on his arrival, and to lay his offerings at his feet. The calumniators were disgraced, and he himself loaded with favors.

"Much about this time, [towards the close of 1553, after Homayûn had returned to Kabûl] an address was received from the inhabitants of Delhi and Agra, acquainting Humaioon that Selim the Afghan emperor of India was dead; and that all the tribes of the Patans were engaged in a civil war, that it was therefore a proper opportunity for the king to return and take possession of his empire. The king being one day on a hunting party, told some of his Omrahs that he was very uneasy in his mind, about the execution of his designs upon Hindostan. Some of them who were desirous of making the attempt, consulted among themselves, and hit upon a successful stratagem to bring the king to an immediate decision. They therefore told him there was an old method of divination by sending a person before, and asking the names of the three first persons he met, from which a conclusion good or bad might be formed according to their meaning. The king being naturally superstitious, ordered this to be done. He sent three horsemen in front, who were to come back, and acquaint him of the answers they received. The first who returned told the king that he had met with a traveller whose name was Dowlat—fortune or prosperity. [perhaps Augustus]. The next brought advice that he met a man who called himself Murâd—desire or inclination; and the third that he met was a villager whose name was Sàdit—happiness."

Thus far we have been induced to avail ourselves of the brief narrative furnished by Colonel Dow on the authority of Ferishtah, although the succession of events be given with considerable variation, and certainly in more satisfactory detail, by the elaborate pen of Abûl Fazzel. To him therefore we shall recur for the concluding chapter of this work.

## CHAP. XV.

A. H. 961.
A. D. 1553.
Abûl Fazzel.

BEFORE we enter fully into the proceedings of Homayûn, preparatory to the recovery of his dominions in Hindûstaun, there is an obvious propriety in taking a cursory survey of the transactions in that country, subsequent to the death of Sheir Shah; who expired, as we have already seen, on the eleventh of the former Rebbeia, of the nine hundred and fifty second of the hidjerah,* after having exercised all the functions of supreme power, without a competitor, for a period of five years, two months, and thirteen days. To him, through the intervention of the Ameirs on the spot, and at the expiration of eight days after his demise, succeeded his youngest son, Seleim Khaun; who was permitted, in the language of our author, to continue the same system of ambitious policy, for a further period of eight years, five months, and twenty one days, occasionally contending for the sovereignty, with his elder brother Auddel Khaun, and with Khowauss Khaun the lieutenant general, and originally the slave of his father.

Seleim Khaun is described to have made himself notorious throughout his own and the neighboring states, by his capricious follies, by his fraudulent practices to obtain possession of the property of those subject to his authority, and by his propensity to squander, without discrimination or object, the accumulated treasures which, by a mere contingency, had fallen to his lot. But since it is ever inauspicious to resist the authority of the sovereign, however irregularly constituted, the designs of his opponents terminated, in general, unfavorably for themselves. During a part of his reign he was engaged in various attempts to subjugate the rival tribe of Niauzy, who, under their leader Heybet Khaun,† had contrived to get possession of the Punjaub; and he finally succeeded in driving them for protection into the mountains of Kash-

* 22nd of May 1545. † Entitled Auzem Homayûn.

meir, where they are said to have disappeared into Mt. Hellauk.* Seleim was, also, for some time employed in operations against the Gikkers, already so often described as possessing the territory between the Indus and the Behaut; but as these latter were attached with some degree of fidelity to the exiled house of Teymùr, his efforts in that quarter were destined to be unsuccessful. He, however, completed the fortress of Rohtass, which had been commenced by his father; and, among the mountains of Sewaulek, or adjoining to them, conceiving some superstitious fears for the safety of his person, he erected the fort of Maunkout.

A. H. 961.
A. D. 1553.
Abûl Fazzel.

Subsequent to this, jealous of the designs of the turbulent Afghans, and tormented by the misgivings of his own conscience, Seleim Khaun resided, for a long time, in the impregnable fortress of Gwaliar. Nevertheless, although his behavior towards his soldiers is described to have been such as to have given, to them at least, universal dissatisfaction, he is acknowledged to have conducted himself towards his subjects in general, with unimpeachable integrity. But, unless his character became changed as he advanced in years, we do not clearly perceive how this is to be reconciled with the former statement. He died, however, on the twenty second of Zilkaudah of the year 960,† having devised the succession, by will, to his son Feyrouz Khaun, a minor. In a few days this ill-destined youth was barbarously made away with by his uncle, Mùbaurez Khaun, the son of Nizaum Khaun, who, it will be remembered, was younger brother to Sheir Khaun; the assassin, together with the throne of his murdered nephew, usurping the ill-assorted title of Auddel Mahommed. It is here remarked, as a singular circumstance in the history of human events, that not only the son of the Nizaum Khaun just mentioned should have attained to sovereign power, but that the husbands of his three daughters should, each of them, have arisen to similar pre-eminence among their cotemporaries. These were the Seleim Khaun above noticed; and Sekunder Khaun Sour, and Ibrauhim Sour, both of them destined to occupy a place in the record of Abûl Fazzel.

The usurper Auddel Mahommed, wholly devoted to his pleasures,

* I am not clear that this does not signify "that they were swallowed up in destruction." They were in fact cut off by the Kashmirians.

† 20th of November, 1553

A. H. 961.
A. D. 1550-52.
Abûl Fazzel.

very soon consigned the affairs of government to the discretion of the celebrated Heimû, or Himmû; a man, according to our author, who by flattering the propensities of his superiors, contrived, from the very dregs of society, to raise himself, in the course of a few years, to the most elevated dignities in the state. Of this new adventurer it becomes here unavoidably necessary to speak somewhat at large.

Himmù then, from nature, possessed neither the advantages of an illustrious decent, the graces of person, nor the felicities of a virtuous mind; but providence, for purposes inscrutable to human discernment, seems to have selected him for elevated rank, in order, perhaps, as in many other instances, to punish the vices of the wicked, by placing them under the authority of one more profligate, and abandoned, than the worst of themselves. Small in stature, as comprehensive in understanding, this man was a native of Reiwaury, in the district of Meivaut, and belonged to the cast of Douhsser; the very lowest class of petty shop-keepers in Hindûstaun—his occupation being, indeed, that of a retailer of salt in one of the most wretched back streets of the town. Becoming, however, in process of time, through his indefatigable assiduities, one of the tradesmen of the court of Seleim Khaun, he was, through a continuance of the same intriguing and artful system, finally enrolled among the officers of the household, to that monarch.

Of the influence thus obtained, he wickedly availed himself to bring every species of misfortune, and distress, upon those unhappily exposed to the operation of his malice. And yet, while decorating his house with the pillage of the oppressed, and secretly advancing his own corrupt and selfish designs, by all the means in his power, did he outwardly profess that he was exerting himself to promote the interests of his master. Far be it from me to intimate, exclaims our author, that he was amassing wealth for the use of his sovereign, and thus compelling him to strike the hatchet into his own foot. Yet it is obvious to remark, that many a ruler among the faithful has been implicated in the most serious errors, when desirous, in the pressure of business, of searching into the private life of individuals, he has condescended to employ the services of odious and profligate informers; considering, perhaps, that such means are warranted when the object is the punishment of crimes. It would, nevertheless, be well to reflect that, al-

though in employing these unworthy instruments, they may have flattered themselves that the fame and honor of obedient and truly loyal subjects can never be seriously affected, still these men, with fair exterior and malice in their hearts, once finding their opportunity, seldom scruple, however, specious the pretence, to attack the most loyal, where they perceive the prospect of private advantage; and that, in giving ear to such miscreants, they may have forgotten the selfish views by which they are actuated, and encouraging suspicions to the disadvantage of their very best friends, have thus unconsciously labored to their own destruction.

However, this may be, such was the influence which, through his specious manners, the artful Himmû succeeded in securing over the mind of Seleim Khaun, that he was finally obtruded into a principal share in the management of every department in the state. And, when upon the death of that prince, the government of the oppressed nations of Hindústaun devolved, with the title of Auddel Mahommed, to the usurper Mûbaurez, the upstart discovered in the latter a total ignorance of affairs, he experienced but little difficulty in appropriating to himself the entire superintendance. Thus exalted to the highest power in the empire, he left the simple Mûbaurez, who received from his contemporaries the appellative of Auddily, for his imbecility, nothing but the name and shadow of the sovereign authority. Further extending his ambitious views, the perfidious Himmù then proceeded to possess himself of the treasures of Sheir Khaun and his successor, together with their establishment of elephants; dissipating, without remorse, and with lavish prodigality, the fruits of so many sanguinary victories, and thus engaging a numerous train of sordid and mercenary flatterers to promote his designs. He now, for a short time, assumed the title of Sunput Râi; but not long afterwards he usurped the more exalted one of Râjah, together with the name of Bikramaujit—at once absurdly and stupidly arrogating to himself the designation of an illustrious monarch, while he craftily continued the empty title of king to the pageant Auddily.

Nevertheless, he is acknowledged to have obtained many signal victories, over the enemies of his weak and luxurious master; and by some acts of surprising prowess, and consummate military skill, to have established a claim to the applause and admiration of all who heard of him.

A. H. 961.
A. D. 1553-54.
Abûl Fazzel.

To such a height of grandeur, indeed, was he elevated by the power of fortune, [operating, it is to be presumed, together with some degree of talent] that we find him at last opposing himself to the armies of the imperial Akbar; but as the character of that illustrious monarch was the touchstone of every quality, as might have been expected, he totally failed in the test; and both the schemes, and the existence, of this swarthy upstart, were finally swallowed up in the surpassing glory of his just and triumphant adversary.

But as the subject thas hus led us to anticipate the course of the history, by some years, it becomes again necessary to recur to the proceedings of the unworthy Auddel Mahommed, whose example was calculated to excite nothing but contempt and derision. The result, almost natural of such imbecility of conduct, was the appearance of rival competitors in different parts of the empire; and among these, not the least formidable, was Ahmed Khaun Sour, the husband of one of the daughters of Nizaum Khaun, who held the government of the Punjaub, and who now boldly aspired at the supreme authority, assuming the title of Sekunder Khaun: while Mahommed Khaun, who was nearly allied in blood to the warlike Sheir Khaun, and had for some time exercised the functions of government in Bengal, aimed at similar independence in that quarter. Nearer home, Ibrauhim Khaun Sour, who was married to the third of the daughters of Nizaum Khaun, as formerly stated, laid claim to the sovereign power over the whole of Hindûstaun. Shujayut Khaun, by the multitude nicknamed Sujawul, [the liberal perhaps] exhibited similar pretensions, and raised the standard of independence in Malwah; and in short the national turbulence of the Afghans broke out into scenes of commotion and revolt, in almost every quarter of this devoted country.

Sekunder Khaun, with the troops of the Punjaub, and the lawless banditti whom he had collected in that quarter, proceeded towards Agrah; while Auddel Mahommed and Ibrauhim Sour, both directed their operations upon the same point. Through the craft of Himmû, Auddel Mahommed was, however, finally persuaded to withdraw to the eastward; but, in the vicinity of Agrah, a battle took place between Sekunder Khaun and Ibrauhim Sour, in which the latter was totally defeated, and compelled to seek for safety in flight. His father, Ghauzzi Khaun

Sour, who was in possession of Beiaunah, retired, however, and successfully defended himself in the fortress of that name. The power of Sekunder Khaun was, in the mean time, prodigiously advanced, the whole of the territory from the Indus to the Ganges, submitting in general to his authority; and having now an immense force at his disposal, he prepared, in order to establish his sole authority on the destruction of his competitors, to proceed into the provinces eastward of the Ganges. But his aspiring projects were at once suspended by the reports which at this crisis reached him, that Homayûn was actually on his march, with the avowed design of recovering Hindústaun; and he found it accordingly expedient to detach a great part of his army, under Tatar Khaun and Heybut Khaun, for the immediate protection of the Punjaub.

A. H. 961.
A. D. 1553-54.
Abûl Fazzel.

Mahommed Khaun, on the other hand, who had asserted his independence in Bengal, evinced, at the same time, a determination to vindicate his authority, against Auddel Mahommed and all other opponents. In the vicinity of Tcheperkettah, [perhaps the Chircut of Dow, about thirty miles from Calpy] after several previous contingencies, he was at last encountered by Auddel Mahommed and his minister Himmú, and perished in the conflict. This event is described to have placed the treasures of Sheir Khaun and Seleim Khaun at the entire disposal of the crafty Himmú; who was thus enabled to prosecute his views of private ambition with greater notoriety, and additional success. In such circumstances he gave battle, with unvarying good fortune, successively to Ibrauhim Khaun Sour, and the other chiefs who opposed his designs, being victorious in every conflict; his daring intrepidity carrying him triumphantly through every difficulty, although from some deformity or personal defect, he was unable to ride on horseback, and usually fought from his litter mounted on an elephant. It is, at the same time further insisted upon, that for all his surprising successes—successes which surpassed the calculations of all who heard of them—he was in a great measure indebted to the unsparing distribution which he made of the accumulated treasures, that had, in a manner, gratuitously fallen into his hands.

After his victory in the neighborhood of Agrah, the attention of Sekunder Khaun Sour had been directed, as we have already observed,

A. H. 961-62.
A. D. 1554-55.
Abûl Fazzel.

towards Bahar and Bengal; where, on the death of the late Mahommed Khaun, his son Khezzer Khaun, in the first place, seated himself on the throne with the title of Bahauder Shah, and latterly, on the demise of Bahauder Shah, his brother succeeded to the kingdom of Bengal, with the title of Sùltan Jullaul-ud-dein. At the same time, these provinces were menaced on the part of Auddel Mahommed, and Himmú; whose exertions, for a season, were fully employed in repressing the designs of their numerous adversaries in different quarters. But it would be premature, in this place, to enter more at large into the history of these minor events; and the narrative must therefore now recur to the main and original channel.

Homayûn became no sooner substantially apprized of the distractions which thus afflicted the unhappy nations of Hindûstaun, from one extremity of the empire to the other, than he determined, without further delay, on carrying into execution the design which had so long engaged his contemplations. Leaving therefore the females of his family, with his younger son, at Kabûl, the government of which was, on this occasion, consigned to Mûnnàeim Khaun, he proceeded, about the middle of Zilhudje of the nine hundred and sixty first of the hidjerah,* towards the Indus. Akbar, who had now entered his thirteenth year, and who had already exhibited proofs of a vigour of understanding beyond all precedent, accompanied the expedition; and the most trivial occurrences on the march, were industriously exaggerated into indubitable prognostications of the renown which was to illustrate the destiny of this favorite scion of the stock of Teymúr. The whole force that accompanied the standard of Homayûn on an enterprize of so much magnitude, is stated, however, to have fallen short of three thousand men; the faithful Beyram Khaun having remained behind at Kabûl, for the final arrangment of some of the affairs of the monarchy, and to complete his own equipments.

On the last day of Mohurrim, of the year nine hundred and sixty two,* the royal army encamped near Bikraum—the modern Peshawir; where the exertions of Sekunder the Ouzbek appeared so satisfactory to Homayûn, that he immediately conferred upon him the title of Khaun. On the fifth of the succeeding month of Suffur,‡ the imperial

* 10th or 12th of November, 1554. † 24th of December, 1654. ‡ 29th of December

standard was displayed on the western bank of that branch of the Indus called the Nilaub. Here Homayûn found it advisable to make a halt of three days, during which he was joined, as might have been expected, by Beyram Khaun from Kabûl. During the same period, intelligence was conveyed to him that Tatar Khaun Kaushy, who had been entrusted with a considerable force for the defence of Rohtass, had abandoned that place, the moment he became apprized that the Tcheghatàian army had reached the Indus.

A. H. 961-62.
A. D. 1554 55.
Abûl Fazzel.

In consideration of some former, and even recent, proofs of attachment on the part of Sûltan Audem, the Gikker chief, Homayùn was induced, at this crisis, to dispatch a letter inviting him to his presence; but, as his evil destiny would have it, the temporizing zemindaury spirit prevailed with that chief to decline the invitation; on the plea that he was under engagements to Sekunder Sour, who had carried away one of his sons, as an hostage for his fidelity. He alleged, indeed, with some plausibility, that were he to appear in the imperial camp, he would not only be chargeable with breach of faith, but expose, perhaps, an only son to certain destruction. Such an apology appeared, however, insufficient to the officers of Homayûn; and they accordingly suggested that this man should be disposed of, before they proceeded any further. But it seemed otherwise to Homayûn, who crossed the Indus in force shortly afterwards; and the Afghans, who still hovered in the neighborhood of Rohtass, having dispersed in various directions, the march of the imperial troops was every where unmolested, and the inhabitants of the country were permitted on all sides to enjoy that repose, which is to be found alone under the protection of a just and magnanimous government.

On reaching Kalanour, the Ameirs Shahaub-ud-dein Ahmed Khaun, Ashruf Khaun, and Ferhutt Khaun, were dispatched by Homayûn to Lahour, with a demand that, in order to avert the calamities to which the city might otherwise be exposed, the prayer for the sovereign, and the coinage of the country, should run in his name. About the same time, Beyram Khaun, accompanied by a respectable force under the Ameirs Tereddy Beg Khaun, Eskunder Khaun, Khezzer Khaun Hazaurah, and Issmâeil Beg, proceeded against Nesseib Khaun Punjbheyah, who had established himself in the town of Berhaunah. Ho-

A. H. 962.
A. D. 1555.
Abûl Fazzel.

mayûn in person descended towards Lahour, which he entered without opposition, on the second of the latter Rebbeia.* Towards the conclusion of the same month, intelligence was received that Shahbauz Khaun, a distinguished Afghan commander, had assembled a large force of his nation at Deibalpour, [on the Setlije], with which he was evidently preparing for some offensive design: and the Ameirs Shah Abûl Maally, Ally Kûly Khaun Sheibauny, or Shebiauny, Ally Kûly Khaun Enderauby, and Mahommed Khaun Jullâeir, with a chosen division of the army, were immediately detached towards that quarter. The Afghan stood his ground with determined resolution, and a very severe conflict ensued; in which, through the ardent impetuosity of youth, the young Seyud Shah Abûl Maally was for some time exposed to imminent danger. From this he was, however, seasonably rescued by the valour and exertions of Ally Kúly Khaun; and the Afghans were finally defeated with considerable slaughter, after which the victors returned to Lahour.

It will here be necessary to attend for a short time to the proceedings of Beyram Khaun, and the division employed against Nesseib Khaun, above noticed; and it appears that on the arrival of the Moghûl general in the district of Berhaunah, the Afghan fled after a slight resistance, leaving a considerable booty, in specie and effects, together with the whole of his family, at the mercy of his assailants. Under the plea of a vow which he alleged to have heard his master make, that there should be no prisoners, should providence ever enable him to undertake the recovery of Hindùstaun, Beyram Khaun, with enlightened humanity, caused the whole of the Afghan families, without distinction, to be collected together, and without the slightest injury conveyed immediately to the camp of Nesseib Khaun. He dispatched, at the same time, intelligence of his victory to Homayûn, together with the due proportion of the booty, in elephants, treasure, and other valuable effects. Beyram Khaun then advanced to Jalinder, a well known post between the Beyah and the eastern branch of the Setlije; but here, in consequence of a misunderstanding between the imperial generals, although the Afghans continued determined on flight, they were permitted to carry off the whole of their property.

* 23d of February 1555.

The dispute between the generals being, however, accommodated, through the interposition of the royal authority, Beyram Khaun established his head-quarters at Jalinder; distributing the troops under his orders with their respective leaders, in the neighboring districts on either hand. Among these the district of Matchiwaurah being allotted to Sekunder Khaun, [the Ouzbek] that commander conceiving that he saw a favorable opportunity, made a movement forwards, and took possession of Sehrind, with a very great accumulation of booty. Just at such a crisis, Tatar Khaun, and Heybut Khaun, and Mùbaurek Khaun, with a superior force of Afghans, made their appearance from the side of Dehly; and Sekunder, now considering that it would be the extreme of imprudence to remain at Sehrind, retreated without delay to Jalinder. By this he incurred the displeasure of Beyram Khaun; who insisted that he should have maintained his ground at Sehrind, and, in conformity with the maxims of military discipline, reported his situation to his general. After considerable debate it was indeed determined, by a majority of voices, to advance altogether from Jalinder; and the whole proceeded, accordingly, towards Matchiwaurah. Nevertheless, it was still objected, on the part of Mahommed Khaun, and other respectable officers, that it would be extremely imprudent to cross the Setlije, so near the setting in of the rains; and that under present circumstances, the most advisable plan was to secure the different fords and ferrying places, and to defer the passage of the river, until the violence of the season should have abated. But the general was not to be withdrawn from his purpose; and being supported by the declarations of Moulana Peir Mahommed, and Mahommed Kaussem Neyshapoury, and Heyder Kûly Beg Shaumlû, and many others of the most distinguished veterans, he finally proceeded across the Setlije, leaving Tereddy Beg Khaun, and the Ameirs of the opposite opinion, to follow at their leisure.

A. H. 962.
A. D. 1555.
Abûl Fazzel.

Beyram Khaun then distributed his force into four columns, retaining the centre column to himself; Khezzer Khaun Hazaurah was placed in command of that on the right, and Tereddy Beg Khaun, who had not remained long behind, received charge of that on the left; while Sekunder Khaun, with a select body of troops, formed the fourth column, in advance. The Afghans, informed of the inadequate strength with which the royal troops had crossed the Setlije, hastened without

A. H. 962.
A. D. 1555.
Abûl Fazzel.

delay to meet them; and one day, late in the afternoon, with numbers greatly superior, proceeded to give them battle. The Moghûl generals had previously selected an advantageous position, by the side of a considerable fresh water lake, in which to try their strength with the enemy; and a severe and obstinate conflict accordingly ensued, in which, before victory could decide for either party, night overshadowed the combatants. The action continued, however, with little intermission; and an adjoining village being set on fire, as it would appear by the Afghans, they thus became, without intending it, the instruments of their own destruction. For the light from the flames extending to but a little distance around, but exposing them without cover to the fire of their adversaries, they perished in heaps; while every shot from them being dealt at random through the surrounding gloom, passed harmless through the air. They stood their ground, however, until the expiration of the third watch of the night; after which they fled in the utmost consternation, leaving to their opponents a complete victory, with all their elephants, and a very considerable booty.

On the day following, the victorious Moghûls proceeded to Sehrind, where Béyram Khaun determined to remain for the present, only detaching a division in advance under Ally Kûly Shebiauny, who had recently joined him.

Apprized, on the other hand, of these alarming successes on the part of the Moghûls, Sekunder Sour, at the head of eighty thousand horse, with an equipment in other respects most formidably prepared for resistance, advanced to repel the invaders; Beyram Khaun discreetly confining himself to the works of Sehrind, which he strengthened by all the means in his power, and dispatching, by repeated messengers, to announce his danger, and to solicit the immediate support of Homayún. At this crisis the emperor happened to labour, rather unseasonably, under an attack of the cholic, and he was therefore constrained to delegate his son, the youthful and already ardent Akbar, to take his place at the head of the army. Before the troops had, however, proceeded to any considerable distance from Lahour, the health of Homayûn became sufficiently re-established; and he was induced, not less from motives of prudence, than from the impatience of separation from his darling son, to assume the personal command of the army. In the mean time, he conferred the government of Lahour upon Ferhutt

Khaun, and the foujedaury of the Punjaub on the Bâpouss Beg so frequently mentioned in the preceding narrative; while Mirza Shah Sûltan and Mehter Jouher, were on this occasion nominated to the posts of Amein and Khezzaunahdaur, the judicial and fiscal administrations of the province. A. H. 962. A. D. 1555. Abûl Fazzel.

The garrison of Sehrind had gallantly sustained the attacks of an enemy tremendously superior, for a period of fifteen days, when, to their infinite joy, on the evening of the seventh of Rudjub of the nine hundred and sixty-second of the hidjerah,* the army of Homayûn presented itself on the plains before the town. The emperor established his head quarters in a garden close to the place; and a plan of operations, that seemed best calculated to bring these hostilities to a successful termination, was here definitively arranged. The army was in the present instance formed into four separate divisions, calculated to act independently of each other; one under the immediate command of Homayún, another under that of the heir apparent, the third under Shah Abûl Maally, and the fourth under the able and warlike Beyram Khaun. Many a partial conflict now ensued, in which equal gallantry and self-devotion was repeatedly exhibited on either side; but as the bodies of the slain appear to have been with no less decency than humanity, mutually delivered over for sepulture, to the surviving friends of either party, as the occasion required, this circumstance, for reasons not easily discovered, unless it is that barbarous nations have no motive for virtue but superior force, furnished, to the inexperienced, matter for apprehension that the issue of the contest would be unfavorable to the imperialists; more especially when they contemplated the extreme disparity on the part of the latter. Others, however, better instructed in the motives of human action, drew, from the undaunted bearing of Homayûn's troops, the most encouraging presage of final victory; and more than all from the invincible fortitude of their sovereign, who was himself at once the example, and the source of confidence, to all around him.

Without producing any material advantage to either party, hostilities had thus continued for the space of nearly thirty days; when on the second of the month of Shabaun,† the duties of the army being on that day entrusted to the division of young Akbar, a considerable part

* 27th of May, 1555. temp: Phil: & Mar: † 21st of June, 1555.

A. H. 962. A. D. 1555. Abûl Fazzel.

of the division under the orders of Khaujah Mauzzem, and Auttekah Khaun, became seriously engaged with a body of the enemy, under Kâlapahar, the brother of Sekunder Sour, in person. As the circumstance of a general action was, at the moment, little in the contemplation of the parties, the usual preparatory arrangements appear to have been entirely omitted; yet, such being the appointment of destiny, the battle soon extended itself in such a manner as gradually to draw within its vortex the whole force of the contending armies. The issue proved, however, decidedly favorable to the hopes of the youthful hero. The day terminated, after considerable slaughter among the Afghans, in the most signal victory on the part of the Moghûls; and an incalculable booty, fell as usual on this spot, to the lot of the victors. Sekunder, with the remnant of his troops, drew off towards the mountains which enclose the territory of the Punjaub, to the northward. He did not, however, effect his retreat without imminent personal hazard; for being closely pursued by a soldier of the troops of Khaujah Mûsauffery, and unable to disengage his sword from the scabbard to defend himself, it is something surprising that he should, in such circumstances, have at last escaped either death or captivity.

In the midst of triumphs, sufficiently splendid, observes our author, to prostrate the strongest mind, Homayûn, on his part, preserved his equanimity unshaken. With admirable good sense and forecast, he seemed, indeed, to comport himself in a measure exactly fitted to the gradations of his good fortune. However signal the success which had crowned his exertions, he declared that it was a consummation for which he was by no means unprepared; since it was his invariable rule to keep his wishes subservient to that humble obedience which was due from him to his creator. He had, as he alleged, uniformly endeavoured, moreover, to regulate his actions on three fixed and predetermined principles; first of all, integrity of design; secondly, energy in execution; and thirdly, moderation in success—never presuming to arrogate to himself any merit in the accomplishment of his views however complete, nor to ascribe the issue to any other source than what was derived from the agency of a just and unerring providence. In short, to afford at once an example of humility to the powerful, and to attest the fulnes of his gratitude, Homayûn, far from permitting these just conceptions to expire in mere mental acknowledgements,

proceeded on the spot, and in the face of the world, to offer in repeated prostrations, his pious tribute of praise and thanksgiving to the supreme disposer of events. A. H. 962. A. D 1555 Abûl Fazzel.

And here the author conceives himself justified in the further remark, that although, among the examples of achievement which, on former occasions, produced the subjugation of Hindûstaun, the victory of the warlike Bàber might be instanced as a model to all futurity; yet, whether we consider the astonishing disparity of force by which it was gained, or the immensity of the booty which was the result, with those who are capable of appreciating the circumstances, that victory will scarcely bear a comparison with the triumphant issue of the conflict at Sehrind, for which, indeed, in all the records of ages past, there will seldom, if ever, be found a parallel. It remains to state, that the battle was fought exactly at the summer solstice, and during a tempest of wind and rain; which, at the same time that it occasioned the destruction of multitudes of the vanquished, nevertheless, by retarding the pursuit, furnished to thousands an opportunity of escape from the carnage, which would otherwise have been denied them.

Secure in his victory, Homayûn became anxious to ascertain the merit of those who had particularly distinguished themselves in the battle; but as there appeared to exist, with respect to the individuals to whom thesuccess of the day was to be pre-eminently ascribed, a considerable difference of opinion, he referred the matter to the discussion of his generals, with instructions to submit to him a report on the subject. In truth, intoxicated with vanity, and the transitory renown of some recent unimportant successes, Shah Abûl Maally indiscreetly conceived that the glory of this transcendent victory was due to himself; while the veteran Beyram-Khaun, considering that the whole scheme of the expedition originated with him, and who had in reality, from the commencement of the service to the triumphant close, uniformly supported the opinion of his master, against a majority of his council, contended, with anxious solicitude, that the principal merit rested also with him. Nevertheless, others who reflected more deeply, and with less partial considerations on the subject, and who moreover recollected that the battle had been fought, and the victory achieved, under the immediate auspices of the princely Akbar, listened, with avowed displeasure, to these subordinate and arrogant claims; and the

A. H. 962.
A. D. 1555.
Abûl Fazzel.

matter was, to the general satisfaction of all, finally set at rest by the decision of Homayún, who determined that the honors of the victory belonged, in justice, to his heroic son, not yet arrived at the age of puberty.

But among the circumstances which, at this crisis of prosperity, produced considerable surprise, the author is constrained to mention the discovery of a suspicious correspondence between Khaujah Mauzzem, and the vanquished Sekunder Sour; among whose papers several letters from that chieftain were found, reflecting, in insolent terms, on the conduct and character of his sovereign. These letters were of course communicated to Homayún; who evinced no small degree of astonishment at such a discovery, and very naturally demanded some sort of explanation of a proceeding that appeared so unaccountably ungrateful. As the facts were undeniable, the accused nobleman endeavored to exculpate himself on the very ingenious plea, that the letters were written with the express design that they should fall into the hands of Homayûn; in order to afford him one of those opportunities for the exercise of his well known clemency of disposition, of which he never neglected to avail himself. And in this he might now indulge, by conferring upon the writer, such advancement in rank and dignity, as by his former services he might be thought entitled to. Although this plea was rather too singular to be entirely successful, the accused was no further punished, than by being consigned to the safe keeping of one of the officers of the court, who was probably responsible for his person.

Having provided, in an adequate degree, for the security of Sehrind, Homayûn now prosecuted his march towards Dehly, and came to Samaunah. From the latter place it was found advisable, at this crisis, to detach a competent force under Shah Abûl Maally and other respectable commanders, towards Lahour; in order to defeat any designs against that province, on the part of Sekunder Sour, should he find himself in sufficient strength to descend from the mountains. The administration of the government of the Punjaub was, at the same time, transferred in chief to the same Shah Abûl Maally, assisted by the officers subordinate to his authority. Not less invited by the amenity of the situation, than impeded by the heaviness of the rains, Homayûn had determined to remain at Samaunah, for some time: but a dispatch from Sekunder Khaun [the Ouzbek] arriving just at this pe-

riod, to announce that he had already taken possession of Dehly, without resistance on the part of the enemy, and urging the expediency of his early appearance on the spot, in order to ascend the throne of Hindûstaun, he found it advisable to alter his plan; and he accordingly quitted Samaunah. On Thursday the first of Ramzaun,* he reached the station of Seleimguddah, somewhere on the Jumna, to the north-ward of Dehly; and, on the fourth of the same month,† he finally entered that ancient metropolis. On their way to the town on this occasion, young Akbar, to the astonishment of those who saw him, contrived to kill a Neilahgao with his sword only, a circumstance which was very easily converted into an omen most auspicious to the cause; and Homayûn, who had forborne the use of animal food from the commencement of the expedition, gave orders that a part of this should be jerked, or preserved dry, for his first meal, at the conclusion of the fast of Ramzaun.

A. H. 962. A. D. 1555. Abûl Fazzel.

Thus once more in possession of Dehly, Homayûn proceeded to make a distribution of the recovered territory among his principal followers; and first of all, he assigned to the vassals of young Akbar, in trust for their lord, the government of Hessaur, and the districts in that quarter, situated on the river Sereswaty, to the west-ward of the metropolis. On Beyram Khaun he bestowed the territory of Sehrind, with a variety of Purgunnahs in that and other directions. Tereddy Beg Khaun was sent to possess himself of Meivaut—Sekunder Khaun, of Agrah—and Heyder Mahommed, the grand equerry, of Beiaunah. The territory of Sumbul was bestowed in jagueir upon Ally Kûly Khaun. In short, on the re-ascendancy of Homayûn's happier fortune, the whole of Hindûstaun became again, in reality, what it has in metaphor been frequently denominated, the very garden of felicity; and all classes of men were admitted to a joyful participation in the smiling prosperity which diffused itself every where around—at least, as far as the advantages of a just and equitable government had been, at this period, allowed to extend themselves.

Homayûn took up his abode in the castle of Dehly, there devoting himself, with unremitting attention, to promote the designs of his all-beneficent creator, in dispensing to every part of the empire the influence of his upright and virtuous principles. While thus employed,

* 19th of July, 1555. † 22d of July.

A. H. 962. A D. 1555. Abûl Fazzel.

Shah Wully Auttekah, from Kabûl, presented himself to announce the health and safety of the ladies of the imperial family, who had been left in that city; and more particularly to congratulate the monarch on the birth, by the lady Mah Tchoutchek Begum, of a son, on whom he now bestowed the name of Furrukhfaul—Fœlix. The messenger was rewarded with the title of Sùltaun, and shortly afterwards dismissed on his return, with letters from his master, expressive of his unabated regard, and solicitude, for the happiness of his family.

It appears that in the neighborhood of Hessaur, on his way towards Kabùl, on this occasion, the same Auttekah Khaun, with his escort, consisting of about four hundred persons, was attacked, on the twenty fifth of Ramzaun,* by the garrison of that place, under a distinguished Afghan chief, of the name of Rûstum Khaun; whom, however, notwithstanding a superiority of force of nearly ten to one, he successfully engaged, and beat back into the fort, with the loss of seventy men. He compelled the Afghan, moreover, after a siege of three and twenty days, to sue for a capitulation; and, together with seven hundred of his followers, to proceed under the care of two Moghûl captains, to the presence of the emperor at Dehly. The Afghan was permitted to do homage before the throne of Homayûn; and at the expiration of a few days, letters patent were delivered into his hands, investing him with the possession of a jagueir suitable to his condition; but, that the maxims of prudence might not be entirely overlooked, in the exercise of this liberal policy, it was stipulated that, as hostages for his allegiance, he should place certain of his children in custody of the garrison of Bikram [Peshawir]. To this stipulation he appears, however, to have felt considerable repugnance, and with the improvidence not unusual, it seems, in unprincipled and ill-regulated minds, only awaited an opportunity to make his escape; but Homayûn becoming apprized of his design, his person was properly secured, and consigned to the custody of Beg Mahommed Eyshek Agassy—the lord high chamberlain.

Another occurrence, of somewhat more serious importance, that took place about the same period, although of such frequent example in the east as to promise but little of novelty in the relation, was the insurrection of Kûmber Diwaunah; an ignoble and obscure adventurer, originally a camp follower in the army of Homayùn. Not long after the

* 12th of August.

victory at Sehrind, and the departure of the royal army from that place for Dehly, this personage embraced the opportunity to collect a disorderly banditti, with whom he proceeded to plunder the country round; securing them to his interest by invariably dividing the booty, without reserve, among his licentious followers. At the same time, with all the cunning of an artful dissembler, he continued to dispatch to the head quarters of the emperor, regular advice of his proceedings, so far at least as he thought it convenient to explain them. In this way he gradually over-ran the whole of the country from Sehrind to Sumbul, which latter place he chose for the seat of his ephemeral government; employing an adopted son, on whom he had conferred the title of Arref-ullah, to extend his depredations still further on, to Bedâwoon. Here he succeeded in subverting the power of Râi Jeysing Julwauny, another distinguished chief in the interest of the Afghans. Kûmber then advanced to Gaunt-goulah, continuing to extend his career of pillage and robbery throughout the adjoining territory; but, venturing to give battle to another Afghan commander of the name of Rokken Khaun, without attending to the ordinary precautions of discipline, he was defeated, and fell back to Bedawoon.

A. H. 962.
A. D. 1555.
Abûl Fazzel.

It has been already remarked that this *intelligent madman* [diwaunah Aukkel], had regularly dispatched to the royal presence advice of his proceedings, and this was always accompanied with profuse expressions of loyalty and zeal; but it so happened that, between his words and his actions, there was to be discovered nothing in conformity. His presumption in conferring titles of nobility, of Khaun, and Sultaun, under his own authority, together with the insignia of the standard and kettle-drum, was, however, a direct encroachment on the prerogatives of royalty which could not be further overlooked. And yet the aberrations of mental insanity might have furnished some apology for, instead of aggravating the offences of an absurd and silly vanity; since he is described, on frequent occasions, to have abandoned his own habitation to the pillage of his own disorderly banditti, and the general excentricity of his actions, in other respects, exhibited very clear indications of derangement.

These irregularities had, more than once, been brought under the consideration of Homayûn; and instructions were at last transmitted to Ally Kûly Khaun, who had been recently nominated to the government

A. H. 962. A. D. 1555. Abûl Fazzel.

of Sumbul, to send this turbulent madman to court; or, if he continued refractory, to punish him on the spot. Ally Kúly Khaun received these instructions just at the crisis in which, after his defeat by Rokken Khaun, the wretched Kûmber had returned to Bedâwoon. Accordingly, as soon as Ally Kûly Khaun had adjusted his concerns at Meirtah, he proceeded to Sumbul, and having further provided for the security of that part of the country, finally prosecuted his march to Bedâwoon, into which town he now sent a messenger to demand the attendance of the adventurer. The summons was peremptorily declined on the part of Kûmber, who alleged that, as well as Ally Kuly Khaun, he also claimed the honor of being a vassal of the imperial government; but that having, with the assistance of his own good sword alone, carved his way to the possession of the country, he did not conceive it at all expedient to acknowledge any subordinate authority whatever.

Hostilities immediately followed; but as the adventurer had yet scarcely recovered from the effects of recent defeat, he finally shut himself up in Bedâwoon, dispatching a humble memorial submitting his case to Homayûn. With his usual clemency, that monarch took his statements into consideration; and a person duly authorized was immediately sent from the presence, to remove his apprehensions, and conduct him to Dehly. Kûmber, in the mean time, continued to defend himself with equal vigor and resolution, behind the works of Bedawoon; but when the siege had been protracted beyond his expectation, Ally Kûly Khaun ventured to dispatch two of his officers into the town, with some sort of message, which they were instructed to communicate to the insurgent, and these, to his misfortune, the latter thought fit to seize and detain. In short, availing themselves of some opportunity which was thus furnished to them, they found means to tamper with the garrison; the greater part of whom they brougbt over to the interest of the besiegers; after which they easily succeeded in securing the person of Kûmber: and before the conciliatory dispatch of Homayûn could reach the spot, the head of this unfortunate adventurer had been stricken off, and conveyed to the metropolis, by Ally Kûly Khaun. This premature severity is said to have incurred the displeasure of the emperor, which he did not fail to express in his communications to the Khaun; and he frequently, indeed, alleged to

his courtiers that he had been greatly disappointed in not being permitted to see this personage alive; whom, if he discovered any thing in his physiognomy that bespoke an ingenuous rectitude of disposition, it was, as he said, his intention to have treated with more than ordinary kindness. A. H. 962. A. D. 1555. Abûl Fazzel.

Another event which marked the period under consideration, and which it may be material to notice, was the disturbance produced in the government of Buddukhshaun, through the unwarrantable violence of Mirza Sûliman. This may be briefly explained in the following terms. When it was finally determined to proceed with the grand design against Hindûstaun, Tereddy Beg Khaun, who held the territory of Enderaub and Eshekmesh, in jagueir under the authority of Homayûn, received orders to join in the expedition; and accordingly, leaving a person in charge of the jagueir, that nobleman proceeded to his destination. Dishonorably availing himself of the opportunity, Mirza Sùliman hastened, without scruple, to engage in measures for securing these districts to himself; but first of all he endeavored, by artful management, to bring over the officer in charge to promote his views. Failing, however, in this part of his design, he openly proceeded to hostility, and laid siege to Enderaub. From thence, possibly unprovided with the means of a protracted resistance, Mokeym Khaun, the locum tenens of Tereddy Beg, boldly determined to cut his way out, sword in hand; and, with the whole of his family, finally made good his retreat to Kabúl, leaving the jagueir at the mercy of Mirza Súliman.

But nearer to the seat of government, the attention of the reader will now be directed to the proceedings of Heyder Mahommed Khaun; who had, as formerly noticed, been sent to take possession of Beiaunah. Finding himself unable to keep the field against the Moghûl commander, Ghauzzi Khaun, the father of Ibrauhim Khaun Sour, who presided over the adjoining territory under the government of the Afghans, withdrew to defend himself behind the walls of the town; but, unhappily relying upon the example of good faith and honor displayed, on some recent accasions, by Heyder Mahommed, he ventured to place himself in his power; and the avidity of the rapacious Moghûl being irresistibly attracted towards the wealth of his captive, in direct violation of the most solemn engagement, he treacherously put him

A. H. 962.
A. D. 1555.
Abûl Fazzel.

to death. Such a flagrant and impolitic breach of faith was not likely to experience the connivance, and much less the approbation of so just a monarch as Homayún. Accordingly, Shahaub-ud-dein Ahmed, one of the stewards of the household, was immediately dispatched to inquire into the circumstances of this unauthorized, and audacious act of perfidy; in order that the course of public justice, which, through some contingency or other, appears to have been suspended since the commencement of the late expedition, might be once more thrown open to the world.

While Homayún was thus employed in promoting the objects of a just government, and distributing to all around him the most liberal proofs of his bounty, some very unfavorable accounts began to reach him, with respect to the conduct of Shah Abûl Maally; the impetuous and arrogant young Seyud whom he had appointed to the government of the Punjaub. Intoxicated with his premature elevation, this officer had already contrived, not less by his arbitrary and oppressive exactions, than by his contemptuous disregard of the authority of his sovereign, to render himself universally odious. Homayûn, however, with whom he was a distinguished favorite, seemed at first disposed to ascribe these reports, to the malicious fabrication of such as were envious of his good fortune; but when it became notorious at court that Sekunder, the extruded Afghan, had descended from his retreat in the mountains—that the vain and aspiring Seyud had dared to supersede the meritorious Ferhett Khaun in the government of Lahour, and appointed a dependent of his own to take his place—and, to put the seal to his delinquency, had actually laid his hands on the contents of the imperial treasury—the monarch thought it no longer safe to temporize; and he therefore conceived the design of vesting the chief government of the Punjaub, then reckoned the most extensive and important in the empire, in his son Akbar; assigning to Shah Abûl Maally, should it be found expedient, in exchange, the town of Hessaur, and the territory in that neighborhood. An additional motive for this arrangement, was the propriety of placing the province under the authority of the young prince, during the passage of the princesses of the imperial family; who had been recently sent for from Kabûl, and were now on their way to Dehly. And, although the force already in the Punjaub might be considered fully adequate to repel any attempts on the part of Sekunder

Sour, the troops proceeding to that quarter under the orders of Akbar might, moreover, pass, as intended further to ensure the perfect tranquillity of the country against all possible contingencies. A. H. 963. A. D. 1555. Abûl Fazzel.

In the early part of the nine hundred and sixty third of the hidjerah,* Akbar, now entering into his fourteenth year, took his departure for the Punjaub, accordingly; invested with ample powers, and accompanied by that experienced and able general Beyram Khaun, in the capacity of governor, together with a numerous retinue selected for the purpose, for their approved zeal, courage, and fidelity. On his approach towards Sehrind, the young prince was joined by Auttekah Khaun, and the troops employed with him in the recent operations at Hessaur: and it was on his arrival at the former mentioned place, that Akbar engaged in his service the Oostaud Azziz of Seiestaun; who had not long since been invested with the title of Roumi Khaun, and who was pre-eminently distinguished for his skill in gunnery, and the management of fire arms. Through the instructions which he received from this individual, Akbar is described to have become, in an inconceivably short time, and with the same aptitude which distinguished him in every pursuit, the most expert marksman of the age in which he lived. Such, indeed, is alleged to have been the singular facility with which this young hero completed himself in every acquirement, both of body and mind—such the rapidity with which he outstripped his masters in every science and accomplishment, that he already appeared to act under the influence of inspiration; and it is not surprising that the circumstance should have excited both astonishment and awe, in all who witnessed his unrivalled progress toward perfection.

Not long after his arrival at Sehrind, the young prince was further joined by the greater part of the imperial retainers, who had been serving in the Punjaub under the authority of Shah Abûl Maally; whom, in disgust with his absurd and dissipated conduct, they had successively quitted, on intelligence of the approach of Akbar. Previous to his arrival on this occasion, Sekunder Sour, as already noticed, had ventured to descend from the mountains; but, on intelligence of the respectable force which was advancing, under the orders of the prince, he found it expedient to retire once more into the recesses of the same mountains. At the same conjuncture, Shah Abûl Maally, who had

* November, December, 1555.

A. H. 963. A. D. 1556. Abûl Fazzel.

marched from Lahour to oppose the Afghan, returned to the seat of his government, on the retreat of the enemy; but the moment he had ascertained that the province was transferred to the heir apparent, and that he was approaching to take possession, the too aspiring chief saw no alternative but submission; and he, accordingly, hastened to meet the prince, on the banks of the Súltanpour river, about midway between the Beyah and the Setlije.

From a filial respect to the regard which his father was known to entertain for this ambitious lieutenant, the young prince received him with adequate distinction; but when he retired to his tents, at the close of the interview, the arrogant Seyud, too highly elated by the favors which had been showered upon him by the indulgence of Homayûn, and too far intoxicated with the fumes of earthly ambition, conceived himself authorized to send a message of expostulation to Akbar; in which, after stating that the terms on which he stood with his sovereign were notorious to the world, and, more particularly, that the prince must recollect the distinction with which he was treated during the royal hunt on the Jûy-e-shahy, or king's canal near Kabûl, when he was permitted to eat from the self-same dish with his sovereign, he requested therefore to know how it came to pass, that with such a circumstance fresh in mind, Akbar, during the visit which had just taken place, should have assigned to him, on the contrary, his pallet of felt on one side, and a separate tray for his repast! To this arrogant interrogatory, the young prince, smiling at the indiscretion by which it must have been dictated, and with an intelligence beyond his years, enjoined the officer who brought the message, to tell his master in reply, that the observances of royalty, and the usages which prevailed in the intercourse of private friendship, were regulated on maxims widely different. At all events, that the relations which had been suffered to spring up between him and the royal Homayûn, had no existence between him and the son. It did therefore seem strange that he should not have been able to distinguish this difference, and should have thought himself warranted to importune him with any such complaint as that which had reached him. This reply was not calculated to remove the apprehensions of Abûl Maally; and Akbar continued his march, without delay, towards the vallies of Mount Sewaulik, in quest of Sekunder Sour, who lay, at this period, in the districts about Maunkout.

When Akbar had, however, proceeded as far as Berhaunah, an express arrived with information for Beyram Khaun, that a dangerous accident had occurred to Homayûn: in consequence of which, conceiving it unadvisable to continue the march any further in that direction, the route of the army was immediately changed for Kalanour, with the design of suspending their movements for a few days, in that neighborhood. Not far from Kalanour, Nuzzer Sheikh Tchûly, the special messenger dispatched by Homayûn himself, in order to dispel any alarm which might have been occasioned by the report of his misfortune, entered the camp; and much about the same time, or very shortly afterwards, intelligence was communicated to Akbar, that his royal father was no more. A. H. 963. A. D. 1556. Abûl Fazzel.

While young Akbar was thus employed to provide for the security of the country of the five rivers, Homayûn continued at Dehly engaged in the necessary arrangements for effectually ridding the empire of all his enemies; in further extending the circle of his conquests; and in giving more perfect stability to the fabric of his government in general. In explaining these arrangements he frequently intimated the design of fixing, or rather of changing, the seat of authority, for the more convenient administration of affairs, alternately from Dehly to Agrah, and from thence to Jounpour, Kanouje, Lahour, and Mandou, respectively; assigning to each of these places, a permanent military force, under some prudent and skilful officer, and provided with resources in every respect so complete as to supersede the necessity of looking, on every emergency, for support from the neighboring provinces. At the same time, he described it as a part of his plan, that the troops in immediate attendance on his person, should never exceed, nor perhaps fall short of, the number of twelve thousand horse. And here, being already on the subject of arrangement, the author embraces the opportunity of laying before us in detail, the method in which Homayûn proceeded, in some respects whimsically enough, in the formation of his court.

First of all he signified his intention that a set of chairs of a particular form, of gold and silver, enriched with all sorts of precious stone, should be made up for the accommodation, on occasions of state, of the princes of the blood, and of those distinguished persons who enjoyed a particular share in the royal favor: for, said he, it is an undeniable

A. H. 963.
A. D. 1556.
Abûl Fazzel.

truth, that however engaged in the commerce of the world, or in the sordid calculations of profit and loss, men of elevated minds, not yet admitted to the confidence of the sovereign, still aim at honorable distinction; neither is their attachment to be effectually secured, but by some such visible display of rank and splendor.

In early life, indeed, this respectable monarch is said to have exhibited in a variety of ways, strong proofs of a genius singularly inventive. Among others, when, on the departure of his father on the expedition to Kandahaur, he had been left behind to preside over the government of Kabûl, riding one day along the plains, and through the groves in the neighborhood of that city, he called to Moulana Rouhellah his tutor, to tell him that an idea had just occurred, of which he was determined immediately to try the effect. This was, of the three first individuals they should meet, from the names, and according to their import, to trace the outline of his future power. The Moulana observed that for this purpose the name of one person would perhaps be fully sufficient; but the prince rejoining, that he considered himself under the influence of some secret impulse, it was determined to abide by the original conception. Accordingly, when they had continued their ride a little further, a man was discovered in the twilight, of whom, on putting the question, they learnt that his name was Mûraud Khaujah—Sir Desire. Shortly afterwards they observed a second person driving an ass loaded with fire-wood before him, whose name, on inquiry, they found to be Doulet Khaujah—Sir Prospero. On which Homayûn exclaimed that if the name of the next person should happen to be Saadut, he should be disposed to consider it as a presage so favorable, as to be out of the ordinary course of things. Immediately afterwards, seeing a person, at some distance off, tending a few cattle at grass, they proposed the same question, and pertinently enough the answer proved that he was called Saadut Khaujah—Sir Felix.* The circumstance, as was to be expected, immediately produced among all present, a strong persuasion of the grandeur to which, under the blessing of providence, Homayûn was finally destined to attain.

* In oracular language these three names might be interpreted into "you are desirous of wealth and felicity." The reader will recollect in the extracts from Dow's Ferishtah, that this anecdote is related as having occurred towards the commencement of the last expedition across the Indus.

Instructed by this summary disclosure of the designs of destiny, so flattering to his hopes, Homayûn determined to erect a system for the regulation of his government, the basis of which should be established on these three things: Doulet, which signifies wealth or power; Saadut—felicity; Mûraud—desire or enjoyment. Accordingly, every subject of the empire was now arranged under one or other of three classes, or orders, thus denominated. The princes of the blood, ministers of state, and the nobility in general, together with the whole military order, were included in the department of power—Ahul-e-Doulet; because it is undeniable that without the support of these it would be in vain to aspire at what is considered the summit of human greatness. The men of science and learning, judges of the law, Seyuds and Sheikhs, lawyers and poets, and all connected with letters and the arts, in every situation of life, were enrolled in the department of felicity, and denominated Ahul-e-Saadut: because a due encouragement of, and a frequent association with, individuals of this description, must contribute, in an eminent degree, to the attainment of happiness here, and hereafter. And lastly, in the department of desire or enjoyment, were included the domestic establishments, all of a beautiful exterior, singers and musicians, considering that these also have their full share in contributing to the enjoyments of mankind, this class was therefore denominated Ahul-e-Múraud.

A. H. 963.
A. D. 1556.
Abûl Fazzel.

Pursuing the same train of reasoning, he appropriated the days of the week to the three departments respectively, according to the following distribution. Saturday and Thursday were allotted to the department of felicity; those days being usually devoted by Homayûn to the affairs of science, letters, and religion. To account for this allotment it is explained that in the scheme of the astrologers, Saturday being under the influence of Saturn, and Saturn being the superintending planet over the Sheikhs, or elders among mankind, and over all ancient families; and Thursday being subject to the influence of Jupiter, the planet which is considered to reign over the learned, and all classes eminent for talent or mental accomplishment, it was not ill-conceived that those particular days should have been set apart for the affairs of those classes of society. Sunday and Tuesday, on the other hand, were the days which he devoted to the department of power; to matters of state and general policy; and the principle of this is explained to rest on the sup-

A. H. 963. A. D. 1556. Abûl Fazzel.

position that Sunday is subject to the influence of the radiant orb which rules the day, and from which the diadem of royalty itself may be said, in some degree, to derive its lustre. Of Tuesday it is sufficient to remark that it is supposed to be under the influence of Mars, which in all countries is referred to as the governing planet of the military class. Monday and Wednesday, again, were the days allotted by Homayún to the purposes of recreation, enjoyment, or desire; being set apart for the reception of his confidential friends, and favorite nobility, and others of the description already classed under this department. The conceit of this allotment is said to have been suggested by the recollection that Monday is under the superintending influence of the Moon, and Wednesday under that of Mercury; both planets considered to rule in particular over domestic concerns—*Dii lares.* And in the last place, Friday, according to the import of the name in Persian, was devoted to the admission of the aggregate of the people, without distinction of classes, to partake in the beneficent influence of the royal presence.

On any of these occasions, when Homayùn appeared enthroned in state, an ordinance of his required that it should be announced to the public by sound of the Nukkaurah, or great drum of the empire—the termination of the ceremonial being marked by a discharge of fire arms, perhaps of artillery. On such occasions also, the keepers of the wardrobe, with an adequate assortment of dresses of honor, and the treasurers with purses of gold and silver coin, attended in their places; in order that the effect of the royal bounty might not be diminished by delay. A company of warriors clad in mail guarded, at the same time, the precincts of the audience chamber, or hall of state.

To distinguish the three departments above described, he caused three maces, or battle-axes, overlaid with gold, and denominated according to the three departments respectively, the mace of power, of felicity, and of desire, to be delivered to three great officers of state; with full power to regulate, without controul, in every thing connected with the classes over which they were thus severally delegated to preside.

By Meir Khond, the celebrated author of the Habeib-us-seyr, who held, it appears, the appointment of first historiographer in the court of Homayûn, it is expressly stated, in the code of regulations established by that monarch, that while he was in office, the mace of felicity was borne by Moulana Mahommed Ferghuly; to whom accordingly was

entrusted the entire superintendance of all that related to the class of Sheikhs, Seyuds, and Oulema—in short, of every thing in the department of letters, charitable endowment, and public instruction. During the same period, the macē, or axe, of power, was carried by that distinguished officer Ameir Hindû Beg; in whom was vested the controul, in all that regarded the high functionaries of state, the great nobility, the agents, in short, in every department of administration; the pay and subsistance of the military force; and, finally, the rank and distinction of every individual serving about the court of the sovereign, was fixed at the discretion of this highly favored nobleman. The mace of desire, with the arrangement of all relating to the household, was entrusted to Ameir Weissy; in whom was accordingly vested the direction of every thing connected with the œconomy of the royal family, of all that was requisite to support the majesty of the throne, on occasions of state and ceremony. A. H. 963. A. D. 1556. Abúl Fazzel.

By another regulation introduced by Homayûn, the whole body politic of his government was further sub-divided into twelve separate classes, each class represented by a particular arrow, doubtless marked, or decorated, in a manner to indicate the class which it was intended to represent. Thus the *Twelfth*, or highest in enumeration, like gold of the highest touch in the hands of the assayer, was allotted to the quiver of the sovereign, and designed to indicate the supreme power. The *Eleventh* arrow was assigned to the brethren and nearest kindred of the sovereign, and others of royal descent attached to the imperial court. The *Tenth* belonged to the Seyuds, Sheikhs, and Oulema, or literary class, and men of the law. The *Ninth* to the higher nobility. The *Eighth* to the heads of particular tribes. The *Seventh* to such of the retainers of the empire holding situations of rank, as served about the person of the sovereign. The *Sixth* to the class of retainers denominated Aeytcheks, the household troops perhaps. The *Fifth* to such of the military class as by their courage and intrepidity had particularly distinguished themselves in the field of battle. The *Fourth* to those employed in situations of trust in the different [civil perhaps] departments of the state. The *Third* to the youth of the several tribes. The *Second* to the class of mechanics; and the *First*, or lowest of all, to the class of door-keepers, and the ordinary watch employed in the department of police. After all it would be difficult to perceive the object of

A. H. 963.
A. D. 1556.
Abûl Fazzel.

this arrow-classification; unless, indeed, in cases of political embarrassment, it was intended as a method of deciding by lot, according to a species of divination some times resorted to among the Asiatics.

To proceed, however, with the regulations instituted by Homayûn, we are further informed that he distributed the affairs more immediately connected with the imperial household, into four distinct departments, corresponding with the four elements, each separately subordinate to a particular Vezzeir, or minister of state, appointed to preside over the details of the department. Thus the department of ordnance, with the manufacture of arms and warlike stores of every description, and all things, in short, requiring the application of the element of fire, was called the serkaur-e-autesh—the department of fire, the superintendance of which was vested in Khaujah Abdulmelek. The affairs of the wardrobe, of the kitchen, of the royal stables, together with the charge of keeping up the necessary equipment of camels and mules, for transportation of the royal establishments, were entrusted to the superintendance of Khaujah Lûtfullah; and this branch of service was called the serkaur-e-hawa, or department of air. The provision for the royal beverage, the Soujekhaunah, [baths possibly] the canals, ponds, and fountains, and all things which bore relation to the element of water, were committed to the controul of Khaujah Hùsseyne, under the name of the Serkaur-e-aub, or department of water. And, lastly, the affairs of architecture, the culture of the soil, together with the custody of the treasure, and some other miscellaneous concerns of the royal household, were included under the denomination of the serkaur-e-khank—the department of earth; and confided to the direction of Jullaul-ud-dein Mirza Beg. Each of these officers was at the same time subordinate, nevertheless, in his department, to another great lord of the court, of superior rank and dignity. Meir Nausser Kùly was general of the department of fire, for instance, and always appeared in a scarlet, or crimson dress; and so probably with the heads of the other three departments, respectively.

Another monument of the alleged inventive genius and taste of Homayûn, was the floating palace which he caused to be erected on the Jumna, in the following manner. The carpenters were first of all employed to construct four vessels, of a size in proportion to the depth of water; on each of which they then raised, when afloat, a pavilion of two

stories, finished with the utmost beauty and delicacy of workmanship. After this the four vessels were connected together by a strong platform, or some species of gallery, in such a manner as that the pavilions were placed in a situation exactly opposite to each other, perhaps in the form of a lozenge; and between each of the vessels was then interposed an additional pavilion, making altogether the number of eight, and forming in the centre of the whole a beautiful tank, or pond of water, of eight sides. Ranges of shops were also disposed on the occasion, on other vessels along the river, so as to display, in perfect order, all the luxuries and conveniences of an extensive bazar, or market place, on terra firma; and that nothing might be wanting to render the establishment complete, the royal gardeners were instructed to form, by similar contrivances, on the surface of the stream, a garden of considerable extent, for the cultivation of vegetables, flowers, and fruit. And thus equipped it was that, in the course of the nine hundred and thirty ninth of the hidjerah, this illustrious monarch, accompanied by his whole court, proceeded, in all the pomp of imperial splendor, along the Jumna, from Dehly to Agrah.

A. H. 963.
A. D. 1556.
Abûl Fazzel.

To the number of Homayûn's inventions are next to be added that of moveable bridges, and a portable palace, the latter constructed of wood, and of three stories; the different parts of which were so admirably fitted together, by the skill and ingenuity of the workmen, as to appear entirely of one piece. At the same time, the whole was so contrived as to be taken asunder with the greatest facility, whenever it became necessary for removal from place to place; and the staircases so framed as to be taken down or replaced with equal facility and precision, whenever requisite. As an earlier proof of taste and skill in Homayûn is here further described, a crown, or tiara, of great height and beauty, which he caused to be finished under his directions in Budduk-hshaun; and which, from its being cut, or radiated perhaps, on the rim with which it was encircled, in *two* places, in the shape of the Persian character representing the number 7, [v] was called the crown of glory; the word Ezz, which in the same language signifies glory, comprizing, numerically considered, the total 77, [vv]. This article, on his first arrival at Agrah, he presented to his father Bâber, by whom it was received with expressions of peculiar satisfaction.

We are now to notice a superb tent of state which, in reference to the

A. H. 963.
A. D. 1556.
Abûl Fazzel.

twelve signs of the Zodiac, he caused, in some way or other, to be made and divided into twelve distinct compartments, each compartment so perforated as to admit the light of a particular constellation, according to circumstances. As an enclosure to the principal tent, which was possibly circular, like the etherial heaven which encompasses the sphere of fixed stars, and is entirely pure and beyond the orbit of every other celestial body, he caused another suite of tents to be made up, plain and unornamented, and without screen or pavilion of any description. In pursuance of the same conception, and not improbably for the floor of the tent of state, he caused to be fabricated a noble carpet of a circular shape, the circles within which were so drawn as to represent, according to the solar system, that course in the heavens decribed by the planets, as well as the elementary principles of nature—ie ; fire, air, water, and earth. Thus the exterior circle, representing the sphere of ether, was white. The second being that of the fixed stars, was blue. The third circle, that of Saturn, was black. The fourth, that of Jupiter, was of a sandal, or light yellow, color. The fifth, being that of Mars, was red. The sixth, being that of the Sun, was of a golden yellow. The seventh of Venus, of a light green; and the color of the eighth, being that of Mercury, was purple, because this latter planet was supposed to be of a mixed nature, and a mixture of rose color and blue, is well known to produce violet, or purple. Some philosophers are, moreover, said to have applied to Mercury the appellation of Koholy, antimonial, or black-eyed. And like the first, the ninth circle being that of the Moon, was also white. These were followed, as it should seem, successively to the centre, by the orb of fire, that of air, of water, and of earth, on which latter might have been delineated the terraqueous globe, subdivided into its seven climates, or Zones.

In conformity with this system, Homayûn for himself chose the circle of the Sun; and there on occasions of ceremony, he presented himself in full majesty seated on the throne imperial; the different orders of the state being respectively instructed to place themselves in that particular orbit indicated for their reception. Thus, for instance, the native Indian Ameirs were directed to arrange themselves in the orbit of Saturn, which is black. The Seyuds and Oulema, or men of letters, in that of Jupiter; it being further regulated that every individual, on entering the circle allotted to his class, should throw a die, on each face

of which was delineated a human figure, in a particular attitude, and finally to place himself in the attitude which should be indicated on the turn of the die, whether standing erect, sitting down, or reclining; and thus affording an additional and amusing variety to the splendid spectacle. It was further required by the code of Homayûn, that all who appeared at court should apparel themselves in the color of the day; for instance, on a Sunday they were to be clad in yellow—on Monday in white, which is the color of the Moon; and so on, on the other days of the week. A. H. 963. A. D. 1556. Abûl Fazzel.

The last regulation which we are called upon to notice, as introduced under the direction of Homayûn, was that by which he designed to lay open to the meanest of his subjects, an infallible expedient to obtain redress of injury; and this was by causing to be suspended before the imperial residence, a drum, which he named the drum of justice, of which the aggrieved were to avail themselves in the following way. If the person appealing for redress had only a simple quarrel with his neighbour, he was to strike a single stroke on the drum; if his complaint arose from a privation of salary, or subsistance, he was to strike twice; if from robbery, or any other violation of property, the stroke was to be three times repeated; and if it was an appeal for blood, or an accusation of murder, he was to strike the drum four times. So numerous and extraordinary, indeed, are alleged to have been the proofs of an inventive mind exhibited in the whole life of this highly gifted monarch, that the circumstance alone is expected to be a sufficient apology to the reader for the introduction of the above recital, however the taste of the author may be exposed to impeachment.

And here, for the last time, we resume the narrative to describe, that nearly about the period at which young Akbar received his dismission for the Punjaub,* the conversation of his august parent was observed to turn, with unusual frequency, on the subject of the closing scene of human existence; although, conceiving it prejudicial to the peace and good order of his government, as generating premature alarms, to avoid any discussion of this awful question in public.† This was repugnant to the uniform practice of his life, which led him to avoid the aw-

* The country on the 5 rivers; *Setleje, Goundwaul,* or *Beyah, Rauvy, Tchunderbhagah,* and *Tchunauvah.*

† This is so ambignously expressed in the original, that we have found it rather difficult to render, without a paradox.

A. H. 963. A. D. 1556. Abûl Fazzel.

ful question in public discourse; at the same time, that he always appeared to enter upon the subject with no less serious interest than evident complacency among his private and confidential friends. There exists, however, but little doubt, that although hidden from others, the idea [of dissolution] was deeply impressed upon his mind by the secret monitor from above. Thus, adverting one day with peculiar admiration, to a circumstance related by his father Bâber of one of his officers, who used to allege that he never visited the tombs of Gheznein without wishing for the grave, he stated in coincidence that he never passed the repositories of the dead, in the neighborhood of Dehly, that the happiness of the expression did not occur to his recollection.

Not many days before he was destined to quit this abode of frail mortality, he described to one of his attendants, with tears in his eyes, that that very morning, at the conclusion of his early devotions, he had been seized by a mysterious inspiration which had dictated the following poetic effusion: "Lord! purify me through thy transcendent beneficence"—"Ennoble me with the knowledge of thy truth"—"Sorely afflicted by the perplexities of a tortured mind"—"Oh place me among those absorbed in the ocean of thy glory, and deliver me!"—An extraordinary change was at this moment observed to have taken place in the countenance of Homayûn. Before he had yet taken his final departure from Dehly, young Akbar had also experienced some uneasiness from a singular and alarming dream, in which he conceived that he saw somebody take his father by the hair; and the circumstance being communicated, the moment he awoke, by the young prince to Mauhem Auttekah, or perhaps Anika, his nurse, the mother of Adhem Khaun, it was determined to consult some of those persons who professed the interpretation of dreams, on the subject. To Homayûn himself, however, when the circumstance was disclosed to him, the signification was sufficiently obvious; and he declared to his friends, in an under tone, that it too clearly indicated the impending awful event, although, in order to avoid exciting the apprehensions of his family, he professed to believe that it merely denoted some minor calamity, which the intervention of providence would be at hand to avert. During the same crisis, his remarks were of a tendency, moreover, continually to convey to the minds of those who heard him the most melancholy intimations of that fate against which he knew there was no human alternative; and it was

at this period of anxiety, that he wrote, on the arch of a balcony, some lines taken from the opening of one of the compositions of Sheikh Auzery, of which the substance is conveyed in the following words. "It is said to be engraven on yon vault of azure, that of all mankind the end is happy." As his exit drew near he thought it expedient to diminish his ordinary dose of opium, observing to his confidential friends that being curious to mark the number of his remaining days on earth, by that of his surplus doses; and for that purpose he then put up, in seven separate papers, as many pills, delivering them to his attendants with the remark, that when these were expended, he should have nothing further to do with that intoxicating drug until the day of resurrection. It is added that on the day on which he commenced his journey to immortality, there were yet four of the pills untaken, when, perhaps to dispel the effects of the drug, he called for a draught of rose-water. A. H. 963. A. D. 1556. Abúl Fazzel.

Towards the decline of the same day, which appears to have been Friday the seventh of the former Rebbeia, of the nine hundred and sixty third of the hidjerah,* Shah Bodaugh Khaun, and two other personages who had recently returned from a pilgrimage to Mekkah, and Pehelwaun Doast Meir, with dispatches from Mûnnâeim Khaun at Kabûl, together with Tcheghatâi Khaun and some other fugitives from Gûjerât, had been admitted to the presence of Homayûn, and were describing, to the monarch, the various incidents in which they had been severally engaged. To enjoy the coolness of the evening, he had ascended to the terrace on the top of his library, which had been finished a short time before; and from thence he beckoned to the people who were assembled in the great mosque adjoining, in order that they might perform the usual salutation, [kornesh]. Having for some time longer continued his inquiries, into the affairs of Mekkah, Kabûl, and Gùjerât, the emperor directed the attendance of certain astronomers, in order to observe the rising of Venus, which plánet was expected to make its appearance that evening; and it was the intention of Homayûn, at the auspicious moment, to announce, in full court, the general promotion in rank and dignity, which he had in contemplation for his nobility and principal officers. Just about the twilight, he was descending from the terrace, and had reached the second flight of steps, when, unexpectedly, a crier, or Mûezzin, in the neighboring mosque, gave the

* 21st of January, 1556.

A. H. 963. A D. 1556. Abûl Fazzel.

summons to prayers. With his usual exemplary attention to the duties of his religion, Homayûn prepared to seat himself on the spot; but the steps of the staircase being exceedingly steep, and composed of highly polished marble, his foot became entangled in the folds of his robe, as he was stooping down, and his cane at the same instant slipping from his hand, he fell headlong down the stairs; receiving a severe contusion on the right temple, which was immediately followed by a slight bleeding in the ear, on the same side of the head.

With that provident attention to the repose and security of his people, for which he has been already applauded, the first moments of recovery from the shock of his fall, were devoted by Homayûn to the dispatch of a messenger, Nuzzer Sheikh Tchúly, to announce to the young prince his son, that the accident, however dangerous, was not of a nature to threaten any fatal result; and that his general health was unimpaired. As a proof of his pre-eminent sagacity, amounting almost to inspiration, it is here stated, that about noon of the very day on which he breathed his last, the eleventh of the month above mentioned,* and the fourth after his fall in the library, he declared to the individuals admitted to his presence, that some exalted personage of the time was destined, that day, to be visited by some awful calamity, most probably by the hand of death; little suspecting perhaps that the prediction was to be so immediately accomplished in his own person. Every expedient was employed by the ministers on the spot to conceal the fatal event from the public, for a period of seventeen days; that interval being requisite to announce what had happened, to the heir apparent, and to recal to the metropolis the great nobility, who had been recently permitted to repair to their commands and governments in different parts of the empire. During the same interval, one of the Moullas, or religious attendants of the court, dressed up in the apparel of the departed monarch, was occasionally exhibited from that part of the palace which overlooked the river Jumna; in order to receive the salutations of the people, and, as long as possible, to prevent the alarm and consternation expected to arise, and which accordingly took place, the instant the truth transpired.

On the twenty-eighth of the month,† however, Tereddy Beg Khaun, who had long aspired at the dignity of Ameir-ul-Oomra, or premier

* 25th of January, 1556. † 11th of February, 1556.

grandee of the empire,* proceeded, at the head of all the nobles present, to pronounce the Khotbah in the name of the illustrious Akbar; which ceremony, united with the zealous co-operation of all the higher classes on the spot, produced, in a considerable degree, the effect of tranquillizing the general alarm—the imperial authority being thus virtually secured, to the only rightful successor to the splendid inheritance of the throne of Hindûstaun. These important preliminaries dispatched, the chiefs assembled at Dehly separately withdrew to their respective jagueirs; in order to allay the apprehensions which had invaded men's minds, in consequence of the unlooked for death of the emperor. Tereddy Beg Khaun, on his part, remained at the metropolis, in order to provide resources for the preservation of the general security. From thence, however, he took care to convey to the new sovereign in the Punjaub, and in charge of a person in whom he could confide, a part of the regalia, together with ample assurances of his zeal and fidelity. Mirza Abûl Kaussem, the son of Mirza Kamraun, proceeded by the same opportunity, to the presence of his royal kinsman.

A. H. 963r
A. D. 1556.
Abûl Fazzel.

Although the limits of the empire were, at this crisis, but very precariously defined, we are here induced, from an anonymous note annexed to the close of the life of Homayún, in that copy of Abûl Fazzel's history, from which we have drawn our materials for the concluding part of our narrative, to sketch the extent and resources of that noble territory, which was actually subject, or in the course of subjugation, to the house of Teymûr, at the period under consideration, or very shortly afterwards. From Hindû Koh, then, on the frontiers of Buddukhshaun, to Oudessiah, or Orissa, on the further extremity of Bengal, east and west, it extended in length, twelve hundred Kôsse of the standard of Akbar, making sixteen hundred and eighty statute Kôsse; equal to about two thousand nine hundred and twenty three [2923] miles, fifty three yards, and one foot, in English measurement.† In breadth from the Behrah, or Bahrah, hills, in the district of Sourtah in Gûjerat, north and south, it occupied a space of eight hundred [800] kôsse of the

* This will account for his early execution in the subsequent reign, under the orders of Beyram Khaun.

† The Tennauby, or chain kôsse, which continued the standard of the empire to the time of Jahangueir, and on which we have made our estimate, consisted of one hundred Tennaubs to the kôsse, of forty guzz to the Tennaub, and of thirty seven tessou, or inches, to the guzz. i. e. Two miles, five hundred and ninety one yards, and four inches to the kôsse.

A. H. 963. A. D. 1556. Abûl Fazzel.

same standard, equal to about one thousand nine hundred and forty eight miles [1948] twelve hundred and eight yards, two feet, and eight inches English, taken most probably along the flexure of the roads. In another line drawn from the Kemâoon mountains to the northern extremity of the Dehkan, [the Godâvery, perhaps, to which the empire had been extended before the death of Akbar] the distance is described to have been one thousand Kôsse, or 2435 miles, 1511 yards, and 4 inches. The whole of this most enviable domain is, moreover, represented as admirably capable of all the operations of agriculture; exhibiting, at the termination of every Kôsse, some well-peopled and flourishing town, or city, to the number altogether, when the writer recorded his observation at least, of three thousand two hundred places of note, and including one hundred and twenty cities of primary rank. To each of these places were severally annexed, from one hundred to a thousand Mowzas, or villages, yielding in the whole a revenue of six hundred and forty Krour, or 6400 millions, of Tungahs; which, estimating the Tungah at the lowest possible value,* the fortieth part of a rupee, and the rupee at two and six-pence, would be equal to the sum of twenty millions sterling in English currency.

The respectable monarch, to whom so considerable a part has been devoted in these memorials, appears to have terminated his earthly career, after a very turbulent and eventful reign of twenty five years and one month, at the age of forty seven years, ten months, and sixteen days. He was buried at Dehly, on the bank of the Jumna, where, in the 973d of the hidjerah, according to Ferishtah, a sumptuous mausoleum was erected over his grave, by the filial piety of his successor. On his character the preceding pages must furnish the best commentary. The misfortunes of his government may, indeed, be generally ascribed to a clemency of disposition carried to a fault; but, more particularly, to the unnatural and impolitic hostility of his brothers, for the indulgent treatment of whom he had, however, received a father's dying instructions. He was however not less brave, than he was humane and liberal. Of his accomplishments, in other respects, both personal and intellectual, the author professes the entire inadequacy of his pen to give a

* Although at this moment he is not able to decide, but the impression on the author's mind is, that the Tungah was in value considerably higher than a Daum, which was the fortieth part of a rupee; he rather conceives it was the fifth part of a rupee.

just description. In every branch of abstract science he had made very competent acquirements, but in Mathematics, [Riauzy] particularly, he was a distinguished proficient. It was therefore almost natural that all who stood eminently qualified in that branch of science, or who devoted themselves to the study of philosophy in general, should have enjoyed, on all occasions, the utmost freedom of access to his presence. It is added that he had provided an extensive spparatus for astronomical observation, having long designed the construction of several observatories, for which purpose he had already fixed upon particular places, in different parts of the empire. Of his poetical talents, Homayûn left honorable proof in the Diwaun, or collection of poems principally elegiac, composed by him, and to be seen in the time of Abûl Fazzel, among the manuscripts in the library of the imperial Akbar.

A. H. 963. A. D. 1556. Abûl Fazzel.

In religious principle he was strongly suspected of attachment to the Sheiahs, or sect of Ally, in support of which some circumstances will have been observed in the course of the preceding pages; but, whatever were the mode of faith which he had embraced, as a proof of the awful reverence which Homayûn entertained for the majesty of the supreme being, worthy the imitation of men of all religions, we are impelled to introduce the following fact from Ferishtah's history. Abdulhey the Suddur, or chancellor, whose name in Arabic signifies "the slave of the ever-living," had occasion, in consequence of some summons to his presence, to attend the orders of Homayûn; and observing that he omitted to address him in the usual familiar style, the monarch alleged in explanation, that, *with unwashed hands he never presumed to pronounce the name of his Creator.*

It remains to state that on Friday the third of the latter Rebbeia, of the nine hundred and sixty third of the hidjerah, corresponding with the fourteenth of February, A. D. 1556,* being still at Kalanour, the illus-

* According to Abûl Fazzel this date further corresponded with the 10th of Asfendiarmûz, of the 477th of the era of Melek Shah; with the 15th of Teir, of the 925th of the era of Yezdejird; and with the 14th of Shabaut, of the 1867th of the Rûmian or Macedonian era. The new era established by Akbar, and denominated by him the Illauhy, or divine, by which he very judiciously changed the computation from Lunar to Solar, commences on the 28th of the latter Rebbeia, A. H. 963, correspondiug with the 10th of March, A. D. 1556. The year of our Lord 1818 will therefore be the 739th of the era of Melek Shah; the 1187th of that of Yezdejird; and the 2129th of the Grecian era of Alexander. The era of Akbar, although calculated from about the vernal equinox immediately after his accession, doth not however appear to have been promulgated, until the 992d of the hidjerah, corresponding

A. H. 963. A. D. 1556. Abûl Fazzel.

trious *Akbar* ascended the throne of Hindûstaun; thus, in the fourteenth year of his age, commencing a reign which, for equal splendor, duration, and felicity, is scarcely to be paralleled in the recorded history of the world.† But, although this would furnish ample materials for an additional, and perhaps most interesting volume, the limits prescribed to our design constrain us, here, to terminate our labours—trusting, that however deficient in the graces of composition and harmony of arrangement, the faithful statements and permanent utility of the narrative which we now submit to the Public, will be *yet* felt and acknowledged, when the hand which hath traced them shall have mouldered into dust.

with A. D. 1584; also with the Bengal year, or era of Lutchman Sing, 1465—The year of Salbahan, employed in Gûjerat and the Dehkan, 1506; and of Bikramâjit, used in Hindûstaun and Malwah, 1641. The year of our Redeemer 1818 will therefore correspond with 1740 of Salbahan, and with 1875 of Bikramajit.

† The death of Akbar took place at Agrah on wednesday the 10th of the latter Jummaudy, A. H. 1014, corresponding with the 12th of October, A. D. 1605: and his reign must accordingly have embraced a period of forty nine solar years, two months, and about twenty three days. "His name lives," says Colonel Dow, "and will forever live, the glory of the house of Teymûr, and an example of renown to the kings of the world." The faithful and accomplished historian of his reign, the learned Abûl Fazzel, had been previously murdered on his return from the Dehkan at Narour, or Narwar, to the southward of Gwaliar, in the course of A. H. 1011, corresponding with A. D. 1602, by a banditti of Raujpouts; and, as was strongly suspected, by the contrivance of Sûltan Seleim, afterwards the emperor Jahangueir.

THE END.

PRINTED BY PRISCILLA HUGHES, BRECON.

# GENERAL INDEX.

*N. B.—The Roman Numerals refer to the Volume, and the Figures to the Page.*


A.

AADEL AGA, his origin, ii. 701, et seq. His rise to power, 703—707, et seq. iii. 59.

*Abaka Khaun*, second of the Persomoghul race, ii. 575—578.

ABBAS, house of, its honours and claims, i. 570, et seq. Their power eclipsed in the reign of Ul Rauzy, by the new office of Ameir-ul-umra, ii. 179. Its downfall under the Khalif Ul Mustaussem, in the 13th century, 213, et seq. Its genealogical descent, 214. Its declining pride, ditto.

*Abbas*, son of Amru, extraordinary diplomacy, ii. 168.

*Abbas*, son of Husseyne, politics remarkably disappointed by deaths, ii. 173.

*Abbas*, son of Ul Mamun, set aside by his father from the succession, ii. 141, et seq. 146.

*Abbasah*, sister of Harun ur Rashid, political conduct and anecdotes, ii. 70.

*Abbassides*, vide *Abbas*.

*Abd-ul-Kader*, a distinguished Khorassauny poet, iii. 518.

*Abdallah ben Omar*, miraculous destruction, i. 402.

*Abdallah*, son of Ameir Kuzghun, dishonours and murders his prince, iii. 7.

*Abdullah*, grandson of Aukkail, extraordinary death, i. 405.

*Abdullah*, son of Hareth, extraordinary devotion and bravery, i. 313.

*Abdullah*, son of Hentelah, elected governor of Medeinah by the Insurgents, i. 414. Devoted paternal affection at the battle of Waudy ul Jinn, 416.

*Abdullah*, son of Mauwciah, assumes the Khelaufut on the Euphrates, but fails, i. 576.

*Abdallah*, son of Muattez, elected to the Khelaufut, but falls a victim to his rival, ii. 173, 174.

*Abdullah*, son of Mûnzer, chivalrous anecdote, i. 265.

*Abdullah*, son of Mussaudah, stratagem and cowardice at battle of Seffeine, i. 280.

*Abdullah*, son of Mussaud ul Feranzy, invades Syria, but is defeated, i. 350.

*Abdullah*, son of Omar, refused the succession by his father, i. 142. Act of revenge, 151. Tried, liberated, and falls in battle, 152. 296. Fidelity towards Ally, 258. Slain at battle of Seffeine, 296.

*Abdullah*, son of Rauffia, receives command of African conquests, and invades Spain, i. 158.

*Abdullah*, son of Saud, summoned to support Othman at Medeinah, i. 171.

*Abdullah*, son of Ulkoua, remarkable interview with Ally, i. 336.

*Abdullah*, uncle to Ul-munsur, aspires to the Khelanfut, ii. 7. Death, 9.

*Abdullah*, son of Zobair, has a command in the African army, i. 157. Kills the Greek general, and marries his daughter, 158. Exploits in Tartary, 160. Conduct on the murder of Othman, 188. Conduct during the reign of Yezzeid, 413.

*Abdullah Abbas*, political anecdote, i. 189. Advice to Ally, 190, et seq. Proceeds to Yemen, 192. Military and diplomatic transactions with the Khouanredge, 334. Becomes discontented, 354.

*Abdullah Aumer*, invades Khorassaun, i. 161, et seq. 164. Summoned to support Othman at Medeinah, 171. Proceeds with Ayaishah and the rebels towards Bassorah, 195.

*Abdullah Hazem*, repels revolt in Khorassaun, i. 165. Is appointed lieutenant, 166.

*Abdullah Hauzzem*, governs Khorassaun, i. 446. Extraordinary death, 447.

*Abdullah Hukkem*, accuses Telhah and Zobair of treachery towards Othman and Ally, i. 203.

*Abdullah Rebbeiah*, defeats the Grecian fleet, i. 164.

*Abdullah Rouahah*, leads to first Mahommedan victory, i. 4.

*Abdullah Rowendah*, founder of a new sect, ii. 14.

*Abdullah Seya*, (Eben Ussondan), a Jew, apostacy and sedition, i. 169. Disseminates the heresy of the Rudjaat, or second coming of Mahommed, 170.

*Abdullah Taher*, son of Zulyemnein, succeeds to power in Khorassaun, ii. 226.

*Abdullah Ul Mukeffia*, celebrated Arabian poet, ii. 46. Curious literary anecdote, 49.

*Abdullah Wauheb*, appointed chief of the Khouauredge, i. 332. Slain by Ally, 339.

*Abdullah Zobair*, whimsical anecdote on march towards Bassorah, i. 197. Appointed Imaum by the rebels, 202. Conduct at Mekkah, 417. Great extent of his authority in opposition to the Khelaufut, 429. Besieged in Mekkah, 448. Slain, 450.

*Abdulmelek*, or Abul Fouauress, fifth of the race of Saman, ii. 242.

*Abdulmelek*, son of Merwaun I. proposed by his father for the succession, i. 427. Succeeds to the Khelaufut, 429. Various insurrections, 430. Proceeds in person to regain Arabian Irak, 441. Murders Amrû, 444. Proceedings against Khorassaun, 446. Takes measures to suppress contending chieftains, 458. Death, &c. &c. 464.

*Abdulmelek*, son of Nouh, ninth of the Samanides, ii. 251.

*Abdulmelek*, son of Salah, ii. 102.

*Abdurraihman*, grandson of Aishauth, extraordinary cause of enmity against Hejauje, i. 455. Revolts, 456. Defeats Hejauje, and takes Bassorah, 457. Flies to Kufah, with various changes of fortune, 458, et seq. Death, 463.

*Abdurraihman*, son of Aouff, named elector for the Khelaufut, i. 142, 143. Political conduct, 159. Dies, 166.

*Abdurraihman*, son of Khâled, harsh conduct towards the rioters of Kufah, as governor of Hamess, i. 167.

*Abdurraihman*, son of Khalif Hashaum, escapes into Africa, and founds a new Saracenic dynasty, ii. 13.

*Abdurraihman*, son of Heblah, ii. 99.

*Abdurraihman*, Eben Muljum, conspires against the life of Ally, i. 357. Assassinates him, 361.

*Abdurrashïd*, tenth of the race of Gheznin, ii. 301.

*Abdurrasheid*, son of the Afghan Sheir Khaun, treachery towards the emperor Homayun, iii. 714.

*Abi Khaled*, vezzeir to Ul Mamun, by his policy leads to the rise of the Taherites in Khorassaun, ii. 225.

*Abitauleb Mûeyud-uddein Mahommed*, vezzeir to Ul Mustaussem, hastens the downfall of the house of Abbas, ii. 215, et seq. Meets a traitor's fate, 223.

*Aboras*, river, ii. 614.

*Abu Abdullah Bureidy*, becomes Ameir-ul-Umra, ii. 180. Revolts and pillages Baghdad, 181.

*Abu Ally*, aspires to the Khelaufut, but is imprisoned, ii. 204.

*Abu Ally*, son of Mahommed Mehtauje, revolts in Khorassaun, ii. 241.

*Abu Ally*, the Semjurite, ii. 246, et seq.

*Abu Ally Eben Muklah*, conspires against the Khalif Ul Kaher, ii. 177. Extraordinary fate, 179.

*Abu Ally Key Khossrou*, last of the race of Buyah, ii. 272.

*Abu Bukker*, generosity to Mahommed, i. 7. Officiates as sacerdotal substitute for Mahommed, 16. Conduct in regard to succession, 20. Elevated to the sovereignty, 24. Commences military expeditions, 28. Annoyed by impostors, 29, 31, 33. Receives complaints against Khâled, 52. Extends his sway unto Arabian Irak, 53. Last illness, political regulations, death, 53, et seq. List of his ministers, 58.

*Abu Bukker Eben Ratteh*, negociates for the protection of the Hadjies, ii. 178.

*Abû Dâoud*, governor of Khorassaun, ii. 10.

*Abû Hameid Merûroudy*, ii. 9.

*Abû Haneifah*, Imaum, dies in prison, ii. 22.

*Abu Jauffer, ul Munsur*, vide *Ul Munsur*.

*Abû Lûlû*, Shuja-ud-dein, murders Omar, i. 140. His fall, 141, 151.

*Abu Mahommed Abdullah*, king of Africa, reclaims the black rock of the Kaaubah, ii. 176.

*Abû Mosslem*, first invested with command in support of the house of Abbas, i. 570. Commences his designs in favour of that house, 582. Unites with the Kermaunian, 586. Curious choice of uniform, ditto. Takes possession of Merû, 590. Revenge towards Nusser Seyaur, 592. Excites suspicions in the breast of Abû Jauffer, ii. 4. Pilgrimage to Mekkah, 5. Quarrel with Ul Munsur, 9. Assassinated by order of the Khalif, 11.

*Abû Mosslem Namah*, an Oriental romance, ii. 12.

*Abu Munsur Fullaud*, of the race of Buyah, ii. 271.

*Abu Mussa*, reduces revolt at Kufah, i. 168.

*Abû Mûssa*, lieutenant at Kufah, speech in conference with Ally's sons, i. 208.

*Abû Nadjedah*, curious diplomacy, i. 263.

*Abu Nasser Feyroz Khossrou*, dethrones and robs the Khalif Ul Taeiah, ii. 187.

*Abû Obaidah*, defeated by the rebel Senbad, ii. 12.

*Abû Obaidah*, son of Jerrauh, supersedes Khâled, i. 61. Takes Damascus, 63. Invades Palestine, 64, et seq. Retreats before Heraelius, 74. Battle of Yermuk, 75, et seq. Military proceedings, 83. Besieges Aleppo, 83. Takes Jerusalem, 84, et seq. Death, 88—92.

*Abû Obaidah*, son of Mussaoud, entrusted with invasion of Persia, i. 96, et seq. Killed by an elephant, 99.

*Abûl Oûr*, defeated at Sourri-rum, i. 267. Proceedings at Seffeine, 268, et seq.

*Abu Sâeid Berlas*, imprisons the shahzadah, Peir Mahommed, iii. 306.

*Abû Sauid*, the Jershite, overthrows the impostor Mokinniah, ii. 25.

*Abu Sauid-ul-Hubauby*, takes command of the revolted Kermathians, ii. 168.

*Abû Selmah*, vezzier of the family of Mahommed, i. 598, et seq. Suspected by Abûl Abbas, ii. 3. Murdered, 4.

*Abu Serraya*, a slave, entrusted with military command, ii. 120. Revolts, 121, et seq. Put to death, 125.

*Abu Shuja Buyah*, founder of the Deylemites, ii. 252.

*Abu Suliman Fakher*, the chronologer of Binauket, ii. 642.

*Abû Taher*, son of Abu Sauid, a successful leader of the Kerahmitans, ii. 174, et seq.

*Abû Telhah*, confidence of Omar, i. 144. Conduct on election, 148.

*Abu Zerr*, chief of the Benni Ghoffaur, exiled and dies, i. 166—170.

*Abul Abbas*, son of Mouffek, defeats the revolt of the Zenguies, ii. 165. Vide further *Ul Muatezzed*.

Abul Abbas ul Seffauh, escapes from the fury of the Khalif Merwaun, i. 592. Successes in Persia, 595. Is chosen by the people of Kufah, 600. Proceeds to enforce his government, and prepares to attack Merwaun, whom he defeats, 602. Generally acknowledged, 603. Genealogy, ii. 1. His revenge against the adverse party, 2. Quarrel with Abû Mosslem respecting the holy pilgrimage, 5. Dies, 6.

*Abul Bukka*, the faithful servant of Homayun, his fate, iii. 797.

*Abul Fazzel*, the historian, his accuracy, iii. 661. Observations on the fortune of Homayun and Akbar, 783; 812.

*Abul Fouauress*, father of chivalry, fifth of the race of Saman, ii. 242.

*Abûl Ghauzy Sultan Hûsseyne*, establishes his independent power, iii. 597, et seq. Genealogy, extraordinary character and history, 598. Contests with Sultan Abu Saeid, 600, et seq. Advances against Khorassaun, 628. Contests with the sons of Abu Saeid, 629. With Mirza Yadgar, 631. His troops mutiny, 634. Defeats his rival, and takes Herat, 640. Which he embellishes, 654. His death, and its political consequences, 669.

*Abul Heijan*, son of Hamdan, revolts against Ul Muktedder, ii. 175.

*Abul Husseyne Semjûr*, ii. 244, et seq.

*Abul Hussun*, revolts against his brother, Ul Mustershed, and experiences his clemency, ii. 198.

*Abul Kaussem*, devotes himself to save the life of Beyram Khaun, iii. 811.

*Abulfarage*, the historian, ii. 145.

*Abulghauzy*. Vide *Abul-Ghauzy*.

*Abûlkaussem Mahommed*, twelfth Imaum, his history, i. 376.

*Acre*, taken by Teymur, iii. 349.

*Adeljouz*, battle of, between Shah Rokh and the sons of Yussuf, iii. 543.

*Adjuden*, town of, in Hindustaun, iii. 242, et seq.

*Aeid Khaujah*, youthful gallantry in battle with the Afghans, iii. 50.

Afghans, first noticed, ii. 284. Invaded by Teymur, on his Indian expedition, iii. 229, et seq. Their country described, with the history of Sheir Khaun, 754. Rise of their power, 775. Its fall, 924.

*Afghans of Sulimankoh*, hostilities with Teymur, iii. 49.

Africa, extension of Mahommedism, i. 92—94. Further expeditions, 156.

*Agrah*, the capital of Sultan Ibrahim, taken by Sultan Baber, iii. 682.

*Ahmed*, son of Abu Shuja, ii. 256.

*Ahmed*, son of Assud, progenitor of the Samanides at Samarkand, ii. 234.

*Ahmed*, son of Buyah. Vide *Muezz-ud-doulah*.

*Ahmed*, son of Issmauil, second of the house of Saman, ii. 237, et seq. Is murdered, 238.

*Ahmed*, son of Issrauil, becomes vezzeir, ii. 160.

*Ahmed*, son of Nasser, proposed for the Khelaufut at Baghdad, ii. 149.

*Ahmed*, son of Ul Hesseib, appointed vezzeir, ii. 156.

*Ahmed Attaush*, ii. 362.

*Ahmed Lorr*, attempt to assassinate Shah Rokh, iii. 546.

*Ahmedabad*, conquered by the Moghuls, iii. 741.

*Aiaush*, son of Rebbeiah, chivalrous anecdote at Seffeine, i. 290—292.

*Aishauth*, son of Keyss, bribed to betray Ally, i. 311. Conduct during negociations, 319.

Akbar, emperor of Hindustaun, notices of his birth, &c. iii. 783; 795. Born, 808. Nursery anecdotes, 812. Infant captivity, 818. Sent into Kabul, 853. Infantile sports and victories, 854, 863. Restored to his father Homayun, by the defeat of Mirza Kamraun and the capture of Kabul, 876. Early dangers, 888, 891, 901. Commands a division at the battle of Schrind, 923. Entrusted with the government of the Punjaub, 933. Youthful talents, *ibid.* Judicious policy, 934. Proclaimed emperor, on the demise of his father, 947. *Ascends the throne of Hindustaun*, 950.

*Akkah* (Acre), captured by the Moghuls, iii. 349.

*Ala-ud-dein*, seventh of the Almowut dynasty, ii. 340. Extraordinary madness and murder, 341.

*Alanjek*, a celebrated fortress on the lake of Van, besieged by Teymur, iii. 64, 207, et seq.

*Alankoua*, ancestress of Teymur, her history, ii. 471. mysterious pregnancy, 472.

*Alep Arslan*, nephew of Toghrel Beg, ii. 300, 303. Succeeds to the throne of Khorassaun, 348

Hostilities with the Greek emperor, 349. Curious circumstances of his death, 350.

*Alep Khaun*, boldly cuts his way through the army of Jengueiz, ii. 510.

*Alep Arslan Mahommed*, ii, 194.

*Aleppo*. Vide *Halleb*.

*Aleptekkein*, governor of Khorassaun, ii. 242, et seq.

ALEXANDER the Great, ambassadors to, on his march towards India, ii. 504.

*Alexandria*, revolts, but is subdued, i, 153.

*Alexius* I. the Greek emperor, hostilities with Melek Shah, ii. 353.

*Allâ-ud-dein Husseyne Sury*, military progress and gallantry, ii, 310, et seq. Cruelties, 312.

*Alla-ud-doulah*, son of Baysungur, establishes in power at Herat, iii. 567.

ALLY, cousin and son in law of Mahommed, commences religious conquests, i. 10. Favoured by the prophet, 11. Pointed out his successor, 12. Generous conduct during Mahommed's last illness, 15. Objects to election of Abû Bukker, 26. Generous conduct towards Omar, 54. Named elector for the Khelaufut, 142. His conduct, 148, et seq. Wished for by the Egyptians as Khalif, 169. Remonstrates with Othman, 171, 172. Friendly conduct during siege of the palace at Medeinah, 181. His conduct in consequence of Othman's murder, 182. Pedigree and character, 185. Elevation to the Khelaufut, 186, et seq. Political errors, 188. Political anecdotes, 189. Temporizing policy of himself and opponents, 190. Displaces all officers, 191. Political difficulties, 193. Rebellion headed by the widow of Mahommed, 195. Ready wit on receiving a *shaved* general, 202. Military exertions after attack of Bassorah, 203. Family disputes, 205. Is joined by the Kufites, 212. Advances to Bassorah, 214. Negociations at battle of Meghzeinah, 215. His humane conduct, 218, 227. Extraordinary prophecy in regard to the Khelaufut succession, 228. Interview with Ayaishah, 229. Recovers Bassorah, 230. Changes seat of government from Medeinah to Kufah, 231. Incensed by treachery against his officers, 235. Deputes Malek Ashtur into Syria, 240. Diplomatic negociations with Mauweiah, 241, 244. Instance of magnanimity, 245. Letter to Mauweiah, 248. Prepares for hostilities, 260, 262. Extraordinary instance of mildness, 261. Is considered to perform a miracle, 262. Campaign of Seffeine, 268. Generous conduct towards the rebels, 271. Its favourable consequences, 272. Further proceedings at Seffeine, 275, et seq. Battle, 277, et seq. Magnanimous address to the soldiery, 278. Personal valour, 280, 281. Various attacks on his person, 282. Challenges Mauweiah, 286. Contest with Amrû, 287. With others, 291, 293, 295. Prepares for a decisive contest, 300. Defeats the enemy, 301. Negociations, 302. Further consequences of this war, 304, et seq. Battle of Lailut-ul-hurreir, 305. His followers bribed by Mauweiah, are anxious for a truce, 309. Negociations in regard to the Khelaufut, 312. Extraordinary prophetic anecdote, 317. Treaty of peace, 317. Retires to Kufah, 322. Dissatisfied with treaty and subsequent conference, establishes the ceremony of imprecation against enemies, 328. Disputes with the Khouauredge, 329. Takes measures for suppression of the Schismatics, 334. Cuts them off, all but nine, 340. Miracles and prophecies, 341. Loses Egypt, 348. Also Mekkah and Medeinah, 353. Circumstances leading to his fall, 355. Prophecies, 360. Is murdered, 361. Buried privately at Nudjef, 363. Character and family, 364.

ALLY, house of, recommended in a dream to the care of the Khalif Ul Muatezzed, ii. 166.

*Ally*, ninth of the race of Ghoznin, ii. 301.

*Ally*, son of Eissa ben Mahan, ii. 63.

*Ally*, son of Hashaum, defeats rebels and captures Zeid-ul-Naur, ii. 130.

*Ally*, son of Husseyne, extraordinary escape from murder, i. 410. Defeated at Hulwaun, ii. 107.

*Ally*, son of the Kermaunian, revolts against Nusser Seyaur, i. 589.

*Ally*, the Mahanite, ii, 77, 82, et seq. 96. Slain, 98.

*Ally*, son of Mahommed Tukky, tenth Imaum, his history, i. 375.

*Ally*, son of Neftein, ii. 46.

*Ally*, son of Saeid, takes possession of Bassorah and inflicts punishment on the tyrant Zeid, ii. 125.

*Ally Asgher*, fourth Imaum, his history, i. 371.

*Ally Baidu Shah*, disposes of the succession in Iran, ii. 676.

*Ally Beg*, son of Arghun Shah, alliance with Teymur, iii. 23. Faithless conduct, 25, et seq.

*Ally Eynauk*, a Persian general, murdered in his camp, ii. 580.

*Ally Ruzza*, eighth Imaum, his history, i. 374.

*Ally Ruzza*, chosen by the Khalif Ul-Mamun, as khalif elect, to represent the house of Ally, ii. 133. Marries the daughter of Ul Mamun, 135. Dies, 139.

*Ally Saheb-ul-Zenje*, usurps sovereign power at Bassorah, ii. 162, et seq.

ALMANZOR. Vide *Ul Munsur*.

*Almowut*, fortress of, hence sprung the sect of the Old Man of the mountain, ii. 196. Gained by a stratagem, by Hussun Sabah, 332.

*Almowut dynasty*. Vide *Hussun Sabah*; also ii. 336, et seq. Downfall, 343.

*Alputtekein*, ii. 242, et seq.

*Altan Khaun*, a Tartar or Chinese prince, ii. 476. A Chinese title, 488. History, 490. Finally

defeated by the Moghuls, devotes himself and family to the flames, 543.

*Altumghan*, or imperial seal, ii. 612.

*Altuntaush*, general of Sultan Mahmud, ii. 287. Made prince of Khauresm, 288. Dies, 298.

*Amankoh*, strong fortress of, submits to Teymur, iii. 30.

*Amaury*, king of Jernsalem, invades Egypt, during the crusades, ii. 326.

*Amazons*, queen of, her visit to Alexander the Great, iii. 63.

*Anbaur*, on the Euphrates, becomes the seat of government, ii. 4.

*Ameir Abdurrezauk*, gallant opposition to tyranny, ii. 449. Curious anecdote, 451.

*Ameir Abu Bukker*, puts down controversial disputes at Baghdad, ii, 215.

*Ameir Abû Ishauek*, invades Kermaun, ii. 439, et seq.

*Ameir Ahmed Komauje*, releases Sultaun Sunjur from captivity, ii. 369.

*Ameir Bayezzid*, submits to Teymur, iii. 183.

*Ameir Berkil*, ancestor of Teymur, iii. 9.

*Ameir Beyan Selduz*, injudicious government in Turaun, iii. 7.

*Ameir Dâond*, ii. 303.

*Ameir Demnauje*, proceedings in Guilan, ii. 636.

*Ameir Eirentehein*, gallantry in battle, ii. 656. Meets a rebel's fate, 657.

*Ameir Hadjy Seyf-uddein*, becomes the counsellor of Teymur, iii. 19, et seq.

*Ameir Hadje Zoraub*, atonement for his murder, ii. 444.

*Ameir Husseyne*, military progress against the Beyssourians, ii. 652.

*Ameir Hûsseyne*, grandson of Ameir Kuzghun, military and romantic adventures in early youth, with Teymur, iii. 12, et seq. Defeat and death, 17.

*Ameir Hussun*, danger from royal amours, and subsequent exaltation, ii. 671.

*Ameir Hussun*, prince of Tekrat, subdued by Teymur, iii. 161.

*Ameir Issmâeil*, vicious conduct and fall, ii. 705. prophecy, 706.

*Ameir Issmauil*, the Samanian, advances into Khorassaun, ii. 232. Captures Omar, and founds the Samanian dynasty, 233, 235. Virtuous forbearance, 236. Dies, 237.

*Ameir Jahaun Shah*. Vide Life of Teymur, *passim*.

*Ameir Jullaul*, heroic self denial, iii. 157.

*Ameir Jullaul-ud-dein Feyrouz Shah*, political dream, iii. 558.

*Ameir Kâratchaur*. Vide *Kâratchaur Nûyan*.

*Ameir Key Khossrou*, the Khotlanian, murders Ameir Husseyne in retaliation of his brother's death, iii. 17.

*Ameir Khausseik*, treachery rewarded, ii. 374.

*Ameir Kuzghun*, obtains power in Turaun, iii. 5, et seq.

*Ameir Mahommed*, takes Shirauz, ii. 441. Further history, 445.

*Ameir Norouz*, the foe of infidels, ii. 603, 606, 614.

*Ameir Seyud Berrekah*, a descendant of the Prophet, invests Teymur with the insignia of Mahommedan power, and becomes his personal friend, iii. 15, et seq.

*Ameir Seyurghaun*, the Tchobaunian, pillages Diaurbeker, ii. 688, 691, et seq.

*Ameir Shah Melek*, entrusted by Teymur with political arrangements on his death bed, iii. 480, et seq.

*Ameir Sheikh Hussun*, gains the remarkable battle of Nosheher, ii. 679. Murdered, 689.

*Ameir Sheikh Ibrauhim*, prince of Shirvaun, flattering policy towards Teymur, iii. 62.

*Ameir Ally Sheir*, vezzeir of Abulghauzy, judicious advice respecting astrology, iii. 631, et seq. Embellishes Herat, 654, et seq.

*Ameir Sheir Hadjy*, treacherous murder of the Ameirs at Herat, iii. 586.

*Ameir Taherten*, prince of Erzunjaun, submits to Teymur, iii. 69.

*Ameir Tehobaun*, a Syrian chief, anecdotes, &c. ii. 621, et seq. 628.

*Ameir Tehobaun*, proceedings during the reign of Sultan Abu Saeid, in Persia, ii. 643, et seq. Death, &c. 668.

*Ameir Turaghai*, father of Teymur, iii. 9.

*Ameir-ul-Mouminein*, or Commander of the Faithful, when first assumed, i. 59.

*Ameir Wully*, military proceedings in Tebreiztaun, ii. 701.

*Ameir Wully*, prince of Mazanderan, hostilities with Teymur, iii. 31, 42, 52, et seq.

*Ameir Yakub Shah*, adulterous amour and murder of his prince, ii. 688.

*Ameir Yessawul*, arbitrary exactions and fate, ii. 648.

*Amerkote*, castle of, the birth place of Akbar, iii. 807.

*Amorium*, a city of Phrygia, siege, capture, and Mosslem cruelty, ii. 145.

*Amrû*, governor of Egypt, supersession and conspiracy, i. 156. Treachery towards Mahommed Abû Khozzeifah, 232. Politic conduct, 238. Outwitted by Mauweiah, 253. Conduct during the campaign of Sefeine, 269. Generous advice to Mauweiah, 272. Battle of Sefeine, 280. Various plans for the destruction of Ally, 281. Personal contest with Ally, and whimsical escape, 287. Ludicrous dialogue with Mau-

weiah, 288, 291. Suggests bribery as the best means of procuring a truce, 308. Diplomatic conduct after treaty, 323. Attacks Egypt, 347. Which he conquers, 348.

*Amrû*, son of Bukker, conspires against Amrû, i. 357.

*Amrû*, son of Jermuz, treacherously kills Zobair, i. 223. Kills himself, 224.

*Amrû*, son of Sauid, made governor of Damascus, i. 441. Revolt, 442. Murdered, 444.

*Amru*, son of Yezzeid Hobairah, beneficence as governor of Bassorah, and untimely fate, i. 548.

*Amul*, a Persian fortress near to, iii. 130.

ANATOLIA, foundation of the Seljuk dynasty, ii. 352. 354. Further history of the sultans of the Seljuk race, 385—388.

ANECDOTES—Of female courage, i. 62. Of military negociation, 66. Of Heraclius, 71. Of Khâled, 76. Curious one of a prediction, 85. Of Omar, 86. Of military stratagem, 93. Military, 97, 112. Of the khâlif Omar, 118. Of single combat, 119. Extraordinary, of skeleton on Mount Lebanon, 127. Of Persian magnificence, 129, 134. Of political duplicity, 188. Whimsical one of Ayaishah, widow of Mahommed, 196. Of heroic conduct of a herald, 222. Of magnanimity, 245. Whimsical one of Mauweiah, 252. Of battle of the Euphrates, 270. Curious one of father and son, 279. Various, of battle of Seffeine, 280, et seq. Of Arabian justice, 382. Of a head speaking after being cut off, 479. Witty one of a peasant, 481. Of luxury rebuked, 520. Chivalrous, at battle of Gheffer, 538. Of Jauriah, wife of the khalif Yezzeid, 547. Of devoted patriotism, 551. Of female fortitude, 566. Of pilgrimage to Mekkah, ii. 5. Of prison built on salt, 9. Of paternal affection, 21. Of horrid religious imposture, 25. Numerous, of Ul Mehedy Billah, 27. Of Yakub, son of Daoud, 28. Of Mûssa, son of Jauffer, 39. Literary, of Abdullah ul Mukeffia, 48. Of oriental luxury and cruelty, 73. Of divorce, 79. Piscatory of Ul Amein, 99. Of military stratagems, 100, et seq. Of a fugitive general, 106. Of extraordinary fumigation at Baghdad, 108. Of a rustic, 111. Of the Haram, 112. Of cruelty and imposture, 145. Of oriental munificence, 212. Of salt, in regard to oriental hospitality, 229. Of oriental fortitude, 233. Of virtuous forbearance, 236. Of astrology, 253. From Ferishtah, 278. Of prince Melek Shah, 315. Of military mutiny, 351. Of a captive sultan, 354. Of charity, 357. Of princely resignation, 411. Various, of the Tartars, 464, 546. Of female chastity, 518. Architectural one, 705. Of Tartarian clemency, iii. 3. Of submissive flattery, 62. Of Tartarian diplomacy, 103. Of oriental pomp and power, 147. Of self-denial, 157. Of Teymurian magnificence, 213, et seq. Of the Tartarian courts and camps, 433, 463, 468, 474. Of Teymur's last illness, 479, et seq. Extraordinary, of parental self-devotion, 706. Of sultan Baber, 710. Curious, of siege of Tchampaneir, 736, 739. Of the Portuguese and sultan Bahauder of Gujerat, 750. Curious one of a water carrier sitting half a day on the Moghul throne, 774. Of an elephant and a bridge, 779. Of the Moghul courts, 877. Of Moghul magnificence, 935. Of AKBAR, 923.

*Angouriah*, city of, besieged by Teymur, iii. 387. Battle, 388.

*Ankatoura*, a Teymurian chief, in revolt, iii. 76, et seq.

*Ankuaun*, town of, its inhabitants remarkable as Issmaeilian heretics, iii. 148. Cruel massacre of the people by Teymur, 148.

*Ansaur*, inhabitants of Medeinah, their conduct on death of Mahommed, i. 19.

*Antioch*, military preparations, i: 71. Evacuated by Heraclius, 83. Submits to Omar, 91.

*Antioch*, curious anecdote of Tartar dominion, ii. 352. Capture by the Teymurian armies, iii. 354, 420.

*Antelope*, when hunted, leads to the surprising of Mirzebaun, i. 504.

*Anwari*, a Tartar poet, military pun, ii. 391.

*Aouneik*, fortress of, submits to Teymur, iii. 182.

*Aourtoupa*, plains of, on the Volga, iii. 124.

*Apparitions*, extraordinary one announces the murder of Kateibah, i. 495. At the death-bed of Hulauku Khaun, ii. 572.

*Apple* stolen, punished by death, ii. 585.

ARABIA. Vide *passim*.

*Arabs*, extraordinary description of, i. 107. Their temperate habits, 125. Various Tribes incensed against Othman, 170.

*Aral*, sea of, iii. 548.

*Ararat*, mount, advance of the Teymurian troops' iii. 184.

*Araxes*, river of, warfare under Teymur, iii. 58, et seq.

*Arbela*, the scene of modern warfare between Teymur and Sultan Ahmed Jullacir, iii. 152, 167.

*Archipelago*, invasion of the Moghuls, iii. 409.

*Architecture* encouraged in Persia, ii. 574.

*Ardebeil*, city of, capture, and cruelties of the revolted Khozzers, i. 549.

*Arghun* Aga, appointed governor of Khorassaun, patriotic conduct, ii. 545.

*Arghun Khaun*, fourth monarch of the Perso-Moghul race, ii. 583, 593.

*Arghundaub* river, iii. 863.

*Armenia*, first invaded by the Mosslems, i. 154. Subjugated by Merwaun, 561.

*Armenia, lower*, submits to Teymur, iii. 67.

*Arpa Khaun*, tenth of the Perso Moghuls, ii. 674, et seq.

*Arrows*, bundle of, story of, attributed to Teymur, iii. 740.

*Arslan Shah*, fourteenth monarch of Gheznin, ii. 306. Meets death deservedly, 307.

*Arslan Shah*, fifth of the Seljuks in Kermaun, ii. 384.

ARTILLERY, noticed at the battle of Khanwah, iii. 696.

*Arts* of Life, how and when first discovered, ii. 457, et seq.

*Aruk*, brother of Bouka, ii. 579, 583, et seq,

*Arzerum*, (Erzerum) subjugated by Teymur, iii. 66.

*Ascalon*, taken by the Mussulmans, i. 94.

ASIA, political state of, at the irruption of the Tartars under Jenguiez, ii. 498.

*Asia Minor*, Mahommedan invasion, i. 154. Vide further, *Teymur*, *Bajazet*.

*Assaumah*, appointed to military command, i. 13. Invades Syria, 28.

*Assaur*, taken by Teymur, iii. 268.

*Asseir*, fortress of, advance of the Moghuls, iii. 744.

*Askery Mirza*, son of sultan Baber. Vide *Sultan Baber*, passim, confirmed in his government of Sumbul, by his brother the emperor Homayun, iii. 712. Receives Kandahaur from his brother Mirza Kamraun, 715. Is deprived of it, 718. Revolt and fate, 744, et seq. Protects Homayun after the surprise at Yohssah, 773. Further events, 787, et seq. 859, et seq.

*Assud-ud-dein*, becomes vezzeir of Egypt, ii. 326.

*Asswad*, an apostate and usurper, is murdered, i. 28.

*Asterabad*, city of, battle between Teymur and Ameir Wully, iii. 54.

*Astrakhan*, city of, advance of Teymur, iii. 195, 203.

*Astrologer*, suffers from his own prediction, i. 479.

*Astrology*, anecdote of, ii. 253. Despised by Teymur, iii. 255.

*Astronomy*, encouragement of the Persian, by the Moghul princes, ii. 573.

*Atabek Abu Bukker*, his policy, ii. 427.

*Atabek Eyldekez*, the wife of, a distinguished princess, ii. 378.

*Atabek Mûzuffur*, prince of Farss, military ambition, ii. 425.

ATABEKS of Mossule, Syria, and Diaurbekir, their history, ii. 418, et seq. Of Azerbayjan, 420. Of Farss of the Selghrian tribe, 423—430. Of the Hazauraspides, or of Laristaun, 431, et seq.

*Atseiz*, second of the Kharezm Shahies, ii. 390.

*Attel*, river. Vide *Volga*.

*Aubderrah*, pass of, iii. 884.

*Aublestaun*, marauders of, iii. 319.

*Auddy*, son of Ertaut, governor of Bassorah, spirited conduct when prisoner, i. 529.

*Auk-khaujah*, plains of, Persian victory, ii. 579.

*Aukauf*, (charitable funds of the Moghul empire,) ii. 634.

*Aukbouga*, a Teymurian officer, gallant conduct at the siege of Kellasceid, iii. 142.

*Aukitemur Bahauder*, gallantry at siege of Sejestaun, iii. 45.

*Aukkail*, brother of Ally, deserts his cause and joins Mauweiah, i. 355.

*Aukkail*, son of Mûakkil, politic conduct in Khorassaun, i. 581.

*Aukshein*, gets possession of the impostor Baubek, ii. 145. Rebels and dies, 146.

*Auksu*, strong fortress of, iii. 301.

*Aulum-ud-dein*, governor of Rahebah, preserves his loyalty by an ingenious subterfuge, ii. 626.

*Aumar Yausser*, first assumes command in Persia, i. 128. Battle of Nihawend, 129. Superseded in command, 137. Extraordinary prophecy and results in battle, 222. Battle of Seffeine, 282. Slain, 296.

*Authorship*, imperial, works of Sultan Baber, emperor of Dehli, iii. 709.

*Auttebah*, son of Abi Soffeyan, chivalric contest at Seffeine, i. 279.

*Avicenna*, the celebrated prime minister, ii. 298.

*Axalla*, a Teymurian officer, iii. 397, 405.

*Ayaishah*, wife of Mahommed, conduct on his deathbed, i. 13, 16. On death of Abû Bukker, 55. On death of Omar, 141. Political conduct during Othman's reign, 176, 178. After his death, 194. Matures her rebellious projects against Ally, 195. Whimsical anecdote, 196. Proceeds to Bassorah, 198. Spirited conduct, 200. Takes Bassorah, 202. Treacherous diplomacy, 213. Is present at battle of Meghzeinah, 218. Contest round her litter, 225. Is protected by Mahommed, son of Abû Bukker, 226. Her defeat and consequences, 227. Interview with Ally, 228. Extraordinary female escort, 229. Reason of her enmity to Ally, 230. Conduct on death of Hussun, 370. Refuses her assent to the hereditary succession of the Khelaufut, 385. Murdered by order of Mauweiah, 386.

*Ayauz*, son of Ghaunem, extends Mahommedism into Mesopotamia, i. 93. Dies, 94.

*Aymelghoutchûr*, a city on the frontiers of Moghulstaun, iii. 94.

*Ayntaub*, a strong Syrian fortress, iii. 324.

*Azerbajân*, subjected to Mosslem authority, i. 567. History of the Atabeks, ii. 420. Subjugated by Teymur, iii. 59. Its limits extended under Teymur, hostile movements of Meiran Shah, 207, et seq.

*Azof*, sea of, invasion of Teymur, iii. 198.

*Azzyd-ud-dein Ullah*, Fatimite Khalif of Egypt, his warfare with the Franks, ii. 205, et seq.

B


BAALBEC, besieged, i. 65. Invasion of the schismatics, and horrid massacre, ii. 171. Capture by Teymur, iii. 335.

*Bâba Serkou*, the most extraordinary enthusiast of the age, prophetic anecdote of Teymur and a breast of mutton, iii. 25.

*Bactriana*, (Khorassaun) invaded by the Mosslems, i. 138.

*Badukshaun*, a mountainous region, ii. 497. Vide *Budukshaun*.

BAGHDAD, old, taken by Mosslems, i. 102. Founded on ruins of the ancient Seleucia, ii. 17. Civil commotions on death of Harun ur Rashid, 95, et seq. Besieged by Harethmah, 108. Surrenders, 114. Violent civil commotions, 132. Refusal to acknowledge the proposed succession in the house of Ally, 136. Generosity of the Khaleif ul Wauthek, 150. Becomes again the seat of empire, 166. Pillaged, 181. Transference of its original position, 197. Conquest by the Moghuls, 218, et seq. Horrid cruelties, 222. Fatal inundation of the Tigris, 702. Advance of Teymur, iii. 152. Further military proceedings, 306, 359. Proposed re-edification, 435, 437. Turkman power, 516.

*Baghdad Khautun*, a famed Persian beauty, her royal adventures, ii. 660, 668, 671. Murdered, 675.

*Bagher*, a Turkish maumluk, his treachery, ii. 154.

*Baha-ud-doulah*, of the race of Buyah, ii. 265.

*Bahar*, held by Mahmud against sultan Baber, iii. 702.

*Baharein*, island of, taken by the atabek of Farss, ii. 427.

*Bahauder*, title of, first noticed, ii. 478. A Persian title, iii. 244.

*Bahauder Nehaur*, an Indian prince, submits to Teymur, iii. 268.

*Baidu Khaun*, sixth of the Perso Moghuls, ii. 599, 602, et seq. 607—8.

*Baitchiu Nûyan*, a Tartar general, first leads his hordes across the Oxus, ii. 216. et seq.

BAJAZET, the Ottoman monarch, ii. 715. Receives to his protection sultan Ahmed of Baghdat, iii. 312. Advance of the Teymurian armies, 313. Warfare with Europe, 314. Diplomatic remonstrance from Teymur, 315, et seq. Prosecutes hostilities, 367, et seq. Battle before Angouriah, 388. Defeat, 393. Taken prisoner, 394. Reception by Teymur, 395. Capture of his family, 399, 402. His death, 420, 422, et seq.

*Balasaugun*, the city of beauty, ii. 492, 495.

*Baljoutah*, lake of, ii. 483.

*Balkh*, city of, taken and destroyed by Jenguiez Khaun, ii. 519. Its history during the reign of Teymur, iii. 13, et seq. Contests for succession after death of Teymur, 492.

*Balkhjird*, capital of Tartary, battle and defeat of Mosslem army, i. 155.

*Bamian*, strong fortress of, taken and destroyed by Jenguicz, ii. 520.

*Banares*, city of, plundered by Sheir Khaun, iii. 756.

BANKS established on a financial system in Persia, in the 13th century, ii. 597.

*Bank notes* introduced into China and Persia, in the 13th century, ii. 598.

*Bangui*, a branch of the Oxus, iii. 891.

*Baran*, river of, near Kabul, canal dug by Teymur, iii. 226.

*Bards*, voluptuous, condemned to death in Persia by Teymur, iii. 298.

*Bareh*, son of Abdullah, conspires against Mauweiah, i. 357.

*Barmecides*, celebrated family of, curious circumstances of their origin, i. 467, 512. Their rise, their ruin in political power, under the Khalif Harun ur Rashid, ii. 65, et seq.

*Baroutch*, city of, taken by the Moghuls, iii. 743.

*Bashtein*, village of, interesting anecdote and revolution, ii. 449.

BASSORAH, founded, i. 123. Revolts against Othman, 171. Advance of the rebels under Ayaishah, widow of Mahommed, 198. Conduct of the citizens, 200. Taken, 202. Inhabitants join the schismatics under Abdullah Wauheb, 333. Insurrection against Abdulmelek, 429. Revolts and massacres, 457, 529. *passim* ii.

*Bastinado* inflicted on Persian nobles, ii. 594, 629.

*Batneir*, fortress of, in Hindustaun, iii. 243.

BATTLES—Of Mutah, i. 4. Of Yemaumah, 43. Of Ohud, 47. Of Kohel, 68. Of Yermuk, 74, et seq. Of the Euphrates, 99. Of Heirah, 101. Of Kaudsiah, 110. Of Jalula, 124. Of Nihawend, 129. Of Kermaun, gained by a miracle, 139. Of Shumshaut, 154. Of Balkhjird, 155. Of Istakhar, the last in Persia, 159. Of Meghzeinah, near Bassorah, 214. Of Harran, 240. Of Sourrirum, 265. Extraordinary, of the Euphrates, 270. Of Seffeine, 275. Of the Lailut-ul-hurreir, 305. Of Neherwaun, 335. Of Kerbela, 399. Of Waudy-ul-jinn, 416. Of Merjeraumet, 424. On the river Jarroûd, 437. Of Gheffer on the Euphrates, 535. Of Shehervaun, 549. Of Moghân, 554. Of Semender, 557. Of Zitui, ii. 43. Of Hulwaun, 107. Of Danr-urrefeik, 111. Of Suaun, 172. Of the Moghuls and Moslems, before Baghdad, 219. Near Balkh, 283. Of Guirje, 351. Of Gurkhaun, 399. Of Jund, 403. Of the Indus, 411. Of Jenguiez in China, 489. Of Senjaur, 568. Of Merj-e-saffar, 627. Of the Seffeid-rud, 656. Extraordinary one at Noshehar, 678. Of Derrehzengni, iii. 6. Of Jung-e-lai, where Teymur meets de-

feat, 13. Of the plains of Keren, 47. Of Asterabad, 54. Of Jonglik, 75. Of Kerekgoul, 115. Of Kunderjah, 119. Of Shirauz, between Teymur and Shah Munsur, 143. Of Terek, 190. Of the Jumna, 253. Of Feyrouzabad, before Dehly, between Teymur and sultan Mahmud, 257. Of Koupela, 274. On Mount Sewaulek, 278. Before Aleppo, 328. Of Damascus, 341. Before Angouriah, between Teymur and Bajazet, 388. Of Seiahbelaci, 496. Of Shumb-e-Ghazan, 504. Of Selmauss, 549. Of Panipet, between sultan Baber and the Dehli monarch, 678. Of Khanwah, or Futtahpour, 693. Of Mundsour, 726. Of Yohssah, 771. Of Sehrind, decides the fate of Hindustaun, 923.

*Batû*, a magnificent Tartar prince, ii. 553.

*Baubek Khoremdein*, an infidel, propagates the levelling system of equality in Azerbaijaun, ii. 140, et seq. His fall, 144, et seq.

*Baub-ul-a bûaub*. Vide *Derbend*.

*Baudgheiss*, territory of, submits to Teymur, iii. 24.

*Bauspendaun*, ii. 31.

*Bayezzid*, fortress of, captured by Teymur, iii. 65.

*Beam*, a projecting one, ominous prediction respecting, ii. 705.

*Begtehek*, a native of Mekrat, leads to the capture of Kurtein by stratagem, iii. 441.

*Behaut*, river of, ii. 455.

*Behautiah*, city of, taken by sultan Mahmud, ii. 282.

*Beherein*, Tartar tribe of, hostilities with Teymur, iii. 41.

*Behesny*, a strong Syrian fortress, siege of, iii. 322.

*Behlowulpour*, an Indian fortress, restored by sultan Baber, iii. 676.

*Behrah*, on the Indus, iii. 674.

*Behram Shah*, fifteenth monarch of Gheznin, ii. 307.

*Beider*, warriors at the battle of, asserted to be the only true electors to the Khelaufut, i. 186.

*Beijagurr*, fortress of, revolt of its prince against Homayûn, iii. 749.

*Beisson Teymur*, khaun of Turaun, cruelty towards his mother, iii. 5.

BENGAL, yields homage to sultan Baber, iii. 702. Further designs of conquest by Homayun, 754. Political connection with the Afghans, 755. Advance of the Moghuls, 758, et seq. Finally subjected to the house of Teymur, 761. Revolts and commotions, 770, et seq. Victory of Sheir Khaun and consequences, 773, et seq.

*Benni Saudah*, proceedings there, at Medeinah, on demise of Mahommed, i. 19.

*Berdaa*, city of, its amenity of situation, and antient history, iii. 63.

*Berka Khaun*, war with Hulauku, ii. 569.

*Bershegaul*, rainy season of Hindustaun, iii. 240.

*Berytus*, (Beirout), advance of Teymur, iii. 335.

*Besheir*, son of Ertaut, defeat by Ally, and curious prophecy, i. 281. Proceeds to take possession of Mekkah and Medeinah, 352. His cruelties, 353. Becomes insane, and kills himself, 354.

*Besheir*, son of Laith, cruelly murdered by order of the khalif Harun, ii. 87.

*Bessaussery*, his usurpation at Baghdad, and fate, ii. 193.

*Beykund*, city of, extraordinary plunder and capture of, i. 467.

*Beylekaun*, battle of, ii. 614.

*Beylekaun*, town of, rebuilt by Teymur, iii. 446.

*Beyn*, a distinguished Afghan chief, joins sultan Baber, iii. 677. Revolts, 688.

*Beyram Khaun*, iii. 710. Military prowess, 737, 758, et seq.

*Bhankapour*, town of, rudeness towards the defeated Homayun, iii. 783.

*Bhaugulpour*, invasion of the Moghuls, iii. 760.

*Bheimnugger*, fortress of, taken by Mahmud, ii. 285.

*Bhoujepoor*, iii. 703.

*Bikkaneir*, sandy desert of, iii. 243.

*Bikkaneir*, district of, iii. 721.

*Black Sea*. Vide *Euxine*.

*Boghra Khaun*, of Turkestaun, movement of, ii. 246.

BOKHÂRA, taken by the Mosslems under Obeidullah, i. 384. ii. 87. Foundation of the monarchy of the Samanides, 235, et seq. Capture by Jenguiez, 501. Plundered and insulted, 502, et seq. Destroyed, 503. Imposture of Mahmud of Taraub, and unexpected clemency towards his followers, iii. 3. Contests for succession after death of Teymur, 487, et seq.

*Borâk Haujeb*, his insolence to sultan Sheir Shah, ii. 409, 413. History, 433.

*Borauk Oghlan*, monarch of the Ousbeks, hostilities with Ulugh Beg, iii. 545.

*Borysthenes*, river, extent of Moghul power, ii. 553. Advance of Teymur, iii. 196.

*Bosphorus*, flight of the Turkmans across, iii. 400.

*Bost*, in Gurrumseyr, siege of, iii. 854.

*Bouka*, a Moghul chief, betrays sultan Ahmed, ii. 579, 583, et seq.

*Bouzuk*, Tartar tribe, its origin and rank, ii. 467.

*Bowautinah*. Vide *Hussun Sabah*.

*Brahmins*, first mentioned, ii. 285, 290.

*Breast of Mutton*, prophetic anecdote of a, iii. 25.

*Bridge*, curious one over the Aub-e-zaul, iii. 137.

*Broussa*, city of, captured treasures of Bajazet, iii. 400.

*Budduk̇shaun*, province of, submits to Shah Rokh, iii. 533.

*Buddur-abad*, siege of, by Teymur, iii. 42.

*Buddur-ud-dein*, defeats the Beyssourians, ii. 651.

*Buides*, race of, or house of Buyah, origin, ii. 252, et seq. Accession of Emmaud-ud.doulah, 255. Of further chiefs, 256, et seq. Its downfall, 272.

*Buka*, a Turkish chief, policy and death, ii. 161.

*Bukkem Makauny*, revolts and subjugates Arabian Irak, ii. 179. And becomes Ameir ul Umra, *ib.*

*Bukker*, son of Meyakker, extraordinary agency, ii. 90, et seq.

*Bukkur*, on the Indus, iii. 787, 793.

*Bulgaria*, first peopled, ii. 459. Described, iii. 194.

*Bundah Oghul.* Vide *Ouljaitu Sultan.*

*Bundameir*, river of, iii. 78.

*Burhanpour*, river of, iii. 701. Advance of the Moghuls, 744.

*But-tongry Kouktchu*, a Moghul devotee and impostor, ii. 486.

*Buyah*, race of, become Ameirs Ul Umra, ii. 155. Origin and progress, 252, et seq.

*Bûzûrg Omeyd*, succeeds the old man of the mountain, ii. 201, 336.

*Byrsa*, capital of the Othman empire, iii. 312.

C

CAMBALU. Vide *Pekin.*

*Cambay*, or Kambaeit, Moghul invasion, iii. 732.

*Camel*, battle of, extraordinary occurrence of Ayaishah, widow of Mahommed, i. 226.

*Canal*, between India and China, ii. 559.

*Captive Female*, extraordinary mode of preserving chastity, ii. 518.

*Captivity*, Hindû method of treating princes, ii. 291.

*Caravan*, buried in snow, iii. 660.

*Caria*, overrun by the Moghuls, iii. 408.

CASPIAN SEA, advance to by the Mosslems, i. 155, 160. Naval armaments of Teymur in the invasion of Hyrcania, iii. 131. Islands in, taken by a march over the ice, 202.

CASTILE, king of, sends an embassy to Teymur, iii. 465, 470.

*Catapultæ*, extraordinary accidents, ii. 566.

*Caucasus*, mountains of, Moghul wars, ii. 570. Advance of Teymur, iii. 200.

*Cazvein*, or Casbin, city of, first proclamation of the old man of the mountain, ii. 196. Invasion of the Moghuls, 512.

*Chandour*, city of, iii. 689.

*Charity*, curious anecdote of, ii. 357.

*Chair of Ally*, sanctified as a relic, i. 438.

*Cheitour*, city of, advance of the Moghuls, iii. 748.

*Cherson.* Vide *Kherson.*

*Chest of Arms*, a sealed one sent as a diplomatic dispatch, ii. 625.

CHINA, how first peopled, ii. 460. Invasions, 488, et seq. Invaded by Ougtai Kaan, 542. Final conquest, and self-devotion of the monarch Altan Khaun, 543. Further wars, 556. Inland communication with India, 559. Embassy to Teymur, iii. 217. Internal anarchy, 300. Geographical details of route through Tartary, 302. Designs of conquest by Teymur, 470, et seq. March of Moghul army, and death of Teymur, *ib.* Further proceedings, 486.

CHRISTIANS, persecuted and branded as idolaters by the khalif Ul Mutewukkel, ii. 151, et seq.

CHRISTIANITY, encouraged in Moghul Tartary, ii. 551. Changes in Persia, 578.

*Chronograms*, ii. 647. Of the poet Abd-ul-Kader, iii. 519. Persian, 552, 557, 575. Curious one respecting sultan Abu Saeid, 659. Another, 698. Of sultan Baber's death, 709. Of Deinpunnah, 714. Of Surat, 726. Of Ekhtiaur Khaun, 738. Of the Portuguese, 751. Of Sheir Khaun, 824.

*Chronology*, Oriental, how observed antecedent to the Hidjerah, i 126.

*Chronology*, Persian, how corrected, ii. 574.

*Chumbul*, river, a boundary of the Dehly empire, iii. 715.

*Chunaur*, its history, and siege by Homayun, iii. 713, 758.

*Cimmerian shades*, iii. 195.

CIRCASSIA, subjugated by the Moghuls, ii. 544. Invasion of by Teymur, iii. 199.

*Circesium*, (Kerkessia), taken by the insurgents of Mekkah, i. 426.

*Civet*, extraordinary treat at Baghdad, ii. 108.

*Clemency*, Tartarian, extraordinary instance of, iii. 3.

*Commerce*, its security in Persia and Tartary, ii. 401

*Conjunction*, planetary, its supposed consequences, ii. 620.

*Conquest*, Tartarian ceremony of marking, iii. 102.

*Constantine*, Greek emperor, succeeds Heraclius, i. 94. His troops defeated in Africa, 157. Unfortunate naval expedition against Egypt, 164. Perishes by treachery, 165.

CONSTANTINOPLE, first assailed by the Mosslems, i. 383. Attacked by Mosslemah, in the reign of Leo, 496, 513. Extraordinary anecdote of Mosslemah, who enters the city alone, 516. Threatening embassy from Teymur, iii. 404. Taken by Mahommed the second, the Othman emperor, 582.

*Corea*, peninsula of, early history, ii. 491.

*Cossacs*, invaded by Teymur, iii. 202.

*Court*, Royal, a brilliant one, ii. 351.

*Cow Sacred*, of the Ganges, iii. 275.

CRETE, island of, captured by the Mosslems, ii. 140.

CRUSADES, first noticed, ii. 205, 326, 327. Affairs in Palestine in the 13th century, at the irruption of Jenguiez, 499. Capture of the fortresses of Anatolia, from the Knights of St. John, by Teymur, iii. 412, et seq.

*Ctesiphon*, taken by the Mosslems, i. 121.

*Cuckoldom*, anecdote of revenge, ii. 415.

*Cydnus*, river of, ii. 141.

CYPRUS, reduced to the Mosslem yoke, i. 158.

CYRUS, the Great, some notice of, ii. 272.

D

DABSHELEIM, Rajah, placed by Sultan Mahmud over his Indian conquests, ii. 290, et seq.

*Daghestaun*, princes of, submit to the Mosslems, i. 566.

DAMASCUS, expedition against, i. 53. Besieged, 60. Citizens instigated to revolt by Manweiah, 237. Proceedings in regard to the Khelaufût, after death of Manweiah the second, 420. Suffers under a dreadful plague, 454. Extraordinary magnificence of the mosque, 482. Cruelties on accession of Abul Abbas, ii. 2. Surrenders to the Persian Moghuls under Hulauku Khaun, ii. 565. Siege, 623. Taken by the Moghuls under Teymur, iii. 337, et seq. Pillage and cruelties, 351.

*Dameshk*, village on the Oxus, battle of, iii. 572.

*Damashk, Khaujah*, political errors, in the royal household, ii. 662.

*Dancing*, anecdote of, ii. 434.

DANUBE, river, incursions of the Moghul tribes, ii. 544.

*Dâoûd*, son of Talıman, ii. 27.

*Darabjerd*, celebrated for its salt mines, iii. 211.

*Daur-ul-beyza*, or mansion of light, extraordinary anecdote, ii. 37.

*Daur-urrefeik*, battle of, ii. 111.

*Dawer*, on the Indus, iii. 776.

*Death*, of a sultan, provided for by himself, ii. 702.

*Debt*, national, in Persia, proposal to pay off, by paper circulation, ii. 597.

*Decorum*, oriental, anecdote of, ii. 590.

*Deer*, curious anecdote of, ii. 279.

DEHLY, invasion of the Moghul troops, iii. 219, 242, et seq. 250, 252. Occurrences preparatory to the siege, 253. Horrid massacre of prisoners by Teymur, 254. Battle, 257. Capture, 262, et seq. Destruction, 263. Description of, 266. Dispersion of inhabitants, ib. Taken by Sultan Baber after the fall of Sultan Ibrahim at the battle of Panipet, 682.

*Deinpunnah*, a town founded near Dehly, iii. 714.

*Deluge*, general, oriental traditions, ii. 457.

*Dendauny Koraish*, a slave, assassinates the Khalif Ul Amein Billah, ii. 114.

*Derbend*, (Caspiæ Portæ), revolt of the Khozzers, i. 544, 556, et seq. Extraordinary stratagem, 559. Invasion of the Moghuls under Jenguiez Khaun, ii. 514.

*Derham*, son of Nassar, his property preserved from plunder by a piece of rock salt, ii. 229.

*Derrehzengui*, battle of, between Kazan Sultan and Ameir Kuzghun, iii. 6.

*Desarts*, Tartarian, extraordinary quantities of game, iii. 108.

*Despatch*, remarkable brevity of one, ii. 240.

*Deupraug*, sacred cow, on the Ganges, iii. 275.

*Deyaulemah*, or Deylemites, their origin, ii. 155.

*Deylemites*, race of, origin and progress, ii. 252.

*Dezhfull*, village of, rich present to Teymur, iii. 138.

*Dhoulpour*, city of, iii. 689.

*Diadems*, conferred by Teymur on his generals, iii. 286.

*Diamond*, one of extraordinary value, taken at Agrah, by Homayun, son of Sultan Baber, iii. 683.

*Diaurbekir*, history of the Atabeks, ii. 418. Advance of the Teymurian army, and subsequent operations, iii. 166, 177.

*Dibalpour*, city of, iii. 242.

*Dildaur Aghatcheh Begum*, dowager of Sultan Baber, judicious policy, iii. 766.

*Dilgûshai*, or the heart expanding, romantic garden of Teymur, in the delicious lawns of Kaun-e-gull, iii. 215.

*Dilshaud Khautun*, a royal widow, ii. 673, 679.

*Diplomacy*, Tartarian, anecdotes of, iii. 103.

*Dinaur*, an Arabian coin, its value, i. 39.

*Dirhem*, an Arabian coin, its value, i. 51.

*Diu*, or Deib, city of, possessed by the Portuguese, iii. 731.

*Divorce*, curious anecdote of, ii. 79.

*Dnieper*, river, advance of Teymur, iii. 196.

*Dog*, whimsical anecdote of, ii. 233.

*Don*, river, advance of Teymur, iii. 197.

*Douab*, invaded by Teymur, iii. 268.

*Doumut-ul-jundel*, fixed on as seat of conference between Ally and Manweiah, i. 322.

*Dow's*, Indian history, iii. 906.

*Dragon*, visionary, influences the succession to the throne of Khorassaun, ii. 361.

*Dream*, extraordinary one of Hejauje on his death-bed, i. 480. Prophetic one of a Tartar prince, ii. 475. Of Jenguciz, 480.

*Dropsy*, cured by baking in an oven, ii. 150.

## E.


EARTHQUAKE, extraordinary one, ii. 152. Extraordinary one at Kabul, iii. 668.

*Eben Amran*, a Mosslem, traitorously betrays Baghdad, ii. 223.

*Eben Hobairah*, castle of, asylum of the Abbassides, ii. 123, 124.

*Ecbatana*, (Hamadaun), taken by the Mosslems, i. 136.

*Edessa*, city of, taken by Teymur, iii. 168. Remarkable for Abraham's preservation, *ib.*

*Effigy*, curious anecdote of a female one, ii. 320.

*Egrider*, fortress and lake of, iii. 419.

EGYPT, first invaded by the Mahommedans, i. 92. Revolts, 153. Further regulations, 156, 192. Propagation of the heresy of the prophet's second coming, 169. Change of governors, 232. Disturbances, 344. Conquered by Amrû the insurgent, 348. First appearance of the Crusaders, ii. 205. Destruction of the Fatimite dynasty, under the power of Saladin, 206. Foundation of Fatimite dynasty, 316. Downfal, 326. Influence of Hussun Sabah, the old man of the mountain, 331. Threats of Moghul invasion, 624, 638. Invasion of Teymur, iii. 159, et seq. Political anarchy temptiug Teymur to conquest, 300, 320. The sultan Melek Faredge acknowledges homage to Teymur, 426.

*Ehnif*, son of Keyss, conquers Hyreania and Bactriana, i. 137. Invades Herât, 163. Reaches the Oxus, 163. Cowardly policy at Bassorah, 216, 223.

*Eight*, number of, its singular coincidence in regard to the Khalif ul Mutassam, ii. 147.

*Eirvaun*, town, and the blue water lake, iii. 64.

*Eissa*, son of Ferghanshah, political intrigues, ii. 160.

*Eissa*, son of Mahommed, treachery to Ul Amein, ii. 110.

*Eissa*, son of Mahommed Ben Khalid, appointed general on death of his father, ii. 132.

*Eissa*, son of Mussa, aspires to the Khelaufut, in opposition to Ul-Munsur, ii. 7. Defeats the rebel Mahommed, 16. Extraordinary anecdote, 39.

*Eissa-abad*, scene of Ul Haudy's death, ii. 57.

*Ekhlaut*, city of, siege and pillage, ii. 415.

*Ekhlauk-e-Naussery*, or oriental Ethies, ii. 573.

*Ekhtiaur Khaun*, military and philosophical renown, iii. 736, 738, et seq.

*Eleias Khaujah*, defeated by Teymur and Husseyne, iii. 12.

*Elephants*, military anecdotes of, ii. 283, 284, 287, 311. Indian mode of arming at the battle of Dehly, iii. 257, et seq. 263.

*Eliauss Khaun*, revolts between the Jumna and Ganges, against Sultan Baber, iii. 698.

*Emanuel Palæologus*, the Greek emperor, receives a demand of tribute from Teymur, iii. 404.

*Embassy*, European, to the court of Teymur, iii. 313.

*Emesa*, city of, submits to Teymur, iii. 335.

*Emmaud-ud-doulah*, first of the Buides, ii. 253, et seq.

*Emmaud-ul-Mulk*, defeated by Homayun, iii. 742.

*Endejaun*, the capital of Ferghaunah, events connected with Sultaun Baber, iii. 664.

*Enigmatist*, Persian, receives unexpected favour, iii. 615.

*Ephesus*, invasion of the Moghuls, iii. 409.

*Epicurus*, his doctrines adopted by Mahommedan sectaries, ii. 45.

*Eras*, chronological, how observed in the East previous to Mahommed, i. 126.

*Erlaut*, tribe of, offer to restore the fallen fortunes of Abulghauzy, iii. 634.

*Erzenjaun*, prince of, submits to Teymur, iii. 69.

*Erzeroum*, advance of Teymur, iii. 380.

*Eskunder Shah*, prince of Kashmeir, submits to Teymur, iii. 234, 283.

*Eskunder Sheikhy*, villainous proposal during the siege of Herat, iii. 28. Revolt and pursuit of 451, et seq.

*Eskunder Sultaun*, military opposition to Sheir Khaun, iii. 775.

*Eskunder*, the Turkoman. Vide *Kara Yussuf;* also iii. 552. Murdered, 554.

*Ettelmesh*, a Teymurian chief, imprisoned in Egypt, released as an ambassador of homage, iii. 426.

*Euclid*, studied by a Tartar monarch, ii. 573.

EUPHRATES, first passed by Mussulmauns, i. 99. Military operations of the khalif Ally on its banks, 263. Extraordinary battle, 270. Passage of the Teymurian troops in pursuit of sultan Ahmed, iii. 155.

EUROPE, invaded by the descendants of Jenguiez Khaun, ii. 544.

*Euxine Sea*, advance of Teymur, iii. 196.

*Executions*, extensive, under Mangu Kaan, ii. 556.

*Eykû Teymur*, military gallantry and death, iii. 117.

*Eyldekez*, a slave, extraordinary adventures of, and rise to regal power, ii. 421.

*Eylderum Bayezzed Ghazy*. Vide *Bajazet*.

*Eyle Khaun*, history and conquests, ii. 468.

*Eylek Khaun*, of Turkestaun, ii. 249, 250.

*Eylek Turkman*, or Turkan, ii. 493.

*Eyleknaunian* dynasty, its rise, progress, &c. ii. 697.

*Eynaunje*, governor of Rey, secret murder, ii. 377, 382.

*Ezz-ud-dein Muzuffer*, introduces paper circulation into Persia in the 13th century, ii. 596.

*Ezz-ud-doulah-Bukhtiaur*, becomes Ameir-ul-Umra, ii. 185. Disputes with the Mamluks, 186, and death,

*Ezz-ul-Mulk*, of the race of Buyah, ii. 270.

*Ezzed-ud-doulah*, of the race of Buyah, ii. 258.

*Ezzetmelek*, the adulterous wife of Sheik Hussun, murders her husband, ii. 689.

F

FAEIK, political adventures of, ii. 244, et seq.

*Fakher-ud-dein*, treacherous cruelty in Syria, ii. 564.

*Fakher-ud-dein Futtah-ullah*, a learned Persian, ii. 674.

*Fakher-ud-doulah*, of the race of Buyah, ii. 261.

*Falcon*, a bird of omen among the Persians, iii. 584.

*Falsehood*, oriental, how punished, ii. 581.

*Faridge*, a Persian chief, defends Baghdad, iii. 360, et seq.

*Farsang*, an oriental measure of distance, iii. 247.

*Fatima*, daughter of Mahommed, her husband's intrigues, i. 11. Claims of her descendants, ii. 3,15.

*Fatima*, a female Khorassaunian captive, curious anecdote, ii. 548, et seq.

FATIMITE KHALIFS, in Egypt; Mahommed Ul Mehedy, founds the dynasty, ii. 316. Its progress, 317, et seq. Schisms, 323. Downfall, 326.

*Fawn*, curious anecdote of, ii. 279.

*Fazzel*, son of Abbas, his gallantry at the battle of Waudy ul jinn, i. 416.

*Fazzel*, son of Rabbeia, vezzier to Ul Amein, ii. 90, et seq. 108, 131.

*Fazzel*, son of Sohel, vezzeir to Ul Mamun, ii. 118, 133, 138.

*Fazzel*, son of Yaheya, foster-brother of Harun ur Rashid, ii. 58. His power, 60, 66.

*Females*, sacrificed on the tomb of a Persian monarch, ii. 572.

*Ferdoussy*, the Persian poet, seeks shelter in the court of the Khalif ul Kader, ii. 190.

*Ferghaunah*, province of, described, iii. 663.

*Ferhaud*, a celebrated sculptor of antiquity, iii. 141.

*Ferishtah*, the historian, anecdote from his work, ii. 278. History of Teymur's expedition, iii. 256, ante et seq.

*Fermully*, a noted Afghan chief, iii. 684.

*Ferrengs*, or Franks, first noticed, ii. 205.

*Feyrouz Khaun*, submits to sultan Baber at Agrah, iii. 687.

*Feyrouz Shah*, emperor of Hindustaun, iii. 219.

*Feyrouzabad*, plains of, encampment of Teymur's army, iii. 256. Battle, 257, 267.

*Feyrouzan*, a Persian general, loses battle of Nihawend, i. 129. Killed, 133.

*Feyrouskoh*, fortress of, iii. 57.

*Finance*, anecdotes of, ii. 586, 596.

*Financial Crimes*, punished by Teymur, iii. 211.

*Finauket*, city of, taken by Jenguiez, ii. 506.

*Fire*, worshippers of, extraordinary destruction of their temple at Herât, ii. 227.

*Flattery*, submissive, extraordinary instance of, iii. 62.

*Flood*, general, oriental traditions, ii. 457.

*Forests*, how passed by Teymur's army, iii. 130.

*Fortune*, extraordinary change of, ii. 76. Sudden change of, 293.

*Foshunge*, town of, gallant but ineffectual resistance of Teymur, iii. 26.

*Fountain*, miraculous one at Edessa, iii. 168.

*Franks*, first noticed, ii. 205.

*Furrukhzaud*, eleventh of the race of Ghiznin, ii. 303.

*Furs*, Tartarian, the districts which supply, iii. 102.

*Futtah*, son of Khâkan, becomes vezzeir to the Khalif Ul Mutewukkel, with unprecedented powers, ii. 152. Loses his life through fidelity, 154.

*Futtah Khaun Shirwauny*, joins the Moghuls, iii. 690.

*Futtahabad*, town of, taken by Teymur with horrid slaughter, iii. 248.

*Futtahpour*, battle of, between Sultan Baber and Rana Sanka, iii. 693.

G

GALLIPOLI, in Thrace, retreat of the Othmans, iii. 405.

*Game*, anecdote of, ii. 534.

GANGES, first noticed, during Teymur's invasion, iii. 268. Advance of Teymur, 270, et seq. Naval combat, 271. First passed by the Moghuls, 272. Sacred cow, 275. State of the feudatories of Dehly, at the Moghul invasion, 684. Advance of Sultan Baber, 703. Extraordinary prophecy of an astrologer in regard to the conquest of Bengal by Sheir Khaun, 757. Extraordinary circumstances on its passage by Homayun in front of the Afghans, 773.

*Geography*, Tartarian, explained by the expedition of Mirza Eskunder, iii. 300, et seq.

*Georgia*, subjugated by Sultan Mahmûd, ii. 286. Invasion of by the Teymurian troops, subse-

quent devastations, iii. 183, et seq. Its inhabitants rebel against the Tartar oppression, 294, 304, et seq. Further Teymurian proceedings, 434, et seq.

*Getæ*, territory of, iii. 7.

*Ghazan Khaun*, seventh of the Perso-Moghul monarchs, ii. 592, 603, et seq. Military proceedings, 604. Becomes a Mahommedan, 610. Various revolts, 612. Forces his Moghuls to embrace Islamism, 611. Planetary conjunction, and consequent misfortunes, 621. Negociations with Egypt, 624. Invades Syria, 626. Defeat of his troops, 628. Dies, 631. Character, &c. 632.

*Ghazaunia*, town of, ii. 626.

*Ghazipour*, submits to Sultan Baber, iii. 703.

*Ghauffeky*, murders the khalif Othman, i. 180.

*Ghauzi Khaun*, his library taken by Sultan Baber, iii. 676.

*Gheffer*, battle of, between Yezzeid-ben Mohilleb and Mosslemah, i. 535.

*Gherjistaun*, ii. 286.

*Gherraur*, son of Ul Adehem, chivalrous anecdote at battle of Seffeine, i. 289.

*Gheyauth-ud-dein*, his perfidy, ii. 668.

*Gheyauth-ud-dein*, prince of Herat, evades the assumed sovereignty of Teymur, iii. 22. Hostilities with Teymur, 23, et seq. Death, 40.

*Gheyauth-ud-dein Mahoumed*, a virtuous minister, slain by rebels, ii. 677.

*Gheznians*, their empire ends, ii. 205.

*Gheznin*, city of, taken by the Maumluks, ii. 243.

*Ghezz*, founder of the Moghul Ghezzians, ii. 459.

*Ghoudug*, grand-son of Noah, first discovers the culinary use of salt, ii. 458.

*Ghour*, sultans of, ii. 453.

GHOURIAN dynasty, founded in Ghezny, ii. 316. Origin and history, with succession of their sultans, 453, 456. Account of various branches, *ib.*

*Ghoury*, fortified post of, on the Hindu Koh, iii. 889.

*Ghoutah*, a romantic station near Damascus, iii. 352.

*Ghûr* (*Ghour*), conquered by Mahmud, ii. 286.

*Ghuzzi*, a horde of Turkomâns, settle in Tartary, ii. 366.

*Gibraltar*, receives its name from the Saracens, i. 471.

*Gold*, circulation of, prohibited in Persia, ii. 597.

*Gouher Ayein*, takes captive the Greek emperor Romanus, ii. 349.

*Gouhershaud*, a Moghul dowager, iii. 561, 567, et seq.

*Gour*, the ancient capital of Bengal, iii. 757.

*Gourkherr*, or wild ass, a beast of chase in Tartary, iii. 91.

*Graabs*, or gallies, burnt at Cambay, iii. 732.

GREECE, first assailed by the Mosslems, i. 383. Rise of the Othman power, iii. 314. Invasion by the Moghul armies of Teymur, 383, et seq.

*Gubbers* (Guebres), remains of the ancient magi in Kurdestaun, iii. 150.

*Gui Tchougan*, or horse golf, a Persian game, ii. 243.

*Guikkers*, or Kahkaras, first mentioned, ii. 284.

*Guilán*, becomes the refuge of the rebel Yaheya, ii. 61. Invasion by the Moghuls, 636. Submits and becomes tributary to the Moghuls under Teymur, iii. 63. Revolt and subsequent subjugation by Teymur, 448.

*Guirje*, battle of, ii. 351.

*Gujerat*, invaded by sultan Mahmud, ii. 288. et seq. becomes the retreat of sultan Mahmud after the defeat at Dehli, iii. 262. Sultan Bahauder makes peace with the emperor Homayun, 714. Further hostilities, 718, et seq.

*Gulandauz*, or artillerymen, romantic story of, iii. 888.

*Gulph* of *Persia*, islands taken by the atabek of Farss, ii. 427.

*Gumbuz*, at Samarkand, the mausoleum of Teymur, iii. 485.

*Gungoutra*, celebrated descent of the Ganges, iii. 275.

*Gunpowder*, first noticed in oriental warfare, during the invasion of Hindustaun, in the sixteenth century, iii. 678.

*Gurgân*, city of, on the Caspian Sea, description, siege, and destruction, i. 498, et seq. 504.

*Gurgestan*, invasion and cruelties of the Moghuls, ii. 513.

*Gurkhaun*, battle with, both armies fly, ii. 399, et seq.

*Gûrkhaun*, a Tartar prince, ii. 487, 492. A Chinese title, &c. further history, 493.

*Gurrah*, or celestial globe, practical pun, iii. 847.

*Gurrhy*, town of, the key of Bengal, iii. 760.

*Gurrumseyr*, on the Persian sea coast, ii. 447.

*Gurrumseyr*, the sultry region of, near Kandahaur, iii. 833.

*Guyang*, a voluptuous queen, her fate, ii. 493.

*Guyug Khaun*, second of the successors of Jenguiez, ii. 548, 554.

*Guzz*, a Hindustauny measure of length, iii. 711.

*Gwaliar*, fortress of, submits to Baber, iii. 691.

## H

*HABSHY*, a strong fortress in Kurdestaun, taken by Teymur, iii. 149.

*Hadjekan*, country of, described, iii. 795.

*Hadjies*, their dangers on pilgrimage, ii. 124.

*Hadjy Begum*, empress and consort of Homayun, respectfully treated by the Afghans, at the surprise of the camp of Yossah, iii. 773.

*Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein*, iii. 371, ante, et seq.

*Hadjy Shurruf*, prince of Betlis, submits to Teymur, iii. 180.

*Halleb* (Aleppo). besieged, i. 83. Besieged by the Persian Moghuls under Hulauku Khaun, ii. 564. Battle between Teymur and the Syrians, iii. 328. Siege and capture, 330.

*Hama*, a Syrian fortress, siege of, iii. 333.

*Hamadaun* (Ecbatana), taken by Mosslems, i. 136· Revolt, 137. ii. 99. Captured by Teymur, metaphorical flattery, &c. iii. 148.

*Hamdullah-ul Mustoûffy*, the Persian historian, ii. 673.

*Hamed*, son of Abdul Hamed, defeats the people of Baghdad, ii. 132.

*Hameid*, captures the rebel Abû Serraya, ii. 125.

*Hameida Baunu*, consort of Homayun, and mother of Akbar, iii. 796, 808, 835, et seq.

*Hamess*, town of, taken, i. 70. Abandoned, 74.

*Hamid*, a strong city of Dianrbekir, besieged by Teymur, iii. 178.

*Hamidpour*, town of, near Feyrouzabad, iii. 767.

*Hamrein*, fortress of, capture, and extraordinary anecdote of female fortitude, i. 566.

*Hamzah*, cousin of Mahommed, his heart devoured by Hinda, i. 47.

*Hannibal*, compared with the Moghul emperor Homayun, iii. 762.

*Haneifah*, Mahommed, his origin, founder of an orthodox sect, i. 52.

*Haouz-e-Khauss*, or royal tank at Dehly, iii. 260, 262.

*Harâm*, Mahommedan feelings in regard to the fair sex, i. 542.

*Harethmah*, appointed by Harun to quell revolts in Khorassaun, ii. 80. Treachery, 82. Military proceedings under Ul Amein, and Ul Mamun, 106, 124, et seq. 128. Insults the khalif Ul Mamun, and is put to death, 129.

*Harquebusiers*, first noticed at battle of Futtahpour, or Khanwah, iii. 697.

*Harran*, battle of, i. 240.

*Harran*, city of, in Mesopotamia, murder of Khorassaunites, ii. 8.

*Harthem*, son of Hauzem, leads people of Baghdad to attack Waussit, ii. 123.

Harûn Ur Raschid appointed successor to the Khelaufut, ii. 26. Extraordinary anecdote, 30. Conduct on his brother's accession 40. Political intrigues of his mother, 53. Succeeds his brother in the Khelaufut, 58. Extraordinary discovery of a ring, 59. Re-peoples the ancient city of Tuss, 60. Declares his infant son heir to the succession, *ib.* Various revolts, 61. Removes seat of empire from Baghdad to Rakkah, on the Euphrates, 63. Expedition against the Greek empire, *ib.* Visits the holy cities, and apportions the empire between his two sons, 64. His cruelty to the Barmecides, 65. Orders the murder of Yaheya, the Husseynite, 72. Anecdotes of luxury and cruelty, 73. Murder of the Barmecides, 75. Hostilities against the Greek emperor, 78. Revolts in Khorassaun, and in Tartary, 80, 83. Journey into Khorassaun, 84, et seq. Cruelties, 87. Prophetic dreams and death, 88. His family, 89.

*Hashaum*, son of Abdulmelek, succeeds his brother Yezzeid in the Khelaufut, i. 547. Generous conduct towards the insulted Sauid, son of Amrû, 555. Military and general policy, 568. Extends conquests in Africa, *ib.* Dies, 571.

*Hassanah*, led by her jealousy, unwittingly poisons the Khalif Mehedy, ii. 32.

*Haujeb Ally*, incontinence and retaliation, ii. 415.

*Haujeb Toghatekein*, first leads the Moghuls across the Ganges, ii. 305.

*Hauty Beloutch*, captain of banditti, his generous conduct, iii. 833.

*Hazaurah*, tribes of, rebellion, and subjugation of, by Shah Rokh, iii. 535.

*Hazaurasp*, city of, besieged, ii. 391.

*Hazauraspides*, race of, ii. 430.

*Hazaurben*, fortress of, besieged by Teymur, iii. 48.

*Head of Sauid*, speaks after being cut off, i. 479.

*Heirmend*, river of, its embankments destroyed by the sounds of triumph of Teymur's army, iii. 47, 835.

*Hejauje*, son of Orrciah, unsuccessful diplomacy, i. 242.

*Hejauje*, son of Yussuf, assumes command against Yemen, i. 448. Various revolutionary contests, 455, et seq.. Dies, 477, 479. Cruelties, 480.

*Hejauz*, province of, lost to the house of Abbas, ii. 187.

*Heliopolis*, attacked by insurgent Arabs, i. 349.

*Hellah*, on the Euphrates, ii. 625.

*Hellespont*, Othman invasion of, iii. 314.

Heraclius, the Greek emperor, first opposes Mahommed, i. 4. Loses Damascus, 62. Extraordinary negociations respecting Palestine, 66. Political anecdote, 71. Defeated at Yermûk, 75, et seq. Loses Syria and Palestine, 79. Retreats from Antioch, 83. Dies, 94.

*Herât*, city of, in Khorassaun, extraordinary re-edification of a mosque, ii. 227, 236. Invasion and siege by the Moghul armies of Jenguiez, 526. Invasion of Teymur, siege and subjugation, iii. 24,

et seq. Taken by rebels, 40. Depopulation by a pestilence, 553. Civil contests, 631, et seq. Description of the city, 641, 657.

*Hesheim*, son of Shoabah, anecdote, ii. 106.

*Hessaur Feyrouzah*, city of, conquered by Sultan Baber, iii. 677.

*Heyder*, son of Kawass, defeats the impostor Baubek Khorremdein, ii. 143.

*Heyder*, an old and faithful follower of Teymur, sacrificed to political faction, iii. 210.

*Hidjer-ul-Asswad*, or black rock of the Kaaubah, stolen by the schismatic Kerahmitans, ii. 176. Restored, 184.

*Hidjerah*, or Mahommedan æra, first established, i. 126.

*Himmu*, an unjust minister in Hindustaun, iii. 914.

*Hinda*, wife of Abû Soffeyan, devours the heart of Hamzah the martyr, i. 47.

*Hindal Mirza*, son of Sultan Baber. Vide *Sultan Baber*, *passim*, also *Homayun*. Confirmed in his government of Alwer by his brother the Emperor Homaynn, iii. 712. Military proceedings, 748. Revolt and treason, 763. Events connected with the Afghan usurpation, 771, et seq. Further events during the misfortunes of Homayun, and final retribution, 831, et seq.

*Hindu Beg*, a general of Sultan Baber, betrays his trust, iii. 675.

HINDUSTAUN, first threatened by the Mosslems, i. 123. Irruption of the Tartars, under Sebekteggin, ii. 277. Invaded by Sultan Mahmud, 281, et seq. Further invasions, 299, 305. End of the Ghezuian power, 314. Invasion of Sultan Mahommed, 363. State of at the period of the Moghul irruption, 498, 520. Projects of Jengneiz, 533. Inland communication with China, 559. Invasion of Termahsherin Khaun of Tûraun, iii. 5. Irruption of Tartar tribes, 83. Of Peir Mahommed with the Moghuls, 219. Teymur crosses the Indus, 234. Advances towards Dehly, 242. Horrible massacre of prisoners by Teymur, 254. Defeat of Sultan Mahmud, and capture of Dehly, 260, et seq. Destruction of the capital, 263. Further conquests of Teymur, 268. He reaches the Ganges, 270, et seq. Immense quantities of forest game, 286. Early designs of Sultan Baber, 667. Various attempts at Invasion, 671, et seq. Fifth expedition, and final conquest, 675, et seq. Battle of Sersawah, 678. Battle of Panipet, 679. Fate of the empire decided by the fall of Sultan Ibrahim, 680. Capture of Agrah and Dehly, 682. Division of accumulated treasures, 683. Division of feudal power at the Moghul invasion, 684, 694. Death of Sultan Baber, 708. Improvements in topography during his reign, 711. Victories and extended fame of the Emperor Homayun, 714. Supremacy of the Moghul, 715. Conquests of the Portugueze first noticed, 731, 750. Battle of Yohssah, defeat of Homayun, rise of Afghan power upon the ruins of the Moghul empire, 771, et seq. Reascendancy of Moghul fortune, 850, et seq. Accession of the Emperor Akbar, to the throne of Dehly, 947.

*Hobairah*, the Kûlanbite, extraordinary mission into Tartary, i. 483.

*Holy Land*. Vide *Palestine*.

HOMAYUN, son of sultan Baber, iii. 676, et seq. Early military prowess, 677. Conquest of Dehly, 680, et seq. Takes an extraordinary diamond at Agrah, 683. Marches against the Afghans, 689, et seq. Return to Agrah, and political character, 704. Illness, 706. Extraordinary act of parental self-devotion, *ib*. Recovery, 707. Declared heir to the throne of Hindustaun, 708. Accession on the death of sultan Baber, genealogy, 711. His character at accession, by the oriental historians, 712. Confirms his brothers in their several governments, *ib*. Commences military operations, and besieges Kalinjer, 713, et seq. Fame extended over the Peninsula, 714. Defeats various rivals, 715. Also revolt of his brother Mirza Kamraun, forgiveness and generosity, 717. Designs on Bengal, and contest with sultan Bahauder of Gujerat, 718, 725, et seq. Invades Cambay, and first sees the ocean, 732. Completes the conquest of Gujerat, 733. Saved from treachery by an old woman, 735. Personally storms the fortress of Tchampaneir, 736. Festivities and extraordinary revolt, 739. Hostilities with Afghan chiefs, &c. 749, et seq. General pacification, 753. Expedition against Bengal, 757, et seq. Various revolts, 764. Conquers Bengal and fixes his residence there, 768. Further hostilities with Sheir Khaun, defeat at Yohssah, flight and subsequent adventures, 771, et seq. Defeat at Kanonge, 781. Revolts, changes of politics, &c. 790, et seq. Marries, 796. Fortitude revives on the birth of Akbar, 808. Induced by treachery to take refuge in the Persian territories, 815, et seq. 833. Reception by Shah Tahmasp, 837, et seq. Receives military assistance from the Sovereign of Persia, 845. Progress through that Empire, 847, et seq. Returns to retrieve his fortunes, 848, et seq. Various successes, 855. Generosity towards his humbled brother Asskery, 861. Advance towards Kabûl, 872. Takes Kabul, and recovers possession of his son Akbar, 876. Advances against Balkh, 895. Misfortunes and defeats, 900, 905. Advances to the Indus with better fortune, 919. Gains the battle of Sehrind, 924. Retakes Dehly, 926. Re-establishes his empire, 927. Political regulations, character, &c. &c. 930, et seq. Splendour, 935. Curious inventions, 941. Inflexible justice, 943. Illness, 944. Prophetic inspiration and fatal accident, 946. Demise and consequences, 947. Extent of his empire, &c. 948, et seq.

*Honours*, military, conferred by Teymur, iii. 117.

*Hormuz*, invasion by Teymur, iii. 212.

*Hormuzan*, the astronomer, assists in forming the Hidjerah, i. 126. Murdered by Abdullah Omar, 151.

*Horoscope*, of the Khalif Ul-Amein, ii. 116.

*Horses*, anecdote of, ii. 535.

*Howz-e-Suliman*, imperial hunting mateh at, iii. 845.

*Hukkem*, son of Abi ul Auss, and uncle of Othman, death, i. 165.

HULAUKU KAUN, grandson of Jengueiz, commences hostilities against the house of Abbas, ii. 215, et seq. His title of Eyl Khaun, 217. Captures Baghdad, 220. Cruelties towards the vanquished khalif, 221. Murders the captive monarch, 222. Overturns the power of the dynasty of Almowut, 341. Further conquests, 428. Demise of his father, 543. Despatched on conquests, 556. First of the Persian monarchs of the race of Jengueiz, 563, et seq. Invades Syria, 564. Horrid cruelties, 569, 571. War with Berka Khaun, defeats, and death, 570, et seq.

*Hulwaun*, city of, captured, ii. 101. Civil contests, 106.

*Hungary*, invaded by the Moghuls, ii. 544.

*Hunting*, military anecdotes of in the great desert, iii. 108.

*Hurdwar*, city, on the Ganges, iii. 690.

*Hussaun Bonty*, a dumb man, extraordinary capacity, and diplomatic mission, i. 501.

*Hussaum-ud-doulah*, ii. 244, et seq.

*Husseyne*, son of Ally, third Imaum, his history, i. 371, 390, et seq. Affecting death, 406.

*Hûsseyne*, son of Ally, the Hussenite, rebels against Ul Haudy, ii. 42.

*Husseyne*, the Mahanite, ii. 103, et seq.

*Husseyne*, son of Munzer, his advice to Kateibah miraculously confirmed, i. 490. Fidelity towards his general, 494.

*Husseyne*, son of Munsur-ul-Hellauje, an oriental saint, ii. 174.

*Husseyne*, son of Regzuiah, subjects Syria to the power of the Keraumitah, ii. 171, et seq.

*Husseyne*, son of Saum, maritime and military adventures, ii. 453.

*Husseyne Sherbet-daur*, a political apothecary, his treason and punishment, iii. 511.

*Husseyne Temeir*, ambitious views at Mekkah, after the death of Khalif Yezzeid, i. 418. Slain, 437.

*Hussun*, last khalif of the Kholfa Rashedein, elected, i. 365. Attacked by Mauweiah, and resigns, 366. Poisoned by his wife, 369.

*Hussun*, son of Abu Shujah, ii. 257.

*Hussun*, son of Mahommed, fourth of the Almowut dynasty, ii. 337.

*Hussun*, son of Sohel, unexpected rise to the government of Baghdad, ii. 119. Further proceedings, 130, et seq.

*Hussun*, son of the Khalif Ul Hafez, poisoned by his father, ii. 324.

*Hussun*, son of Zeid-ul-Baukery, revolts, ii. 157.

*Hussun Bassory*, patriotic resistance to the usurpation of Yezzeid at Bassorah, i. 532.

*Hussun, Eben-ul-Eftess*, takes possession of Mekkah at the head of the pilgrims, ii. 124, 126.

*Hussun Jandaur*, betrays hospitality, ii. 373.

*Hussun Kohtbah*, succeeds his father in military command, i. 597. Enters Kufah in support of the house of Abbas, 598. Proceeds against Waussit, ii. 2.

*Hussun ul Askery*, eleventh Imaum, his history, i. 376.

*Hussun Sabah*, the old man of the mountain, proclaims the doctrines of the Issmauilians, ii. 196. Dies, 201. Increase of the Nezzaurian power, and extent of their assassinations, 324. History, 327, et seq.

*Hyreania*, (Tebristaun), subdued by the Mosslems, i. 137. Invaded by Yezzeid, 500.

*Hydaspes*, river, iii. 237.

## I

IBRAUHIM, representative of the house of Abbas, put to death by the Khalif Merwaun, i. 592.

*Ibrauhim*, twelfth of the race of Gheznin, ii. 304.

*Ibrauhim*, son of Malek Ashtur, joins in conspiracy to revenge the blood of Ally, i. 432. Proceeds against Obaidullah Zeiaud, 436. Slain in battle, 445.

*Ibrauhim*, son of Mehedy, accepts the offered Khelaufut, ii. 136. Disgraced and pardoned, 140.

*Ibrauhim*, the Samanian, ii. 240.

*Ibrauhim*, son of Walid, succeeds to the Khelaufut, i. 574. Deposed, 575.

*Ibrauhim Abdullah*, brother of Mahommed Abdullah, revolts against Ul-Munsur, ii. 16.

*Ibrauhim-ul-Jezzaur*, or the butcher, revolts against Ul Mamun, ii. 126.

*Idiot*, placed on a Tartarian throne, iii. 611.

*Illumination* of manuscripts by the Orientals, iii. 735

IMAUMET and Khelaufut, the Pontifical and Civil authorities lodged in the person of the khalif, i. 20, *et passim*. Its further history, after the murder of Ally and of Hussun, the khalifs, 370, et seq.

*Incapacity*, curious experiment on, ii. 39.

*Incest*, leads to the destruction of the sect of Zendicism, ii. 51.

INDUS, river of, its banks invaded by the Tartars, ii. 277, 520. First crossed by the Moghuls under Peir Mahommed, grandson of Teymur, iii. 219. Crossed by Teymur, 234. Crossed by Sultan Baber in his third expedition, iii. 674.

*Infidels*, extraordinary order for their destruction at Samarkand, i. 476.

*Institutes* of Teymur, iii. 256.

*Ionia*, overrun by the Moghul armies, iii. 409.

IRAK, conquered by the Mussulmans, i. 53. Military operations, 97.

*Irak Ajem*, taken by Sultan Mahmud, ii. 294. Subjugated by Teymur. iii. 70, et seq.

*Irak, Arabian*, history of the Atabeks, ii. 418.

*Iran*, failure of the race of Jenguiez, ii. 674.

*Iran Shah*, fourth of the Seljuks in Kermaun, ii. 384.

*Irgnah Koun*, the romantic glen, ii. 469.

*Irjaub*, an Afghan fortress, iii. 229.

*Iron*, mountain of, a passage cut through, ii. 470.

*Irtish*, river, operations of the Moghul armies, iii. 93.

ISFAHAUN, captured by the Mosslems, i. 136. Made the seat of empire by Sultaun Melek Shah, ii. 352. Invasion of Teymur, iii. 70. Massaere of the citizens, 72. Taken by Teymur, 148. By Shah Rokh, 525.

*Ishauk*, son of Mûssa, defeats Mahommed, son of Jauffer, and captures Mekkah, ii. 127.

*Islamabad*, formerly Khousset, iii. 894.

*Ismaeil I.* first Persian monarch of the House of Seffy, iii. 620.

*Isslâm*. Vide *Mahommedism*.

*Issmauil*, son of Ebbaud, a virtuous Vezzeir, ii. 261.

*Issmauil*, third monarch of Gheznin, ii. 279. Usurpation and death, 280.

*Issmauil*, son of Jauffer-ul-Saudek, founder of an heretical sect, ii. 167.

*Issmauil*, son of Nouh, last of the Samanides, ii. 252.

*Issmauil*, son of Sâman, suppresses the usurpation of the Sûfauriah, ii. 171.

*Issmâuilian Race*. Vide *Egypt*, also ii. 316, et seq.

*Issrâeil*, son of Seljuk, unhappy fate, ii. 345.

*Istakhar*, (Persepolis) taken by the Mosslems, i 138, 160.

*Izmeir*. Vide *Smyrna*.

J

JABAN, a Persian General, anecdote of defeat, i. 98.

*Jagueir*, application of the term, iii. 686.

*Jahangueir Kuly Beg*, left in command of the Moghul troops in Bengal, iii. 769.

*Jahaun-nemâ*, imperial palaces of Feyrouz Shah, iii. 252.

*Jahaun Pehelwaun*, the peerless knight of the world, ii, 378, 422.

*Jahaun Sultan*, a Moghul princess, matrimonial jealousy, iii. 474.

*Jahaun Teymur*, fourteenth of the Persomoghul monarchy, ii. 686.

*Jaick*, river of, Teymurian invasion, iii. 111.

*Jaidah*, daughter of Aishauth, treacherously poisons her husband the Khalif Hussun, i. 369.

*Jalula*, military operations at, i. 124.

*Jaroûd*, a river near Mossule, decisive battle at, i. 437.

*Jasper*, supplied by the rivers of Khoten, iii. 302.

*Jatts*, Hindu marauders, iii. 248.

*Jaudah*, son of Hobeirah, chivalric contest at Seffeine, i. 279.

*Jauffer*, son of Ul Hady, intended by his father for the throne, ii. 54. Abdicates his claims, 58.

*Jauffer Barmekky*, of the family of the Barmecides, genealogy of, i. 467; and elevation to the Viziership, 512. His power under Harun, ii. 62. Politic conduct, 67. Matrimonial anecdote, 71. Remarkable circumstances of his murder, 73.

*Jauffer-ul-Saudek*, sixth Imaum, his history, i. 373.

*Jauny Beg Khaun*, the Ousbek prince, overthrows Melek Ashruf, ii. 695.

*Jauriah*, son of Kedaumah, expostulates with the widow of Mahommed at Bassorah, i. 200.

*Jauthleik*, a village of Irak, battle at, i. 445.

*Jautts*, mountain tribes, exterminated, ii. 294.

*Jazzua*, rebels in Khaurezm, ii. 349.

*Jebreil*, son of Yekshua, physician to Harun, curious medical practice, ii. 84, 88.

*Jeddahtaush*, or sacred stone of Noah, its history, ii. 457, et seq. Defeat of Teymur, at the battle of the Sloughs, attributed to its mysterious influence, iii. 13.

*Jeib*, son of Musselma, invades Asia Minor, i. 153, et seq. And Armenia, 155. Suspended, 156.

JENGUEIZ KAUN, birth and origin, and miraculous circumstances therewith connected, ii. 203. Roused to vengeance by the slaughter of his subjects at Otraur, 210. Planetary portents, 379. Various, 401. Victories in Khaurezm, 410, et seq. Miraculous lineage, 472, 474. His birth, 479. General history, 480, et seq. Prophetic dreams, *ib*. Early difficulties and adventures, 482. Conquers the Keraeit, 484, 488. Receives the appellation of Jenguiez, 486. Further conquests, 487. Invades China, 488. Immense treasures gained, 492. Final conquest of China and Tartary, 497. General state of Asia at the period of the Moghul irrup-

tion, 499. Advances to the Jeyhun, and pours his troops over Asia, 500, et seq. Capture and destruction of Bokhara, 503. Of Otrar, 504. Further conquests, 510. Horrid cruelties, 520, et seq. Completes the subjugation of the Persian empire, 533. Various revolts, 535. Political preparations for his demise, and proposed division of his empire, 537. Death, character, anecdotes, &c. 538. Political arrangements after his demise, 540, et seq.

*Jerkah*, or grand hunting match of Jenguiez Khaun, ii. 534.

*Jerrauh*, son of Abdullah, cruelties towards the revolted Khozzers, i. 546. Confirmed governor of Armenia, 547. Slain, 549.

*Jerreir*, son of Abdullah ul Bekheli, rebellion against Ally, and subsequent employment by the khalif, i. 250, 256.

JERUSALEM, besieged, i. 84, et seq. Curious prediction, 85. Surrenders to Omar, 87.

*Jesselmeir*, rajah of, iii. 806.

*Jettah*, (Getæ) country of, hostilities with Teymur, iii. 41. Expedition of Mirza Eskunder, with geographical details, 300, et seq.

JEWS, their connection with, and desertion of Mahommed, i. 7. Jerusalem taken, 84, et seq. Persecuted and branded by the Khalif ul Mutewukkel, ii. 151, et seq. Their physicians and astronomers at the Persian Court, 578.

*Jeyhun* river, (Oxus) passed by the Mosslems under Obeidullah, i. 384.

*Jeypaul*, Prince of Lahour, defeated by Sultaun Mahmud, sacrifices himself, ii. 281.

*Jezzeirah*, (Upper Mesopotamia) revolts in favor of Mauweiah, i. 239. Devastated by Teymur, iii. 176.

JORDAN, river of, first crossed by the Mahommedans, i. 85.

*Joudahpour*, country of, faithful to Homayun, iii. 802, et seq. Hostile, 804.

*Joughlik*, battle of, iii. 75, 80.

*Jounah*, forest of, becomes the sanctuary of Sheir Khaun, iii. 755.

*Jounpoor*, committed to Feyrouz Khaun by Sultan Baber, iii. 687, et seq.

*Joushkaub*, grandson of Hulauku, discovers a conspiracy against Arghun Khaun, ii. 589.

*Joush Kheroush*, a Teymurian chronicle, and the fate of its author, iii. 444.

*Jown*, city of, on the Indus, described, iii. 809.

*Jujy Khaun*, brother of Jenguiez, ii. 497, ante et se

*Jullaul Khaun*, son of Sheir Khaun, iii. 775, ante et seq. His fate. 825.

*Jullaul-ud-dein Hussun*, sixth of the dynasty of Almowvet, returns to Isslâmism, ii. 338.

*Jullaul-ud-Doulah*, of the race of Buyah, ii. 270.

*Jullaul-ul-islaum*, a Teymurian minister, punished, iii. 368. Resolute counsel, 377.

*Jumhour*, defeats the rebel Senbad, ii. 13. Defeat and death, *ib.*

*Jummou*, territory of, in Hindustaun, conquered by Teymur, iii. 281. River, 283.

*Jumna* river, proposed canal communication, iii. 248. Reconnoitered by Teymur, preparatory to the siege of Dehly, 252.

*Jund*, a city on the Seyhun, ii. 392. Unexpected battle, 403. Destroyed by Jenguiez, 505.

*Jund-ul-ghauleiah*, or the elvet corps, whimsical anecdote of perfumed beards, ii. 108.

*Jundeb*, son of Abi Rebbeiah, impelled by love to fight Malek Asher, is killed, i. 293.

*Jung-e-lai*, battle of, first defeat of Teymur, iii. 13.

*Junguls*, or forests on the Behant, military advance of Teymur, iii. 238.

*Jûrjah*, prince of, sends pearls to Jenguiez, ii. 536.

*Jurjaun*, province of, accession of the family of Washmagueir, ii. 272.

*Jûrjauniah*, city of, taken by the Moghuls, ii. 515.

*Justice*, speedy instances of, ii. 34, 585.

K

KAANS of the race of Jengneiz, ii. 561.

KAAUBAH at Mekkah, protected by angels during a siege, i. 450. The sacred black rock stolen by Abu Taher, a rebel schismatic, ii. 176. Restored, 184.

*Kaaub-ul-akhbaur*, foretells the death of Omar, i. 140.

KÂBUL, submission to Mahommedan sway, i. 454. Irruption of Tartar tribes, iii. 83. Invaded by the Moghuls under Teymur, 226. Canal dug, 227. Invasion by Sultan Baber in his progress to Dehly, 667. Extraordinary earthquake, 668.

*Kabul Khaun*, ii. 476.

*Kaggar*, river in Hindustaun, iii. 249.

KAHERAH, sends deputation to Medeinah for political redress, i. 175. First assailed by the crusaders, ii. 205. Becomes the seat of the Fatimite dynasty, 318, et seq. 322.

*Kahkah*, a dilapidated fortress, extraordinary reparation of, by Teymur, iii. 36.

*Kûlaub*, conquered by the Moghuls, iii. 893.

*Kalendar*, Mahommedan, commencement of the year altered, and why, ii. 170.

*Kalinjer*, besieged by the Emperor Homaynn, iii. 713.

*Kaliouss*, fortress of, ii. 529.

*Kalpy*, submits to Sultan Baber, iii. 691.

*Kambacit*. Vide *Cambay*.

*Kanaan* (Canaan) invasion of Teymur, iii. 338.

*Kandahaur*, taken by the Ghourian Tartars, ii. 313. Submits to Teymur, iii. 50. Circumstances connected with its recapture by Homayun, 868.

*Kanouge*, city of, captured by Sultan Mahmud, with extraordinary plunder, ii. 288. Its political state at the Moghul invasion, iii. 684. Battle near to, between Homayun and Sheir Khaun, in which the former is again defeated, 781.

*Kara Mahommed*, the Turkman, iii. 66, et seq.

*Kara-Sou, Kaleiny*, or Black River, in Hindustaun, iii. 270.

*Kara-Tatarian* colony, its history, as connected with Jengueiz and Teymur, iii. 428, 455.

*Kâra Yussuf*, king of Colchis, seeks protection at the court of Bajazet, iii. 312, et seq.

*Kara Yussuf*, defeats Sultan Ahmed, and takes Baghdad, iii. 435. Defeat by the Moghuls, 437. Escapes from Egypt, and resumes authority in Diaurbeker, 500. Defeats Mirza Abu Bukker, 505. Raises his son to royalty, 506. Hostilities with Shah Rokh, 539, et seq. Dies, 541.

*Karacoul*, lake of, iii. 112. Battle of, 115.

*Karaderrah*, a strong defile between Turkey and Persia, iii. 196.

*Karaghoutchur*, a sacred temple of the Moghuls, iii. 92.

*Karajery*, a slave, imposes on the Anatolians, ii. 682.

*Karakhatayan* dynasty in Kermaun, ii. 433, et seq.

*Karakorum*, its foundation as the great Tartar metropolis, ii. 461, 501.

*Kârakum*, city of, ii. 343.

*Karamania*, overrun by the Moghûls, iii. 408.

*Karamuran*, river of, ii. 483.

*Karaounauss*, or Persian militia, ii. 581.

*Karasumaun*, military station of Teymur, anecdotes of Tartarian diplomacy, iii. 103.

*Kâratchaur Nûyan*, the fifth ancestor of Teymur, prudence and power, iii. 1. Anecdote of elemency, 3. Death, 4.

*Karavauns*, interior commerce by, injured by a forced paper circulation, ii. 598.

*Karss*, plains of, described, iii. 183.

*Kashgar*, city of, ii. 251.

KASHMEIR, country of, submits to Teymur, iii. 234, 283. Its history, under the reign of the Moghul emperor, 825, et seq.

*Kateibah*, son of Mosslem, curious affair connected with his invasion of Tartary, i. 466, 469, 472, et seq. 486. Is murdered, 495.

*Kaueilah Khaun*, the Tartar Hercules, ii. 478.

*Kauerd*, son of Teheger Beg, revolts and is taken prisoner, ii. 351. Poisoned, 352, also 382.

*Kauffelah*, or Hindu caravan, iii. 871.

*Kaûkiah*, son of Amru, sent envoy to Bassorah by Ally, i. 212.

*Kaun-e-Feyrouzah*, a turquoise mine, near Neyshapour, iii. 840.

*Kaun-e-gûll*, royal gardens at Samarkand, iii. 127.

*Kaussem*, son of Mahommed ul Ally, infantine courage and death, i. 405.

*Kaussem Mutemmen*, son of the Khalif Harun, ii. 85. Degraded by his brother Ul Amein, 94. Released on the assassination of the khalif, 117.

*Kauzy Abdullah*, son of Ullayah, daring act of justice, ii. 34.

*Kauzy Abdullah Suddur*, conducts the treacherous negociations between Mirza Kamraun and Sheir Khaun, iii. 788.

*Kauzy Abu Jauffer*, preserves the allegiance of Moussule to the house of Abbas, ii. 190.

*Kauzy Sheikh Ally*, a rebel, saves himself from death by his treasures, ii. 704, 705.

*Kauzy Shums-ud-dein-Kazveiny*, forced to wear armour, in dread of assassination, ii. 216.

*Kaydu Khaun*, his escape, and reign, ii. 474.

*Kaysar*, an Egyptian traveller, punished for political lying, ii. 615.

*Kayssereiah*, attempted destruction of the inhabitants by Teymur, iii. 433.

*Kellaseffeid*, a fortress of extraordinary strength, iii. 140, et seq.

*Kemaukh*, a strong fortress, taken by Teymur, iii. 380.

*Keptchauk*. Vide *Ousbeks*. Also *Teymur*.

*Keraeit*, country of, its history, ii. 481, et seq.

*Keraumitah*, sect of, account of their opinions and heresy, ii. 167. Revolt, 171, et seq.

*Kerautchah Khaun*, well-timed loyalty towards the Emperor Homayun, iii. 879.

*Kerbela*, battle of, i. 400.

*Kerbela*, city of, insults to the mausolea of the house of Ally, ii. 152.

*Kerbela*, plain of, extraordinary gallantry of a small Moghul party, iii. 156.

*Keren*, plains of, battle of Meiran Shah and the Nikondrians, iii. 47.

*Kerhessia* (Circesium), taken by the insurgents of Mekkah, i. 426.

*Kermaun*, province of, history of Seljukian race, ii. 383, et seq.; 433, et seq.

*Kersheher*, on the banks of the ancient Halys, advance of Teymur, iii. 385.

*Kesh*, city of, ii. 24. Birth place of Teymur, 674; iii. 9.

*Ketaur*, a city on the lower Jumna, iii. 718.

*Ketour*, mountain of, its predatory inhabitants invaded by Teymur, iii. 220.

*Kettaumah*, a female of the Khouaurcdje, conspires against Ally, i. 357.

*Key Kobaud*, ninth sultan of Anatolia, ii. 387.

*Key Kobaud*, son of Feraumerz, last Seljukian sultan of Anatolia, ii. 388.

*Key Khossrou*, sultan of Anatolia, perishes in battle with the crusaders, ii. 386.

*Keyan*, son of Eyle Khaun, his romantic history, ii. 469.

*Keydafeh*, queen of the Amazons, the Thalestris of ancient history, iii. 63.

*Keykhautu Khaun*, fifth of the Perso-Moghul monarchs, ii. 593, et seq.

*Keyomars*, first monarch of Persia, ii. 458.

*Keyss*, son of Moghairah, conduct at Bassorah, on attack by Ayaishah, i. 199.

*Keyss*, son of Saud Ebbaudah, made governor of Egypt, i. 232. Politic conduct, 233. Maintains fidelity, 234.

*Khaled*, son of Abdullah-ul-Kashciry, iniquitous conduct as governor of Bassorah, i. 548.

*Khaled*, son of Yezzeid, set aside from the Khelaufut, i. 424. Stimulates his mother to murder Merwaun, 427.

*Khâled-ul-Wâlid*, gains first Mahommedan victory, i. 4. Takes Doumut-ul-jundul, 9. Quarrels with Ally, 11. Defeats Tûlleihah, 30. Advances against Mosseylemah and Shujia, 33. His cruelties, 37, 38. Quarrel with Omar, 39. Marches against Yemaumah, 41. Battle with Mosseylemah, 43. Takes Yemaumah, 50. Marries, 51. Complaints against him, 52. Victories in Syria, 53. Loses command by order of Omar, 59. Gallant and generous conduct, 60. Military cruelty, 64. Marches to the siege of Baalbec, 65. Victory in Palestine, 68. Anecdote, 76. Gallantry at the battle of Yermuk, 81. Poetic flattery, 89. Fined for extortion, 90. Death, *ib.*

*Khaleifah*, synonimous with khalif, i. 27.

*Khaleil*, Sultan, youthful gallantry at the battle of Dehly, iii. 261.

*Khârezm*, province of, invaded by Kateibah,, i. 472. Vide further *Khauresm.*

*Khatay*, northern district of China, early history, ii. 473, et seq. Vide *China.*

*Khaujah Abdul Kaudur*, a renowned Persian musician, iii. 159.

*Khaujah Ally Shah*, political intrigues in the reign of the Persian Sultaun Abu Sacid, ii. 644.

*Khaujah Ehraur*, a Moghul author, iii. 709.

*Khaujah Kullan*, Beg, appointed governor of Bejour, iii. 673, 676, 685, et seq.

*Khaujah Mauzzem*, murders the vezzeir Sultan Mahommed Reshidy, iii. 880.

*Khaujah Merjan*, rebels against Sultan Aweiss, ii. 699.

*Khaujah Moulana*, the Sheikh-ul-Isslaum, or patriarch of the true faith, iii. 579.

*Khaujah Sudajahaun Ahmed*, his administration as vezzeir, ii. 595.

*Khauniet*, of Tartary, its legitimate origin, ii. 471.

*Khauns*, Tartar, origin and history, ii. 457, et seq.

*Khauns*, Turkish, origin and history, ii. 457, et seq.

*Khaunzadah*, princess, complains to Teymur against her husband Meiran Shah, iii. 295. Her maternal grief for the loss of Mahommed Sultan, 433.

*Khaurezm*, country of, conquered by Sultan Mahmud, ii. 288. Various, 298. Succession of the Shahies, 389, 410. Victory of Jengneiz Khan, 411, 417, 500, et seq. Vide also *Kharezm.*

*Khaurezm*, city of, besieged and destroyed, iii. 19, 82.

*Khaurezm Shah*, ingenious policy, ii. 375.

*Khanwah*, battle of, near Futtahpour, iii. 693.

*Khawernamah*, a curious Oriental poem on the exploits of the Khalif Ally, i. 363.

*Khedjel*, son of Athaul, curious chivalric anecdote at the battle of Seffeine, i. 279.

*Kheizrânah*, the dowager of the Khalif Mehedy, political intrigues, ii. 52, 59. Dies, 60.

KHELAUFUT, descends from Mahommed to Abû Bukker, i. 24. Is conferred on Omar, 53. Modes of election and customs established, 142, 146. Conferred on Othman, 148. Elevation of Ally, 186. Contested by Mauweiah, 312. Accession of Hussun, 365. Election of Mauweiah, 367. First becomes hereditary, 385. Yezzeid, son of Mauweiah, succeeds, 389. Accession of Mauweiah the second, 419. Accession of Merwaun the first, 420. Accession of Abdulmelek, 429. Accession of Walid, 466. Of Suliman, 483. Of Omar-ul-Abdullazziz, 511. Of Yezzeid, son of Adulmelek, 528. Of Hushaum, brother of Yezzeid, 547. Of Walid, son of Yezzeid, 572. Of Yezzeid, iii. 573. Of Ibrauhim, 574. Of Merwaun, ii. 575. Destruction of the house of Ommeyah, and rise of the Abbassides in the person of Abûl Abbas, 605. Accession of Ul-Munsur-Billah, ii. 7. Of Ul Mehedy Billah, 23. Of Ul Handy Billah, 40. Of Harun ur Rashid, 58. Division of the empire, 64. Accession of Ul Amein Billah, 90. Of Ul Mâmun, 118. The succession proposed to be transferred from the house of Abbas to the house of Ally and Fatima, 135. Accession of Ul Mutassem, son of Harun, 142. Its authority endangered by adopting Tartar slaves as royal guards, 143, 148. Accession of Ul Wauthek, 149. Failure of attempted regulations in the line of succession,

151. Of the Khalif ul Mutewukkel, 151. The succession first becomes at the disposal of the Tartar-guards, 155. Accession of Ul Muntusser Billah, 156. Of Ul Mustayne Billah, 157. Of Ul Muattez, 159. Of Ul Muhtedy, 162. Of Muatemmed, 163. Of Ul Muatezzed, 165. Of Ul Mukteffy, 171. Of Ul Muktedder, 173. Of Ul Kaher, 177. Extraordinary reduction of the bounds of the empire, 176. Accession of Ul Rauzy, 178. Decline of personal power in the princes, by the appointment of the new office of ameir-ul-umra, 179. Accession of Ul Mutekky Ullah, 180. Of Ul Mustekfy, 182. Of Ul Muteiah, 184. Of Ul Taeiah Ullah, 185. Of Ul Kader, 188. Of Ul Kaeim Bimmer. 191. Of Ul Mukteddy Billah, 195. Of Ul Mustezhir, 196. Its power divided with Sultan Mahommed, 197. Of Ul Mustershid, 198. Of Ul Rashid, 201. Of Ul Mukteffy, 202. Of Ul Mustunjed, 203. Of Ul Mustunzy, 205. Of Ul Naussur-ud-dein, 208. Of Ul Zaher, 210. Of Ul Mustunser, 211. Of Ul Mustaussem, 213. Extinction of the house of Abbas, 223.

*Khelaut*, stormed by Zeib, i. 155.

*Khermeils*, two brothers of extraordinary prowess, ii. 311.

*Kherson*, city of, advance of Teymur, iii. 196.

*Khodadaud-ul-Husseyny*, hostilities with Khaleil Sultan, and Mirza Shah Rokh, iii. 519.

*Khojend*, city of, taken by Jengueiz, ii. 506.

*Kholf*, son of Ahmed, prince of Seiestaun, his policy, ii. 243, 282.

*Kholfa Rashedein*, term for the immediate successors of Mahommed, i. 27. et passim. Dynasty expires in the person of Hussun, 368.

KHORASSAUN, (Bactriana) conquered by the Mosslems, i. 138, 160. Rebellion subdued by Abdullah Hàzem, 165. Death of Kateibah, and extraordinary circumstances connected with it, 495, ante et seq. Affairs connected with the rise of the house of Abbas, 577, et seq. Its history under the Taherites, ii. 224. Their downfall, 228. Rise of the Sufauria. 229. Origin of the Samanides, and progress, 234, et seq. Rise of Abu Ally, 246. Invaded by Eylek Khaun, 252. Race of Seljuk, 344, 346, et seq. Extent of the kingdom, 350. Wars, 455. Irruption of Jenguiez, 510, et seq. Patriotic Improvements, 545. Cruelties of Nikoudrian banditti, 618. Invasion of Teymur, iii. 24. Horrors of warfare, 43. Revolts and Massacres, 86, et seq. Occurrences after the death of Teymur, 488, et seq. Abulghauzy ascends the throne, 629. Invasion of Sultan Baber, 669.

*Khossrou Melek*, seventeenth and last of the Gheznian monarchy, ii. 314

*Khossrou Shah*, sixteenth of the Gheznian monarchs, ii. 312.

*Khotbah*, or royal prayer. Vide *Passim.*

*Khoten*, in Tartary, the prince of, submits to the Mosslem power, i. 483, et seq. Geographical and other details connected with the expedition of Mirza Eskunder, iii. 302.

*Khouauredje*, or Mahommedan schismatics, their conduct in regard to the Khelaufut, i. 314. Curious anecdote, 321, 329, et seq. Curious prophecy and total defeat at the battle of Neherwaun, 340.

*Khozzeia*, son of Eissa, the *Kermaunian*, political conduct in Khorassaun, i. 577. Joins in concert with Abû Mosslem, 586. Murdered, 588.

*Khozzers*, revolt of, in Armenia, i. 544, 549, et seq.

*Khozzez*, son of Yapheth, ii. 458.

*Khumsha*, strong pass of, in Georgia, iii. 304.

*Khur Shah*, prince of the Bouautinists, submits to the Moghuls, ii. 342.

*Khurzaud*, brother of the prince of Khâresm, rebellious conduct and fate, i. 472.

*Khuzzer Khaujah Oghlan*, sovereign of the Moghuls, iii. 96.

*Khuzzer Khaun*, monarch of Dehly, sends a Rhinoceros to Shah Rokh, iii. 544.

*Khuzzez*, the country between the Euxine and Caspian seas, subjugated by Teymur, iii. 204.

*Kite*, anecdote of, stealing a necklace, and discovering treasure, ii. 236.

*Knolles*, his account of the Greek embassy to Teymur, iii. 405.

*Kobaud*, son of Eskunder, intrigue and parricide, iii. 554.

*Koh-Joud*, hill fort near the Indus, taken by Sultan Baber, iii. 674.

*Kohel*, son of Abbas, gallant conduct at battle of Gheffer, i. 539.

*Kohestaun*, a mountainous region, ii. 417. Invaded by Teymur, iii. 56.

*Kohjud*, country of, ii. 455.

*Kohtbah*, son of Shebeib, military expedition to the banks of the Caspian, i. 593. Advances to Isfahaun in support of the Abbasides, 594. Drowned in the Euphrates, 597.

*Kolaut*, strong fortress of, siege of, by Teymur, iii. 33, 39.

*Komaury Eynauk*, a Teymurian general, his cruelties, iii. 58, 60.

*Koraish*, an Arabian tribe, their claims to the Khelaufut, i. 19, et seq. 151.

KORAN, first arranged, i. 48. All copies but one burnt by order of Othman, 170. Curious stratagem with, at battle of Lailut-ul-hurreir, 308. Its divine authority attacked by the Khalif Ul Mamun, ii. 140. By Khalif Ul Wauthek, 149. Prophetic examination by Teymur, similar to the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, iii. 256.

*Kosse*, or Indian measure of distance, iii. 240, 243.

*Kotauhiah*, a beautiful city of Anatolia, iii. 398.

*Kotbah*, the Mahommedan prayer of supremacy. *Passim.*

*Kouhjoud*, princes of, submit to Teymur, iii. 235.

*Koukeh*, mountain of, in Hindustaun, iii. 279.

*Koel*, in the Douab, the jagueir of Zaulied Beg, events eonnected with the revolt of Hindal Mirza, iii. 764.

*Koulan Koutel*, mountains of, in Moghulstaun, iii. 97.

*Koulies*, hostilities with the Moghuls, iii. 734.

*Koupela*, pass of, on the Ganges, iii. 273. Battle, 274.

*Kouriltai*, or Tartarian parliament, ii. 486.

*Koushluk*, prince of the Naymans, ii. 494, et seq.

*Kousteheian*, or Persian archers, ii. 581.

*Koutulku*, a Moghul general, completes the conquest of China, ii. 543.

*Kour*, Turkish tribes, ii. 473.

*Koury*, a remarkable river near the Caspian Sea, iii. 189, 193.

*Kubaun*, Tartary, invasion of Teymur, iii. 199.

*Kubbul Khaun*, ii. 476.

*Kublai Khaun*, fourth suceessor of Jengueiz, ii. 558.

*Kudder Khaun*, prince of Khoten, joins Eylek Khaun, but defeated by Sultan Mahmud, ii. 283.

*Kufah*, city of, its origin, i. 125, 128. Riotous conduct against Othman, 166. Extraordinary diplomatie debate, between eitizens and sons of Ally, 208. Curious termination, 211. Fidelity restored, 212. Beeomes the seat of government, instead of Medeinah, by order of Ally, 231. Oeeurrences after the battle of Neherwaun, 342. Insurreetions on aeeession of Yezzeid, 393. Circumstanees eonneeted with the rise of the house of Abbas, 598. Seat of government removed, ii. 4.

*Kulaut*, a fortress in Kandahaur, reduced by Teymur, iii. 50.

*Kullender*, or strolling religious, a title applied to Sultan Baber, iii. 684.

*Kummaul-ud-dein*, iii. 56, et seq.

*Kummur-ud-dein*, prince of Jettah, hostilities with Teymur, iii. 41, 74, et seq.

*Kundabeil*, a fortress on the borders of Hindustaun, becomes the asylum of revolted Mosslems, i. 541, et seq.

*Kunderjah*, battle of, between Teymur and Touktemesh, iii. 119.

*Kurdestaun*, submits to Teymur, iii. 69, 148, et seq.

KURR, or Cyrus, river of, curious embankment, ii. 259. Invasion and cruelties of the Moghul tribes over the neighbouring countries, 513. Its territories subjugated by the Moghuls under Teymur, iii. 61.

*Kurtein*, a strong Georgian hill fort, extraordinary siege by Teymur, iii. 439.

*Kutbuddein Mahommed*, first of the Khauresm Shahies, ii. 389.

*Kutluk Shah*, takes captive and murders the Vezzeir Norouz, ii. 618. Injudicious military proeeedings in the invasion of the province of Guilan, 636. Falls in battle, 637.

*Kutluk Teymur*, assassinates the virtuous Ameir Kuzghun, iii. 6.

*Kuttub-ud-dein Keymaur*, made vezzeir, revolts and perishes, ii. 207.

*Kuzzul Arslan*, ii. 380, 422.

*Kuzzulbaush*, or Red Caps, Persian soldiery, iii. 733.

*Kuzzun Sultan*, of Turaun, birth of Teymur during his reign, iii. 5. Slain, 6.

## L

LABOUR, human, extraordinary application of, iii. 530.

*Lahour*, city of, first taken by Sultan Mahmud, ii. 281. Becomes the Gheznevide Court, 312. Its territory invaded by the Moghuls, 520. Taken by Sultan Baber in his fourth expedition, iii. 675.

*Lailut-ul-hurreir*, battle of, i. 304.

*Laodicea*, city of, invasion of Teymur, iii. 410.

*Laristaun*, atabeks of, ii. 430, et seq.

*Law*, trials at, first invented, ii. 459.

LEO, the Emperor (the Isaurian) of Constantinople, attaeked by the Mahommedans, i. 496, et seq. Military stratagem, 498. Offers to pay tribute, 514.

*Letter, Oriental*, a curious one, iii. 717.

*Letters*, men of, curious military anecdote, iii. 258.

*Leucorhoas*, or White River, iii. 305.

*Leyli*, a Turkman concubine, intrigue and treachery, iii. 555.

*Leylut-e-Hashemiah*, origin of the name, ii. 56.

*Liaunet*, or imprecation of God's curse, first established by Ally, i. 328.

*Libanus*, mount, extraordinary discovery of a skeleton, i. 127.

*Libels*, how punished by the Khalif Ul Hakêm, ii. 320.

*Light*, ray of, produces miraculous conception, ii. 472.

LITERATURE, ARABIC, improved by translations from the Greek, ii. 142.

*Literature, Greek*, translated into Arabic, ii. 142.

*Literature, Moghul*, ii. 573.

*Literature, Persian*, improved by Behram Shah, ii. 307.

*Lohauni Afghans*, hostility to Sultan Baber, iii. 689.

*Louny*, town of, near Dehly, capture and massacre, iii. 252.

*Lukkunpour*, iii. 810.

M

MAGI, remains of their superstition in Kurdestaun, iii. 150.

*Magic*, a prince accused of, and put to death, ii. 570.

*Magician*, female, hastens the fate of Sultan Ahmed by her treachery, iii. 515.

*Magnesia*, city of, (Messenjah) laid in ruins by the Mosslems, i. 517. Taken by the Moghuls, iii. 409.

MAHAUNEHSER, town on the Caspian, captureof by Teymur, iii. 130, et seq.

MAHMÛD of Ghezniu, ii. 242, 244, 248, 250, 267. Acquires supremacy of Jurjaun, 276. Accedes to the throne of Ghezniu, 280. Invasion of Hindustaun, 281, et seq. Insurrection of his father-in-law, 282. Gallantry in battle, 283. Displays the plunder of India at the city of Ghezniu, 285. Takes possession of Gherjistaun, 287. Military pun, 289. Honours and power, 293. Extraordinary naval armament, 294. Dies, character, and anecdotes, 295.

*Mahmud*, son of Mahommed, ii. 364. Ascends the throne of Khorassaun, 370.

*Mahmud*, son of Melek Shah, contends for the succession, ii. 358.

*Mahmud*, the Taraubian, his impostures in Bokhara, iii. 2.

*Mahmud Sebektekein*, the formidable conqueror, persecutes Ferdoussy the Persian poet, ii. 190.

*Mahmud Shah*, emperor of Hindustaun at the Moghul invasion, iii. 219.

MAHOMMED, the *Prophet*, first provoked to hostilities, i. 2. Attacks Syria, 3. First victory, 4. Pretended vision, 5. Takes Mekkah, further warlike designs, 6. Prepares for hostilities, 7. His last personal military adventure, 8, 10. Declares Ally his successor, 12. Appoints Assaumah to command the Syrian expedition, 13. Illness and death, 14. Fables of angels, 16, et seq. Vide Note, 607.

*Mahommed*, son of Abdullah, revolts against Ul Munsur, ii. 15.

*Mahommed*, son of Abdul Melék-ul-Zeyaut, vezzeir to Khalif Ul Mutassem, ii. 148. Rebels and dies, 151.

*Mahommed*, son of Abu Bukker, i. 57. Leads Egyptian rebels against Othman, 171. Appointed lieutenant, 176. Treachery of Othman, 177. Returns to Medeinah to confer with the discontented, 177. Insults Othman, and leads to his murder, 180. Sent by Ally to Kufah, 207. Curious anecdote at battle of Meghzeinah, 226. Becomes governor of Egypt, 236. Injudicious conduct there, 344. Cruelly murdered, 348.

*Mahommed*, son of Abû Khozzeifah, betrayed to Mauweiah, escape and death, i. 232.

*Mahommed*, son of Beshcir, well-timed bribery of his master Omar, ii. 233.

*Mahommed*, son of Haneifah, gallantry at battle of Seffeine, i. 283.

*Mahommed*, son of Harun, revolt and defeat, ii. 173.

*Mahommed*, son of Ibrahim, revolts at Kufah in favour of the House of Ally, ii. 120. Poisoned, 122.

*Mahommed*, son of Imaum Jauffer-us-Saudee, drawn from seclusion at Mekkah, to assume command, ii. 126. Defeated and flies, 127.

*Mahommed*, son of Khaled, escapes the general slaughter of the Barmecides, ii. 75.

*Mahommed*, son of the Khalif Wauthek, proposed for the Khelaufut, ii. 151.

*Mahommed*, son of Laith, plots the downfal of the Barmecides, ii. 68.

*Mahommed*, son of Mahmud, fifth of the race of Ghezniu, ii. 293, 296, et seq. His eyes put out, 298. Again raised to the throne, 299. Put to death, 300.

*Mahommed*, son of Melek Shah, contends for the succession, and ascends the throne of Khorassaun, ii. 361, et seq.

*Mahommed*, son of Suliman, defeats the rebel Husseyne, ii. 43.

*Mahommed*, son of Taher, succeeds to power in Khorassaun, ii. 228, et seq.

*Mahommed*, son of Yakub, loyal gallantry at the siege of Baghdad, ii. 110.

*Mahommed*, son of Yezzeid, ii. 106.

*Mahommed*, fifth of the Almowut dynasty, ii. 338.

*Mahommed*, prince of Ghur, taken prisoner, commits suicide with a poisoned ring, ii. 286.

*Mahommed*, the Husseynite, ii. 122.

*Mahommed Azaud*, the Moghul general, conquers the Siapoush, iii. 223.

*Mahommed Ally Toghai*, governor of Kabul, indecisive conduct, iii. 878.

*Mahommed Bahlim*, ii. 308.

*Mahommed Bauker*, fifth Imaum, his history, i. 373.

*Mahommed Beg*, prince of Karamania, released by Teymur from the power of Bajazet, iii. 403.

*Mahommed Ben Khaled*, invested with command at Baghdad, ii. 131. Slain, 132.

*Mahommed Haneifah*, made prisoner with his family at Mekkah, i. 436.

*Mahommed Khaun*, twelfth of the Perso-Moghul monarchs, ii. 678, 679.

*Mahommed Khauzen*, vezzeir to Ul Mukteffy, his head demanded, ii. 371.

*Mahommed Shah*, last of the Kermaunian Seljuks, ii. 385.

*Mahommed Sultan*, son of Jahangueir, obtains command of the van of Teymur's army, iii. 108. Military proceedings, 159. Extraordinary attempt at assassination, 214. Leads the Moghuls to the Bosphorus, 400. Death, 424.

*Mahommed Sultan Mirza*, treachery towards Homayun, iii. 779.

*Mahommed Tekky*, appointed to the succession of the Khelanfut, ii. 134.

*Mahommed Tukky*, ninth Imaum, his history, i. 375.

*Mahommed Ul Mehedy*, first Egyptian Fatimite, ii. 316.

*Mahommed Zemaun Mirza*, son of Abulghauzy, iii. 713, et seq. Political intrigues with the Portuguese in Gujerat, 752.

Mahommedism, its genius as compared with Christianity, i. 1. Its progress checked by Charles Martel, 2. Death of Mahommed, 13, et seq. Proceedings consequent thereon, 19. Abû Bukker elected to succession, 25. Various revolts, 28, et seq. The Korân first drawn up, 48. Omar raised to Khelanfut, 53, et seq. Extension of sytem, 59. Conquest of Syria and Palestine, 74, et seq. Jerusalem taken, 84, et seq. Political regulations by Omar, 92. Extension towards Persia, 92, 95. Military policy, 93. Extension into Africa, 92, 94. Extraordinary character of Arabs, 107. The Hidjerah first established, 126. First coins struck by Omar, 136. Its extent at the death of Omar, 147. Advances into Tartary, 155. Into Western Africa, 157. Into Spain, 158. Extends to the Oxus, 163. Rudjaat, or heresy of the prophets second coming, first propagated, 169. All copies of Koran, but one, burnt by order of Othman, 170. Sinister consequences of Othman's murder, 183. Extent of Mahommedan empire, 184. Internal disputes, 232, et seq. Extended into Tartary, 384. Supreme power first becomes hereditary, 385. Its sway extends into Kabûl, 454. Again extended into Spain, and to Sardinia, 471. Conversion of the Khagan of the Khozzers, 562. Extended in Africa by the Khalif Hashaum, 568. Sect of Zendicism, ii. 43. Its orthodoxy endangered by the Khalif Ul Mamun, 140, et seq. Alteration of the Kalendar, 170. Downfal of the House of Abbas, 223. Its influence extended in Hindustaun by Sultan Mahmud, 281, et seq. Schism of Hussun Sabah, 327, et seq. New Chronological Era introduced by Melek Shah, 357. Irruption of the Moghuls under Jenguiez, 500. Checked in Tartary by the spread of Christianity, 551. Restored in Persia, 578, 607. Persecution under Arghun Khaun, 591. Established in Persian provinces by Ghazan Khaun, 614. By Ouljaitu, 634. The insignia of its power presented to Teymur, by Ameir Seyud Berrekah, iii. 15. Persecution of the Christians in Georgia, Circassia, &c. 198, 201. Advance into Hindustaun under Teymur, 222, 248. Its followers protected during warfare, 267. Warfare of the Othmans under Bajazet against the European Christians, 314. Rise of the Moghul empire in India, 667.

*Majid-ud-doulah*, of the race of Buyah, ii. 266.

*Maldeu*, Rajah of Joudpour, conduct towards Homayun, iii. 802, et seq.

Malek Ashtur, the Nudjefite, conspires against Othman, i. 166, 168, et seq. Closes diplomatic debate at Kufah, 211. Restores the fidelity of the Kufites, 212. Conduct at battle of Meghzeinah, 217, 226. His policy, 230. Deputed by Ally to recover Syria, 240. Battle of Harran, and siege of Rakkah, 241. Supports Ally in council, 260. Gains battle of Sourri-rum, 267. Campaign of Seffeine, 268. Battle of the Euphrates, 270. Conduct at battle of Seffeine, 278. Challenges to single combat, 285, 293. Gallantry during Lailut-ul-hurreir, 305. Refuses to sign the treaty, 319. Takes command in Egypt, 344. Poisoned, 345.

*Malwah*, invaded by the Emperor Homayun, iii. 714.

*Mandou*, city of, iii. 729.

*Manêkbah*, an Indian physician, curious medical disputes, ii. 86, 88.

*Mangu Kaaun*, third successor of Jenguiez, commences hostilities against the Khelaufut, and produces the downfal of the Abbassides, ii. 215, 553, 558.

*Manuscripts*, illuminated by the Orientals, iii. 735.

*Mardein*, city of, taken by Teymur, and saved from vengeance unexpectedly, iii. 176. Invasion of by Teymur, 357.

Martel, Charles, checks the progress of Mahommedism, i. 2.

*Mask*, golden, worn by an impostor, ii. 23.

*Massacre* of Hindu and Persee prisoners, by Teymur, iii. 254.

*Massagetæ*, their origin, ii. 459.

*Matchlocks*, noticed at the battle of Futtahpour, iii. 695.

*Matrimony*, Oriental, anecdotes of, ii. 412, 413.

Maumlûkes, first mentioned as guards of Othman, i. 179. The origin of their power on the succession to the Khelanfut, ii. 143, 148, 155, 161.

Mauweiah, son of Abû Soffeyan, commences military career, i. 94. His father dies, 165. Harsh conduct towards Malek Ashtur and his corebels, 166. Summoned to support Othman at Medeinah, 171. Receives the blood-stained robes of the Khalif Othman, from the malcontents, at Damascus, 188, 237. Commences political intrigues in Syria, 232. And in Egypt, 233. Military proceedings, 240. Refuses all negociation with Ally, 243. Sends an extraordinary letter and mission to the khalif, 244, 246. Whimsical anecdote, 252. Conduct during the campaign of Seffeine, 269. Generous

conduct of Ally, 271. Further negociations and military proceedings at Seffeine, 275, et seq. Battle, 275, et seq. Reproached by Abdurrahman. Proceeds to the field in person, 284. Challenged by Ally, 286. Ludicrous dialogue with Amru, 288, 291. Prepares for final contest, 300. Defeated by Ally, 301. Negociates, 302. Further consequences of the war, 304, et seq. Battle of Lailut-ul-hurreir, 305. Curious appeal to the Koran, 308. Distributes bribes in Ally's army, 309. Claims the Khelaufut, 312. Treaty of peace, 317. Returns to Damascus, 322. The Khelaufut surreptitiously claimed by his followers, 328. Reduces Bassorah, 349. Various inroads upon the faithful, 350. Gains possession of Mekkah and Medeinah, 353. Attacked by an assassin, 358. Operations on the death of Ally, 365. Attacks Hussein the new khalif, defeats him, and succeeds to the Khelaufut, 367. Family connections and descent, 379. Admits the undue influence of Zeiaud, 384. Extends his sway into Tartary, 384. Calls upon his subjects to pledge their allegiance to his son, Yezzeid, 385. Causes the murder of Ayaishah, Mahommed's widow, 386. Death, 387, et seq.

*Mauweiah*, the second, succeeds to the Khelaufut, i. 419. Abdicates, 420..

*Mauweiah*, son of Khodeiah, excites disturbances in Egypt, i. 344. Made governor, 383.

*Mauweiah*, son of Yezzeid, massacres his prisoners, i. 541.

*Mauwerunneher*, country of, wrested from Harun ul Rashid, ii. 85. Rise of the Samanian dynasty, 235, et seq. The scene of Teymur's early wars, iii. 11.

*Mauziaur*, prince of Tebristaun, revolts, and dies, ii. 146.

*Mazanderan*, province of, subjected to the power of the Samanides, ii. 235, et seq. Submits to the power of Teymur, iii. 31, 42, 52.

*Meander*, river, invasion of the Moghuls, iii. 409.

*Medâein*, captured, i. 69, 121. Its decline, 126.

MEDEINAH, the retreat and head quarters of Mahommed, i. 5, et seq. Proceedings of the citizens on Mahommed's death, 19, et seq. Sufferings, miracles, and early improvements, 127. Extraordinary disease, 153. The riots and insults of Othman, 173, et seq. Siege of the palace and murder of Othman, 180, et seq. Seat of government transferred to Kufah, 231. Political character of the citizens, 257. Proceedings in regard to hereditary Khelaufut, 385, 390. Capture and sufferings, 415. Enlargement and repairs of the mosque, 468. Further revolts, ii. 15. Embassy sent from this city to Mekkah, offering submission to Teymur, iii. 234. Its protection stipulated between Teymur and the Sultan of Egypt, 427.

*Medeinah Hashmiah*, city of, founded, ii. 4.

MEDITERRANEAN, its southern shore subjected to the Saracens, ii. 317.

*Meghrebins*, or Lybian mercenaries, their treachery towards Ul Muktedder, ii. 176.

*Meghzeinah*, battle of, or of the camel, i. 218.

*Mehandery*, river, iii. 741.

*Mehedy Khaujah*, views in regard to the Hindustauny succession, on the demise of Sultan Baber, iii. 708.

*Meir Abulbukha*, extraordinary counsel to Sultan Baber, and its consequences, iii. 706.

*Meir Khaleifah*, political intrigues on demise of Sultan Baber, iii. 708.

*Meir Youness Ally*, governor of Lahour, circumvented by Mirza Kamraun, iii. 715.

*Meiran Shah*, son of Teymur, invades Khorassaun, iii. 24. Invades Mekraun, &c. 47, 63. Military proceedings against Sultan Ahmed, &c. 293, et seq. Slain in battle, 505. Vide *Passim*.

*Meirta*, fortress of in Hindustaun, besieged by the Moghuls, iii. 268.

*Meivaut*, reduced by Sultan Baber, iii. 698.

MEKKAH, taken by Mahommed, i. 6. Pilgrimages first mentioned, 103. Pilgrimages to, checked by the insurgents under Mauweiah, 351. Taken, 352. Insurgent proceedings on the succession of Yezzeid, 392. Interesting events at the siege of, 417. Revolution in favour of Ul Mamun, ii. 107, 124. Murder of the pilgrims by Saheb-ul Shaumiah, 172. Capture and massacre, 176. Restoration of the holy black rock of the Kaaubah, 184. Curious gate made by the Khalif Ul Muktefky, 203. Sends embassy of submission to Teymur whilst on his Indian expedition, iii. 234. Its protection stipulated between Teymur and the Sultan of Egypt, 427.

*Mekraun*, sea coast of, ii. 442.

*Mekraun*, invasion by the armies of Jenguiez Khaun, ii. 533.

*Mekreit*, a Tartarian province, the last to retain its independence, ii. 497, ante et seq.

*Melautyah*, city of, taken by Teymur, iii. 319.

*Melek Abu Bukker*, murdered at Herat, ii, 530.

*Melek Ashruf*, Sultan of Egypt, iii. 555. Embassy to Shah Rokh, 556.

*Melek Ashruf*, son of Teymur Taush, acquires sovereign authority in Persia, ii. 687, 689, et seq. Fate, 696.

*Melek Barkouk*, further insults towards Teymur stir up that monarch to revenge, iii. 320, et seq.

*Melek Bokraut*, prince of Teflis, apostatizes from Christianity, iii. 61.

*Mélek Ezz-ud-dein*, prince of Lurrestaun, chastized by Teymur for his pillage of the Hadjies, iii. 57, et seq. 68, 69, 138.

*Melek Ezz-ud-dein*, prince of Jezzeirah, escapes from Teymur, iii. 176, et seq.

*Melek Fakher-ud-dein*, prince of Herat, ii. 616.

Melek Feridge, Sultan of Egypt, his polities in regard to Teymur, ii. 715. Injudicious conduct towards the ambassadors of Teymur, leads to hostilities, iii. 321, et seq. Proceeds to Syria to resist the Moghuls, 336. Flies from Damascus into Egypt, 344. Pays homage to Teymur, as his paramount chief, 426, 471, et seq.

*Melek Kaummil*, horrid murder of, ii. 566.

*Melek Kawuss*, prince of Shirvaun, invades Karabaugh, ii. 700.

*Melek Mahommed*, governor of Ghour, rebels against Teymur, iii. 39.

*Melek Mahommed*, sixth of the Seljuks in Kermaun, ii. 384.

*Melek Nausser*, Sultan of Egypt, invades the Persian territories, ii. 621, et seq.

*Melek Salah*, prince of Mossule, ii. 567. Horrible death, 569.

*Melek Shah*, son of Khossrou, interesting anecdote, ii. 315.

*Melek Shah*, the accomplished monarch of Khorassaun, his reign, &c. ii. 349, et seq. Death, 356

*Melek Sheikhah*, an Indian chief, opposes Teymur, his fate, iii. 273.

*Melka*, princess of Tebreiz, amatory anecdote, ii. 414, 415.

*Melkûr-raheim*, becomes a victim to the tyranny of Toghrel Beg, ii. 192.

*Mellou Ekbal Khaun*, prime minister at Dehly, commands a sortie against Teymur, iii. 253. Battle of Dehly, 257, et seq.

*Memkatu*, prince of, put to death in revenge by Teymur, iii. 48.

*Menuloun*, an extraordinary Tartar princess, ii. 473.

*Menutcheher*, last of the princes of Jurjaun, ii. 276.

*Meraughah*, city of, disgraced for the murder of a khalif, ii. 200.

*Merj-e-saffer*, a river of Syria, battle of, ii. 627.

*Merjeraumet*, battle of, establishes the claims of Merwaun the first, i. 424.

*Meru*, city of, taken by treachery, i. 162. Extraordinary instances of treachery and justice, ii. 83. Siege and capture, by Jenguiez, 521.

*Merwaun* the first, accession to the khelanfut, i. 420. Divisions in Syria, 421. Occurrences at Damascus, 422. Establishes his reign by victory at Merjeraumet, 424. Reconquers Egypt, *ib.* Negociates for the descent in his own family, 427. Is smothered by his wife, the widow of Yezzeid, 428. Account of his family, &c.

*Merwaun*, son of Hefzah, an Arabian poet, liberality of the Khalif Mehedy, ii. 37.

*Merwaun*, son of Hukkem, becomes the favourite of Othman, i. 171. Deceives the khalif, 172. His treachery, 177. Desperately wounded, 179.

Merwaun, son of Mahommed ul Merwann, first noticed at the battle of Semander, i. 557. Engages in command of the Tartarian war, 561. Cruelties after the capture of Shekky, 563. Hostilities against the prince of Sermer, 564. Daring but dangerous stratagem, 565. Refuses allegiance to the Khalif Yezzeid the third, 574. Advances against the Khalif Ibrauhim, whom he defeats, and assumes the khelaufut as Merwaun the second, 575. Commencing insurrections which lead to the destruction of the house of Ommeyah, 576, 585. Seizes on his supposed rival, and puts him to death, 592. His conduct on the election of Abul Abbas at Kufah, 600. Defeat and flight into Egypt, 602. Is slain, 604. In him ceases the house of Ommeyah. 605. Concluding reflections, 606.

*Merwaun*, son of Mohilleb, attempts to put the females to death, when in danger of capture, i. 542.

*Mesopotamia*. Vide *Jezzeirah*.

*Messeujah*, (Magnesia) laid in ruins by the Mosslems, i. 517.

Messiah, oriental tradition respecting, iii. 352.

*Messrour*, the eunuch, murders Jauffer, ii. 73.

*Metaphor*, oriental, a curious one, iii. 363.

*Meyauje*, son of Abdurraihman, discovers a passage for surprising Mirzebaun, by means of an antelope, i. 504.

*Meyauz*, son of Jebbel, singular demeanour of,

*Meymûndezh*, siege of, ii. 341.

*Miafaurekein*, important fortress of, ii. 565.

*Minarets*, first introduced by the Khalif Walid, i. 483.

*Mingrelia*, invaded by Teymur, iii. 205.

*Mining*, in assault, extraordinary instance of, iii. 165.

*Miustrels*, voluptuous, condemned to death in Persia by Teymur, iii. 298.

*Mirza Abdullah*, grandson of Shah Rokh, iii. 553, et seq.

*Mirza Abdullah*, the Shirauzian, short sovereignty, iii. 576.

*Mirza Abdullûtteif*, son of Olugh Beg, proceedings after the death of Shah Rokh, iii. 566, et seq.

*Mirza Abu Bukker*. Vide life of Teymur. *Passim.* iii. 500, et seq.

*Mirza Abul Kaussem*, son of Mirza Baysungur, iii. 552, et seq.

*Mirza Baber*, proceedings on death of Shah Rokh, iii. 566, et seq. Sudden death, 585.

*Mirza Baysungur*, son of Shah Rokh, iii. 524, ante et seq. Death, 551. Family, 552.

*Mirza Eskunder*, son of Omar Sheikh, military expedition into the Moghul territories, and Jettah, iii. 300, et seq. Fixes his government at Isfahaun, 512, ante et seq.

*Mirza Heyder*, generous support of the defeated Homayun, against the Afghan power, iii. 777, Death, 828.

*Mirza Hindal*, iii. 704, ante et seq.

*Mirza Jaun*, a Persian translator of the commentaries of Sultan Baber, iii. 710.

Mirza Kamraun, son of Sultan Baber, iii. 676, et seq. Proceeds to Hindustaun, 703. Confirmed in his government of Kandahaur and Kabul, by his brother, the emperor Homayun, 712. Ambitious projects on the succession, and march into Hindustaun, 715. Treachery and punishment, 717, et seq. Defeats the Persians in Kandahaur, 733. Joins in revolt, 767, ante et seq. Ingratitude to his defeated brother, 776, et seq. Further, 828, et seq.

*Mirza Keydou*, his rebellion against Shah Rokh, &c. iii. 536, ante et seq.

*Mirza Khaleil Sultan*, ambitious projects on the death of Teymur, iii. 486. Murdered, 582, et seq.

*Mirza Mahommed Jouky*, iii. 603, et seq.

*Mirza Mahommed Sultan*, favourable reception in the camp of his grandfather Teymur, iii. 372.

*Mirza Olugh Beg*, Tartar history of, iii. 9.

*Mirza Omar Sheikh*, second son of Teymur, youthful gallantry at the siege of Balkh, iii. 16. At Khaurésm, 21, 75, et seq. *Passim.*

*Mirza Peir Mahommed*, son of Jahangueir, declared by Teymur, on his death-bed, as absolute heir and successor, iii. 480. Competitors in his own family, 486, et seq. Political proceedings after the death of Teymur, 509, et seq.

*Mirza Rokken-ud-dein, Alla-ud-doulah*, son of Mirza Baysungur, iii. 552, et seq.

*Mirza Rustum.* Vide Life of Teymur. *Passim.*

*Mirza Seyurghetmesh*, governs in Khorassaun, iii. 537.

*Mirza Shah Mahmud*, ascends the throne of Khorassaun, iii. 585, et seq.

Mirza Shah Rokh, son of Teymur, his birth, iii. 18. First military services, 141, 145. Kills Shah Munsur in battle, 145. Birth of his son, Oulugh Beg, 177. Becomes governor of Samarkand, 184. Invested with further royalties, 213, et seq. 226. Vide *Hindustaun, passim.* Leads the armies against Syria, 322. Proceedings against Baghdad, 362. Proceeds against Bajazet, 367. Vide Life of Teymur, *passim.* Judicious conduct on death of Teymur, 488, et seq. Assumes sovereign power in Khorassaun, &c. and begins his long reign 489. Defeats rebels, and establishes his supremacy, 498, et seq. Receives an embassy from China, 522. Further contests in Persia, 525. Embassies and alliances, 537, et seq. Prepares hostilities against Kara Yussuf, 539. Attempted assassination, 546. Defeats the Turkomans at Selmauss, 549. Political and courtly occurrences, 550, et seq. Ministerial influence, 559. Illness and miraculous recovery, 561. Last campaign and death, 563. Consequences, 566.

*Mirza Suliman*, revolts in Buddukshaun, iii. 879.

*Mirza Sultan Abu Saeid*, lineal ancestor of the Hindustauny branch of the house of Teymur, iii. 571. Education and early ambition, 572, 577, 582. Hostilities with Mirza Baber, et seq. Advances towards Herat, 588. Further warfare, 595, et seq. Contests with Abulghauzy, 600, et seq. With Ozun Hussun, 613. Taken prisoner, 621. Put to death, 622. Descendants, 623, et seq. Also 659.

*Mirza Sultan Husseyne*, deserts the cause of Teymur, iii. 337. Taken prisoner, 341. Ambitious projects on the death of Teymur, iii. 486, et seq.

*Mirza Sultan Mahommed*, son of Mirza Baysungur, iii. 552, et seq. 559.

*Mirza Yadgar Mahommed*, contests with Abulghauzy for Teymurian succession, iii. 630, et seq. His fate, 639.

*Mirzebaun*, chief of Jurjan, besieged by Yezzeid, and taken, i. 503.

*Mithridates*, defeat by the Romans; on a field of battle afterwards of Teymur and Bajazet, iii. 393.

*Moghairah*, son of Shaubiah, extraordinary diplomacy, i. 105. Receives command at Kufah, 137. His slave murders Omar, 140. Loses command, 152, 156. Judicious advice to the khalif Ally, 188. Invested with the government of Kufah, by the khalif Mauweiah, 379. Dies, 383.

*Moghan*, battle of, Khozzers defeated, i. 553.

Moghul, founder of the Moghul dynasties, origin and history, ii. 461.

*Moghul* generals. Vide the *Life of Teymur, passim*, iii.

*Moghul* princes. Vide the life of Teymur, passim, iii.

*Moghuls*, first noticed, ii. 212. Proceed under Hulauku Khaun to the subjection of the khelaufut, 216, et seq.

*Moghuls*, their original history, ii. 461, et seq.

Moghulstaun, general history, ii. 461, et seq. Military operations of Teymur against Khuzzer Khanjah Oghlan, iii. 96, et seq. Geographical details connected with the expedition of Mirza Eskunder, 300.

*Mohanjer*, the co-exiles of Mahommed, their claims to the khelaufut, i. 21.

*Mohaurek*, son of Abdurrahman, savage cruelty and fall at the battle of Seffeine, i. 294.

*Mohilleb*, son of Abi Sefrah, opposes Mokhtaur, i. 440. Makes incursions into Tartary, 456. Death, 460.

*Mohilleb*, family and descendants of, cut off at Kundabeil, i. 542.

*Mokhtaur*, son of Abû Obaidah, ambitious projects, i. 430. Takes Kufah, 434. Curious policy, 438. Various defeats, 440. Extraordinary death, 441.

*Moklulled*, son of Yezzeid, filial virtue and death, i. 522.

*Mokinnia*, an impostor, establishes a sect in Soghd, ii. 19, 23, et seq. Horrid catastrophe, 25.

*Mongueir*, invasion of the Moghuls, iii. 760.

*Monster*, its miraculous and prophetic appearance, ii. 186.

*Moon* of Nakhsheb, as apostrophized by the Persian poets, its origin, ii. 24.

*Moossa ul Kauzem*, seventh imaum, his history, i. 374.

*Moravia*, invaded by the Moghuls, ii. 544.

*Moscow*, invasion of, by Teymur, iii. 198.

Moses, imitated by the khalif Ul Hakem, ii. 320.

*Mossellem*, son of Aukkebah, capture of, and cruelties at Medeinah, i. 416.

*Mosseylemah*, his first rise, i. 29. Attacked by the prophetess Shujia, 33. Extraordinary negociations, 35. Attacked in his capital, 41. Slain in battle, 48.

*Mosseyb* ul Ferauzy, generous conduct at Tcima, i. 351.

*Mosslem*, sent as herald to the rebels at Bassorah, and heroic conduct, i. 222.

*Mosslem*, son of Aukkail, anecdotes of rebellious diplomacy, i. 392, et seq.

*Mosslem-ul-Auttebah*, leads an army to reduce Medeinah, i. 415.

Mosslemah, brother of the khalif Suliman, advances against Constantinople, i. 496. Retires by order of the khalif Omar, 513, 517. Defeats the Greeks, 514. Enters singly into Constantinople, 516. Arrives at Damascus, 519. His luxury rebuked by Omar, 520. Takes command against insurgents, 533. Battle of Ghefer, 535. Defeats Yezzeid, 539. Destroys the family of Mohilleb, and receives the government of Persia, 543. Unjust conduct towards Sauid, son of Amrû, 555. Besieges Shirvaun, perfidious cruelty, 556. Gains battle of Semender, 559. Extraordinary stratagem at the siege of Baub-ul-abûab, 560. Invades the Grecian territories, 567.

*Mossûle* (Mousul), taken by Mokhtaur, i. 435. Invited by the prince of Egypt to restore the race of Fatima, ii. 190. Famous for its vineyards, anecdote of Teymur's temperance, iii. 159. Advance of Teymur, 167.

*Mother*, punished for stimulating a son to cruelty, iii. 5.

*Moudud*, seventh of the race of Gheznin, ii. 300.

*Moula Maurrouf*, a celebrated transcriber of manuscripts at Herat, iii. 547.

*Moulana* Jullaul-ud-dein Rûmy, author of the Messnûi Sherreif, ii. 577.

*Moulana Mahommed*, saves the life of an imaum at the court of Homayun, under remarkable circumstances, iii. 741.

*Mouness Khaudem*, the faithful eunuch of Ul Muktedder, defeated by the Kerahmitans, ii. 174. Fidelity, 175. Revolts, 176.

*Mounshies*, Hindu, their historical prejudices, iii. 661.

*Mounshy Khaujah Doust*, his delightful gardens at Lahour, iii. 785.

*Mount Alburz*. Vide *Caucasus*.

*Mount Jehûd*, revolt at, ii. 293.

*Mount Libanus*, advance of Teymur, iii. 335.

*Mount Sewaulek*, in Hindustaun, iii. 277. Battle, 278.

*Mount Sinai*, ii. 320.

*Mount Stella*, the scene of battle between Teymur and Bajazet, iii. 393.

*Mount Taurus*, ii. 78.

*Mountain*, fortified in China, arrests the progress of the Moghuls, ii. 557.

*Mountains*, frozen, extraordinary mode of passing, iii. 222, et seq.

*Moush*, territory of, pillaged by Tchobauny, ii. 688.

*Mubasher*, a Teymurian chief, extraordinary wound and gallantry, iii. 53.

*Mubaurek Khaun*, a Hindu prince, skirmish with Teymur, on the Ganges, iii. 272.

*Mueyed-ud-doulah*, son of Rokken-ud-doulah, of the race of Buyah, ii. 260.

*Mueyud*, son of Ul Mutewukkel, abdicates his claim to the khelaufut, ii. 156. Extraordinary murder, 160.

*Mûeyud-ul-Mulk*, son of Nizam, ii. 359. His fall, 361.

*Mueynn*, son of Zaidah, successfully opposes the Roundiah, ii. 14.

*Muezz-ud-doulah*, or glory of the state, title conferred on Ahmed, son of Buyah, conspires against the khalif Ul Mustefky, and dethrones him, ii. 183. Political conduct towards the khelaufut, 184, et seq.

*Mufowez*, heir apparent to the khelaufut, forced to abdicate his claim, ii. 165.

*Mughreb*, in Africa, Saracenic dynasty founded by Abdurrailman, ii. 13.

*Mujaia*, saved from slaughter, i. 41. Defends Yemaumah, by stratagem, 50. Daughter married to Khâled, 51.

*Mukuddum Beg*, aids the escape of Homayun, after the defeat at Kanouje, iii. 783.

*Muleteer*, speedy infliction of justice on, ii. 585.

*Mullou Khaun*. Vide *Mellou*.

*Multaun*, city of, taken by Sultan Mahmud, ii, 282. Its territory invaded by the Moghuls, 520. Besieged by the Moghuls, iii. 219, 240.

*Mundsour*, battle of, between the Emperor Homayun and Sultan Bahauder, iii. 726.

*Munsur*, son of Mehedy, ii. 106. Refuses the khelaufut, 131, 136.

*Munsur*, sixth of the Samanides, ii. 243.

*Munsur*, son of Nouh, eight of the Samanides, ii. 250.

*Murdawuje*, despot of Tebristaun, his usurped power, ii. 155.

MUSCOVY, first invaded by the Moghul Tartars, ii. 544.

*Mush-hed*, city of, embellished by Shah Rokh, iii. 537.

*Mushurruf-ud-doulah*, of the race of Buyah, ii. 269.

*Musquetry*, first noticed in oriental warfare, in the sixteenth century, iii. 678.

*Mussa*, son of Bukâ, revolts in Tebristaun, ii. 162.

*Mussa*, son of Jauffer, extraordinary anecdote, ii. 39.

*Mussaub*, son of Zobair, opposes Mokhtaur, i. 440. Slain in battle, 445.

*Mussa Khaun*, eleventh of the Perso-Moghuls, ii. 676. His reign, 678.

*Mussaoud*, eighth of the race of Gheznin, ii. 301.

*Mussaoud*, thirteenth of the race of Gheznin, first Moghul prince that passes the Ganges, ii. 305. Dies, 306.

*Mussaoud*, son of Sultan Mahmud, ii. 293, 294, 296, et seq. Sixth of the race of Gheznin, 298, et seq.

*Mussaufer ben Kesheir*, revolts against Merwaun, i. 576.

*Mussulman Tchelebi*, eldest son of Teymur, gallantry and virtue, iii. 390.

*Mustanser* the Fatimite, prince of Egypt, assists the rebels in Persia, ii. 192, et seq.

*Mutah*, village of, first battle and victory of Mahommed, i. 4.

*Muthanna*, son of Harethah, military preparations against Persia, i. 95. Succeeds to command in battle of the Euphrates, 100. Gains battle of Heirah, 101. Death, 104.

*Muzdek*, an impostor, his levelling doctrines, ii. 140.

*Muzuffur*, race of, in Kermaun, ii. 436. Downfall, 449.

N.

NAGOUR, district of, iii. 721.

*Nasser*, son of Ahmed, third of the house of Saman, ii. 238. Conquests, 239. Pious resignation and death, 240.

*Nasser*, son of Shebeib Rebbai, revolts at Rakkah, ii. 118. Surrenders, 139.

*Nativity* calculated, ii. 480.

*Naugracut*, fortress of, taken by Sultan Mahmud, ii. 285.

*Nausser-ud-dein*, governor of Van, his fate, iii. 69.

*Naylah*, daughter of Ul Ferayzah, good political advice to her husband, the khalif Othman, i. 175. Heroic conduct, 180.

*Neherwaun*, battle of, between Ally and the Khouauredje, i. 335.

*Neirahtu*, celebrated fortress of, ii. 529.

*Neirahtou*, a celebrated fortress, siege of, iii. 601.

*Neirek*, prince of Tokharestaun, revolts against the Mosslems on the side of Tartary and Kabul, i. 469. Murder of himself and family, 470.

*Nekudaur*, Sultan Ahmed, third of the Perso-Moghul race, ii. 578, 583.

NERBUDDA, river, revolts of Hindus against the Moghuls, iii. 743, et seq.

*Nerkess*, fortress of, in Mingrelia, advance of Teymur, and extraordinary mode of slaughtering the Christians, iii. 205.

*Neyshapur*, city of, taken by Abdullah Aumer, i. 163. Taken and destroyed by the Moghul invaders, ii. 522, et seq.

*Niauman*, son of Mokurren, gains battle of Nihawend, i. 129. But falls, 131, 133.

*Nice*, (Neike) a city of Natolia, iii. 400.

NICEPHORUS, the Greek Emperor, ii. 63, 78.

*Nicephorium*, ancient city of, ii. 63.

*Nihawend*, invasion and cruelties of the Moghul invaders, ii. 513. Besieged by Sultan Husseyne, slaughter of the inhabitants, iii. 208.

*Nikoudrians*, a banditti in Persian Irak, ii. 618.

NILE, river of, extraordinary events, ii. 322.

*Nissebein*, city of, ii. 8, 9.

*Nizam Khaun*, chief of Beiaunah, iii. 690.

*Nizammiah*, College at Baghdad, ii. 356.

*Nizaum*, a Sukka, or water carrier, saves the Moghul Homayun, iii. 773. Curious anecdote, 774.

NIZAM-UL-MULK, the celebrated vezzeir, ii. 196, 348, et seq. 356.

*Nizam-ul-mulk*, curious anecdote of, respecting Sultan Bahauder of Gujerat, iii. 751.

*Noah*, oriental traditions respecting his descendants, ii. 457.

*Nocturnal Walks*, of Khalifs, first practised by Omar, i. 146.

*Nomenclature*, chronological, curious instance of, ii. 332.

*Nosheher*, extraordinary battle at, ii. 678.

*Nouh*, son of Munsur, seventh of the house of Saman, ii. 244.

*Nouh*, son of Nasser, fourth of the house of Saman, ii. 240, et seq.

*Noushargui*, mountain of, curious anecdotes, ii. 473.

*Noushirvaun*, last of the Perso-Moghul monarchs, ii. 692.

*Noushtekein Ghirjah*, founds the Khaurezmian dynasty, ii. 389.

*Noushtekein Haujeb Kherkheiz*, patriotic anecdote, ii. 302, et seq.

*Nowausah Shah*, a Hindu Prince, renounces Isslam, for his native religion, ii, 283.

*Nukrakoh*, or the silver mountain, ii. 519.

*Nuptial aversion*, extraordinary instance of, ii. 694.

*Nur-ud-dein*, prince of Damascus, defeats the Crusaders, ii. 205, 326.

*Nur-ud-dein Abdurraihman ul Jaumy*, a famed Khorassauny historian, his biography, iii. 656.

*Nusseib Shah*, prince of Bengal, hostilities with the Emperior Homayun, iii. 759, et seq.

*Nusseir-ud-dein*, a Persian philosopher, ii. 573.

*Nusser Seyaur*, excites revolt in Khorassaun, by his severities, i. 577. et seq. 591. Dies, 592.

*Nussrut the Gougre*, overcome by Teymur, iii. 239.

*Nussrut Shah*, prince of Bengal, iii. 702.

O.

Oath, a bloody one of Yezzeid, how fulfilled, i. 503, 505. Perfidious one, 556.

*Obaidullah*, son of Suliman, vezzeir to Ul Muatteззed, judicious advice to that khalif, ii. 167.

*Obeid*, son of Selmah, joins Ayaishah in rebellious projects against Ally, i. 194.

*Obeidullah*, son of Zeiaud, succeeds to his father's influence in the confidence of the Khalif Mauweiah, i. 384. Reduces the insurgents to the authority of the Khalif Yezzeid, 393, et seq. Proceeds against Husseyne, 397. Cruel insults to the females of Ally's family, 410. Compunction when ordered to attack Medeinah, 415. Political revenge, 421. Nominates Merwaun to the khelaufut, 423. Slain by Ibrauhim-ul-malek, 437.

*Obeidullah Saud*, lieutenant of Egypt, invades Western Africa, i. 157. Fits out a fleet against Constantine, 164. Egyptian discontents, 169, 175.

*Observations, Astronomical*, curious, iii. 118.

*Oby*, river of, operations of Moghul armies, iii. 95.

*Ocean*, curious Hindu superstition, ii. 289.

*Oghuz Khaun*, a Tartar prince, miraculous history, ii. 463. His dseecndants, 467.

*Olugh Mirza*, joins Homayun, in the attempt to retrieve his fortunes, iii. 859.

Omar, generosity to Mahommed, i. 7. Acknowledges Ally as successor to Mahommed, 12. Conduct during Mahommed's last illness, 15. After his death, 20. Complains against Khâled, 38. Appointed khalîf, 53, et seq. Adopts the title, commander of the faithful, 59. Extends his sway over Syria and Palestine, 75. et seq. Proceeds to siege of Jerusalem, 86. Conduct towards Khâled, 90. Invades Egypt, 92. Political regulations, 92. Contemplates conquest of Persia, 96. His first defeat on banks of Euphrates, 100. Results, 103. Whimsical anecdote, 118. Generosity in conquest, 122. Political and courtly regulations, 123. Self-denial in regard to spoils of battle, 134. First Mahommedan coinage, 136. Further conquests in Persia, 139. His prophetic shout miraculously heard from Medeinah into Persia, 139. His last pilgrimage to Mekkah, 140. Stabbed by a slave, 141. Refuses to transmit the khelaufut to his son Abdullah, names six persons to elect a successor, from themselves, 142. Reasons why, 143. Death, 144. Character, 145. Laws, ministers, &c. 146.

*Omar*, son of Abdullazziz, selected for the khelaufut by Suliman, i. 509. Succeeds to the throne, 511. His character and early proceedings, 512. Withdraws his troops from Constantinople, 513, 517. Rebukes the luxury of Mosslemah, 520. Abolishes the imprecations against Ally, 523. Political virtue, 525. Poisoned, death and character, 526.

*Omar*, son of Laiss, succeeds to the power of the Sufauriah, ii. 231. His fall, 232.

*Omar*, son of Saud, military and political proceedings against Husseyne, i. 396, et seq.

*Omar Shah*, friendly embassy from the prince of Shirauz to Teymur by, iii. 38.

*Omar Sheikh*, son of Teymur, gallantry at the battle of Jovglik, iii. 75. Slain, 172.

*Omar Sheikh Mirza*, Historical anecdotes, iii. 659, et seq. Justice, 661. Death, 662. His issue, 663, et seq.

*Omens*, superstitious one, &c. ii. 297. Opinions of the Moghuls respecting, iii. 256, 258. Astrological appearances regarding Teymur and Bajazet, 376, et seq.

*Omm-e-Habeib*, daughter of the Khalif Ul Mamun. Married into the house of Ally, ii. 135.

*Ommiades*, family of, their khelaufut commences, i. 379.

*Orissa*, story of an astrologer, iii. 757.

*Ormuz*, gulph of Persia, invasion of Teymur, iii. 212.

Othman, liberal contribution, i. 7. Political skill, 53. Named elector for the khelaufut, 142. Elected khalif, 148, et seq. 150. Early revolts, 152. Imprudent change of officers, 153. Extends military operations, 154. Into Tartary, 155. Extends dominion into Western Africa, 156. Creates discontent by improper division of African spoils. Extends Mahommedan sway into Spain, 158. Loses the prophet's seal, 159. March to the Oxus, 163. Violence towards Malek Ashtur, the Nudjesite, 166. Insurrection in Egypt, favoritism and general discontents, 169. Burns all copies of the Koran but one, 170. Intrigues at his court, 171. Rebel armies assemble, appeals to Ally, engages to give redress, but fails, 172. Is insulted by the populace at Medeinah, 173. Effects of his repentance, 174. Treachery towards Mahommed, son of Abu Bukker, 177. Its consequences, et seq. Murdered, 180, 238. Inveteracy against his remains, disgraceful sepulture, 182—3. Character, 183. Consequences of his death, his family, extent of his dominions and list of his lieutenants, 184.

*Othman*, founder of the Turkish dynasty, ii. 388.

*Othman*, son of Hanef, receives command at Bassorah, i. 191. Conduct when attacked by Ayaishah, 199. Taken prisoner and insulted by her, 200.

*Othman*, son of Nehcik, assassinates Abù Mosslem, ii. 11.

*Othman*, son of Wâeil, chivalrous anecdote at Sefeine, i. 292.

*Otraur*, city of, in Tartary, extraordinary commercial occurrence, ii. 402. Besieged and taken by the generals of Jenguiez, 503. Teymur dies, iii. 481.

Ottomans, their origin, ii. 388.

*Ouch*, city of, in Hindustaun, the first taken by the Teymurian Moghuls, iii. 219.

*Oude*, (Oudah) committed to Sheikh Bayezzid by Sultan Baber, iii. 688.

*Oudipour*, city of, iii, 700.

*Ougtai*, son of Jenguiez, lays waste the country towards the Indus, ii. 533. Share of empire, 537, et seq. 540.

*Ougtai Kaan*, (vide *Ougtai*), first of the successors of Jenguiez, ii. 541. Invades China, 542. Completely subjugates it, 544. Embellishes his capital, Karakorum, *ib.* Further conquests towards Russia, &c. *ib.* Anecdotes, &c. 545. Curious prognostication and death, 547, et seq.

*Oujaun*, ornamented and rebuilt by Ghazan Khaun, ii. 633.

*Oujein*, advance of the Moghuls, iii. 725.

*Oujuk*, Tartar tribe, origin and name, ii. 467.

*Ouljaitu Sultaun*, eighth of the Perso Moghul monarchs, military and political conduct, ii. 619, et seq. Ascends the Persian throne, 634. Reign, &c. Invasion of Guilan and Syria, &c. &c. Death, 641, et seq.

Oulugh Beg, son of Shah Rokh, the intelligence of his birth disarms the vengeance of Teymur at Mardein, iii. 177. Occurrences after death of Teymur, 487, et seq. Governor of Mazanderaun, 498. Military proceedings in Moghulstaun, 544. Proceedings on the death of Shah Rokh, 569. Literary character and reign, 570, et seq. Defeat and death, 574.

*Oung Khaun*, a potent Tartar prince, the Prester-John of Asia, ii. 481.

*Ourgunje*, city of, capture and horrible slaughter by the Moghuls, ii. 517.

*Ouskund*, city of, ii. 252.

*Ouskunjah*, fortress of, besieged by Teymur, iii. 204. Slaughter of Tartar troops, 205.

*Oustaud Ally Kuly*, engineer to Sultan Baber, iii. 678, 697.

*Oustand Behzaud*, a Moghul painter, iii. 735.

*Outakein Nùyan*, a Tartar patriarch, ii. 550.

*Ouzbeks*, a Tartar horde, first designated so as inhabitants of the country bordering on the Volga, ii. 654, 672, et seq. 675.

*Ouznan*, mountains of, extraordinary march of the Moghul army under Teymur, iii. 91.

*Oven*, story of a baked khalif, to cure the dropsy, ii. 150.

*Oxus*, Mosslem sway extends to, i. 163. Passed by the Mosslems, under Obaidullah, and the conquest of Tartary, 384. Passed by the Tartar hordes to the conquest of the khelaufut, ii. 216. Invasion and cruelties of the Moghuls over the neighbouring countries, 513.

*Oxydraca*, or *Ouch*, city of, in Hindustaun, taken by Alexander the Great and by Teymur, iii. 219.

Ozun-Hussun, a Turkomann chief, hostilities with Sultan Abu Saeid, and with Sultan Abulghauzy, iii. 609, et seq. 631, et seq.

P

Padshah Khatun, princess of Kermaun, ii. 435.

*Pahar Khaun*, declared emperor, on the fall of Sultan Ibrahim of Dehly, iii. 684.

*Pâl*, son of Anundpal, a Hindu prince, murderous defeat by Sultan Mahmud, ii. 284, 286.

Palœologus, the Emperor of Constantinople, tribute claimed by Teymur, iii. 404.

Palestine, first invaded by the Mahomeddans, i. 64. Extraordinary conference, 66. Its fate decided by the battle of Yermûk, 75, et seq. Jerusalem taken, 84. First appearance of the plague, 88. Capture of cities, 94. Possessed by the Franks, ii. 325, 327. State of Christian power at the irruption of Jenguiez, 499.

*Palmyra*, advance of Teymur, iii. 353.

*Panipet*, battle at, between Sultan Baber, and Sultan Ibrahim, the monareh of Agrah, iii. 678. Decides the fate of Hindustaun, 680.

*Paper Circulation* in Chinese Tartary, ii. 596.

*Parodies*, political revenge by a change of names, iii. 890.

*Parricide*, justly punished, iii. 575.

*Parrots*, extraordinary age of two presented to Teymur, at Feyrouzabad, iii. 268.

*Parss*, (Persia proper), conquered by the Mosslems, i. 138, et seq.

*Patnah*, submits to Sultan Baber, iii. 703. Invaded by Homayun, 760.

*Pauniput*, taken by Teymur, iii. 251.

*Pavilion*, floating, erected on the Jumna, by order of the Emperor Homayun, iii. 940.

*Pehloudy*, judicious retreat of Homayun, iii. 805.

*Peir Ally Baudek*, usurpations, ii. 706, et seq.

*Peir Bedauk*, son of Kara Yussef, the Turkomaun, raised to royalty by his father, iii. 506, et seq.

*Peir Mahommed*, son of Jahangueir, receives Kabul and Gheznein to the banks of the Indus, iii. 127. Invested with sovereignty to the borders of Hindustaun, 219. Crosses the Indus in pursuit of the Afghans, *ib.* et seq. Announced at Dehly as heir-apparent to the throne of Asia, 263, 306. Bastinadoed for rebellion, 316.

*Peir Mahommed Khaun*, sovereign of the Ouzbeks, iii. 889.

*Peir Yakub Baghestauny*, a religious impostor, ii. 629.

*Peishawir*, victory of, gained by Sultan Mahmud, ii. 281, 284.

*Peishkesh*, presents acknowledging homage, iii. 426.

PEKIN, its erection by Kublai Kaan, ii. 559.

*Perniaulics*, an Afghan tribe, exterminated by Teymur, iii. 232.

*Persepolis* (Istakhar), taken by the Mosslems, i. 138, 160.

PERSIA, Mahommedism extends towards, i. 92, 95. First battle, 97. Various battles, 98. Political consequences, 99. Battle on the Euphrates, 99. Of Heirah, 101. Revolution, 102. Curious negociations, 105. Military defence, 110, 111. Fatal battle of Kaudsiah, 111, et seq. Subsequent defeats, 119. Tigris passed by Mosslems, 120. Capital taken, 121. Extraordinary spoils, 122. Battle of Jalula, 124. Extended conquest, 125. Origin of the city of Kufah, and decline of Medacin, 126. Battle of Nihawend, 129. Fate decided, 131. Further conquests in the South, 138, 147. Changes of Governors, 155, 156. Last battle of Istakhar, 159. Rebellion at Bassorah, 202. Campaign of Seffeine, 268. Falls under the power of Mokhtaur, 435. Affairs connected with the rise of the house of Abbas, 589. Conquest by the founder of the Sufaurian dynasty, ii. 164. Suppression, 171. Downfall of the House of Abbas, 213, et seq. Of the rise of the House of Saman, 234, et seq. Comes under the entire sway of Sultan Mahommed, the Khaurezmian, 456. Irruption of the Moghuls, 513. Subjugation, 533. Accession of the Khauns, of the race of Jenguiez, 563. Rise of the Eylekhaunian dynasty, 697. Advance of Teymur, 714. Advance of Teymur into its Western provinces, iii. 57, 128. Conquests, 147, et seq. 208. And in the Southern provinces, 209. Further revolts, and return of Teymur, 294, et seq. Military expeditions of the Moghuls, 305, et seq. Of the Turkomauns, 435. Teymurian policy, 449. Increase of Turkman power, 516. Death of Shah Rokh, and political consequences, 565. Reign of the Seffies, 733.

*Perso Moghuls*, race of, ii. 563, et seq.

*Peyrouzpour*, town of, where Teymur first reached the Ganges, iii. 270.

*Phœnicia*, invaded by the Moghuls under Teymur, iii. 335.

*Pigeon*, anecdote of a carrying one, ii. 568.

*Pigeons* employed as messengers, a military stratagem of Teymur, iii. 153.

*Pilgrimages* to Mekkah, ii. 5. Accommodations for the pilgrims erected in the desert by Melek Shah, 353.

*Pilgrimages* of Hindustan, ii. 289.

*Pillage* of a prime minister, ii. 664.

*Plague*, its first appearance, i. 88.

*Planets*, extraordinary conjunctions, ii. 379.

*Plunder*, extraordinary, gained by Sultan Mahmud, ii. 281.

POLAND, invaded by the Moghul Tartars, ii. 544. Incursions of the Moghuls under Teymur, iii. 198.

*Population* of the world, how produced and divided, ii. 457, 460.

PORTUGAL, conquests of, in Hindustaun first noticed, iii. 731, 750.

*Prayer*, female, how answered, ii. 147.

*Presents*, literary, from Shah Rokh to Sultan Melek Ashruf, iii. 556.

PRESTER JOHN, a Tartar prince, ii. 481. Conjectures respecting his identity, 552, 572.

*Principalities*, Asiatic, how distributed by Melek Shah, ii. 357.

*Prodigies*, during an earthquake, ii. 152.

*Prognostications*, ii. 379.

*Prusa*. Vide *Byrsa*.

*Ptolemais*, taken by Teymur, iii. 349.

*Puhrniah*, district of, taken by the Moghuls, iii. 761.

*Pun*, an Oriental one, ii. 153.

*Punishment*, military, curious one, ii. 415.

*Punishment*, extraordinary Tartar one, ii. 558.

PUNJAUB, conquered by the Mahmûd and successors, ii. 281, 305. Invaded by Teymur, iii. 242. Conquest by Sultan Baber, in his Hindustauny expeditions, 676.

*Purgunnah*, application of the term, iii. 687.

*Purwaunah*, or Butterfly, an armorial bearing, iii. 117.

*Puttun*, city of, taken by the Moghuls, iii. 743.

*Pyramids*, of heads, after the capture of Herat, iii. 40, at Buddur-abad, 43, 49.

R.

RADJPOUTS, described by Ferishtah, iii. 700.

*Rages*, a city of Scripture, plundered by the Moghuls, ii. 512.

*Rahebah*, siege and capture, by Ouljaitu Sultaun, ii. 639.

*Rai*, city of, ii. 9.

*Rain*, extraordinary anecdote of, ii. 406. Miraculous fall of, iii. 576.

*Rajah*, of Jummou, apostatizes from the Hindu faith, iii. 284.

*Rajah Bheim*, his immense treasures, captured by Sultan Mahmûd, ii. 285.

*Rajah Chintaman*, governor of Rohtass, falls a victim to the perfidy of Sheir Khaun, iii. 762.

*Rakkah*, seige of, i. 240. Conduct towards Ally, 263, ii. 62.

*Rana Pursaud*, his kindness towards Homayun, iii. 807.

*Rana Sanka*, hostility to Sultan Baber, iii. 689, 691. et seq. Dies, 701.

*Rao*, a Hindu title, iii. 244.

*Raudegan*, a fertile district in Khorassaun, ii. 349. spared from destruction by the Moghul chiefs, on account of its picturesque scenery, 512.

*Rauffia*, son of Laith, revolts at Samarkand, ii. 78, et seq.

*Raujpouts*, desperate defence of Batneir, iii. 246, (*vide Radjputs.*)

*Rauvy*, river, iii. 237.

*Raven*, produces the death of a Persian Monarch, ii. 577.

*Rabbeiah*, the Hajeb, vezzeir to Ul Munsur, ii. 20, 21, 41.

*Râi*, city of, invaded and plundered by the Moghuls, ii. 512.

*Reshid-ud-dein*, Fazzel-Ullah, the Moghul historian, ii. 632, 643.

*Resheid Wetwaut*, a Khaurezmian Poet, risks his life by his wit, ii. 391.

*Resignation*, princely, anecdote of, ii. 411.

*Ressaulah Waleidiah*, an admirable moral treatise, iii. 709.

*Retaliation*, instance of, iii. 17.

*Review*, military, splendid one of Teymur's army, iii. 383.

*Rhinoceros*, sent as a present to Shah Rokh, from Dehli, iii. 544.

RHODES, reduced to Mosslem Yoke, i. 158.

*Rites funereal*, ceremony of bathing the dead in wine, iii. 305.

RODERICK the Gothic King of Spain, defeated and slain in battle, by the Saracens, i. 471.

*Rohtas*, fortress of, built by Sultan Baber, iii. 676.

*Rohtass*, an impregnable fortress, yields by stratagem and perfidy to Sheir Khaun, iii. 761.

*Rokken-ud-dein*, last of the race of Almowût, ii. 341.

*Rokken-ud-dein Saein*, vezzeir to Sultan Abu Saeid, ii. 659. Treachery, 661, et seq.

ROMANUS DIOGENES, the Greek Emperor, hostilities in Asia, ii. 348.

*Rouha*, city of, taken by Teymur, iii. 168.

*Roumy Khaun*, founder of Surat castle, iii. 726, 758, et seq.

*Roundiah*, a new sect, their revolt against Ul-Munsur, ii. 13.

ROUTE from the Ganges to Samarkand described, iii. 288.

*Rouzut-ul-lubaub*, a Persian Chronicle, ii. 642.

*Ruby*, extraordinary one presented to Teymur, iii. 363.

*Rudbaur*, mountains of, submit to the old man of the mountain, ii. 198.

*Rudjaat*, or heresy of the second coming of Mahommed, first propagated by an apostate Jew, i. 169.

*Rudjai*, son of Zohauk, appointed to enforce the succession of Ally Ruzza, ii. 134.

*Rûmiah of Medâyein*, city of, murder of Abû Mosslem, ii. 10.

*Rupees*, observations on Indian currency, iii. 677.

*Russe*, son of Yapheth, first institutes judicial enquiry, ii. 459.

RUSSIA, first invaded by the Tartars, ii. 544. Incursions of the Moghuls under Teymur, iii. 197.

*Rustic*, military stratagems of, ii. 111.

*Rûstum Furrukhzaud*, Persian General, defeat at Kaudsiah, and extraordinary death, i. 98, 115.

*Rustumdaur*, country of, iii. 55, 451.

S.


SABRAUN, in the Kobi desart, destruction of a Tartar tribe, iii. 86.

*Sacrifice* political, extraordinary one of a Hindû Prince, ii. 281.

*Sagalien*, river, operations of Teymur, iii. 97.

*Saheb-ul-Shaumah*, vide, *Husseyne*, son of Regzuiah.

*Saladin*, vide *Sullah-ud-dein*.

*Salah*, son of Arphaxad, oriental story concerning his prophetic mission, i. 536.

*Salah*, son of Harun ur Rashid, ii. 90.

*Salah*, son of Wasseif, takes command of the Tartar guards in revolt, ii. 161.

*Salah-ud-dein*, assumes political power in Egypt, ii. 327.

*Salt*, castle built on, destroyed by stratagem, ii. 9. Its extraordinary power in regard to hospitality. 229. When first used with food, 458.

*Sâman*, house of, its power extinguished, ii. 191

SAMANIDES, house of, vide Samân, also for their origin, ii. 234. Establishment of Issmauil the first monarch, 235. Accession of Ahmed, 237. Of Nasser, 238. Of Nouh, 240. Of Abul Fouauress, Abdul Melek, 242. Of Munsur, 243. Of Nouh, 244. Of Munsur, 250. Of Abdul Melek, 251. Downfall of, under Issmauil, 252.

SAMARKAND, taken by the Mosslems, under Obeidullah, i. 384. Siege, 474. Converted, by Mosslems, 568. Rise of the Samanides, ii. 235, et seq. Taken by the Moghuls under Jenguiez Khaun, 508. et seq. Becomes the capital of Teymur, iii. 18. Erection of the Baugh-e-shamaul or northern gardens of oriental magnificence, 213. Receives treasures, slaves and artificers from Dehli, 266, 291. Imperial mosque, 292. Return of Teymur from his victories in the last year of his life and reign, 463. Proceedings at and after the funeral of Teymur, 485. Taken from the Ouzbeks by Sultan Baber, 671.

*Samaunah*, town of, iii. 776.

*Samos*, isle of, invasion of the Moghuls, iii. 409.

*Sara*, river of, in the great desart, iii. 106.

*Sardinia*, taken by the Mosslems, i. 472.

*Satalia*, gulph of, advance of the Mosslems, iii. 419. fresh water lake, 420.

*Satrap*, Persian, its derivation, i. 151.

*Saud*, conduct on death of Mahommed, i. 19. Loses the succession, and is murdered, 24.

*Saud*, son of Abi Wekauss, takes command of army against Persia, i. 103. et seq. Gains battle of Kaudsiah, 110. Founds Kufah 126. Removed from command 128. Named electer for the Khelaufut, 142, 148. Resumes Persian command, 153.

*Saud*, son of Ul Auss, mal-administration at Kufah, i. 166. Summoned to support Othman at Medeinah, i. 171.

*Saud-ud-doulah*, a Jewish Physician, splendid destiny of, ii. 586.

*Saud-ul-mulk*, his perfidy, ii. 362.

*Saueid*, son of the Khalif Othman, receives command in Tartarian war, i. 386.

*Sauid*, son of Amrû, advances into Tartary, surprize and subsequent revenge, i. 543. Takes command against the Khozzers, 549. Receives intelligence from the visits of a mysterious stranger, 552. Defeats Khozzers at Baujruan and Moghan, 553. Quarrels with Mosslemah, is committed to prison, 555. Generous redress of the Khalif Hashaum, 556.

*Sauid*, son of Hobair, extraordinary veneration for, as a companion of the prophet, i. 478. His head speaks after being cut off, 479.

*Sauky Beg*, a princess, placed on the Persomoghul throne, ii. 683. et seq.

*Saum Mirza*, besieges Kandahaur, iii. 733.

*Saumerah*, city of, founded by Ul Mutassem, ii. 143.

*Saurek Aadel*, vide *Aadel Aga*.

*Sauriah*, son of Zenneim, gains the battle of Kermaun by a miracle, i. 139.

*Saurung*, a hill country, the retreat recommended to Homayun, iii. 787.

*Scio*, island of, submits to Teymur, iii. 417.

*Sebektekein*, a slave, becomes monarch of Ghezuin, ii. 244, 277, et seq.

*Seffaidjâ Mahgan*, a new seat, ii. 24.

*Seffeid Rud*, or white river, ii. 656.

*Seffeine*, (Campus Barbaricus) plan of military occurrences in the campaign between Ally and Mauweiah, i. 268, et seq. Copious details, 275, et seq. Consequences of that war, 322.

*Seffy*, House of, reigns in Persia, iii. 733.

*Seffy-ud-dein Ardebeily*, ancestor of the Seffûides, or race of Seffy, ii. 673.

*Sehwaun*, fortress of, besieged by Homayun, iii. 798.

*Seiabelâei*, (black mischief) battle of, iii. 496.

*Seirdar*, defeat of the Afghans by Sultan Baber, iii. 703.

*Seirjaun*, siege of, iii. 171.

SEIESTAUN, province of, the scene of revolt, from whence originates the Sûfaurian dynasty, ii. 164. Submits to Yakub, the Sufaurite, 230. Further events, 237. Invasion by Teymur, iii. 43. Siege of the capital, and display of romantic bravery, 45. Final reduction 48.

*Seklaub*, ancestor of the Sclavonians, ii. 459

*Sekrauk*, mountains of, ii. 411.

*Sekunder Sour*, the Afghan, iii. 916.

*Seleim Shah*, the Afghan monarch of Hindustaun, iii. 825. Vide *Jullaul Khaun*

*Seleucia*, ancient city of, foundation of the modern Baghdad, ii. 17.

*Self Denial*, remarkable anecdote of, iii, 157.

*Self Devotion*, extraordinary instance of, in Sultan Baber, to save the life of his son, iii. 707.

*Selgher*, race of, sovereign power in Farss, ii. 423, et seq.

*Selingai*, the town built soon after the flood, ii. 458.

*Seljuk*, race of, ii. 192. Origin 298, 303, et seq. First of the name, 344. Succession of the monarchs of that house, 346, et seq. Origin of the Anatolian branch, 352. Its power terminates under Sultaun Toghrel, iii. 383.

*Seljuk Shah*, last of the Selgher race of Farss, cruelties and death. 429, et seq.

*Selleit*, son of Keyss, proceeds to invade Persia, i. 96. Killed in battle, 99.

*Selmaun*, son of Rebeiah, invades Armenia, i. 154. invades Tartary, is defeated and falls, 155.

*Selmauss*, tremendous conflict of, iii. 549.

*Semender*, battle of, i. 557.

*Semmeiah*, a female slave, her history and amours, i. 379.

*Senbâd*, of Neyshapur, aspires to Khelaufut, ii. 12. death 13.

*Senjaur*, battle of, ii. 568.

*Sepulture*, Moghul, anecdote of, ii. 631.

*Serbedaurians*, race of, in Subbuzwaur, ii. 449, et seq. 452.

*Sersawah*, battle of, iii. 677.

*Serhind*, city of, retreat of Homayun, iii. 785,

*Sermer*, country of, invaded by the Mosslems, i. 563, et seq.

*Serpent*, discovers treasures, ii. 255.

*Sersetty*, or Sreswatty, town and river, iii. 247.

*Sevauss*, city of, advance of Teymur against the Othmans, iii. 317. Taken 318. And destroyed, 319.

*Sewaud*, hostilities of Sultan Baber, against the Afghans, iii. 673.

*Sewauleh*, mountains of, iii. 280.

*Seydah*, a dowager of the race of Buyah, her extraordinary political powers, ii. 266.

*Seyf*, a Tartar commander, reasons for loyalty, ii. 151, His injuries, 153.

*Seyf-ud-dein*, Sury, conquers Gheznin, ii. 309, defeated 310.

*Seyud Gheyauth-ud-dein*, embassy of, iii. 619.

*Seyud Khaujah*, hostilities against Shah Rokh, iii. 493.

*Seyud Kummaul-ud-dein*, hostilities with Teymur, iii. 128, et seq.

*Seyuds*, a community of, in Hindustaun, claim the protection of Teymur, iii. 249.

*Seyûrghaul*, a feudal tenure of the Tartars, iii. 80.

*Seyûrkoukteny*, Beiggy, a Christian Princess of Tartary, ii. 553.

*Shahaub-ud-dein*, the Ghourian Chief, conquers the Gheznian provinces in Hindustaun, ii. 314.

*Shahaub-ud-dein*, Zemindaur of an island in the Behaut, first opposes Teymur, iii. 235.

SHAH, first noticed as a title, ii. 195.

*Shah Husseyne*, prince of Sind, iii. 733.

*Shah-Kutb-ad-dein*, prince of Sejestaun, hostilities with, and submission to Teymur, iii. 43.

*Shah Mahommed*, son of Kara Yusuf the Turkmaun, receives the sovereignty of Baghdad, iii. 516, et seq.

*Shah Munsur*, last of the race of Muzuffur, is overthrown by Teymur, ii. 449, 704, et seq. iii. 139, et seq.

*Shah Nessaur*, prince of Gherjistaun, ii. 286.

*Shah Rokh*. Vide *Mirza Shah Rokh*.

*Shah Shujia*, extends his power into Azerbaijaun, ii. 713.

SHAH TAHMASP, king of Persia, of the house of Seffy, iii. 733, et seq. Gives shelter to Homayun, 834, et seq.

*Shahies*, princes of Khaurezm, ii. 389.

SHAHNAMAH, ancient chronicle, anecdote of, ii. 268.

*Shahzâdah Arghun*, fourth monarch of the Perso Moghul race, ii. 578. et seq.

*Shahzadah Beyssour*, ii. 640. Political intrigues, 647, et seq.

*Shahzadah Ghazan*. Vide *Ghazan Khaun*.

*Shahzadah Omar*, son of Meiran Shah, iii. 494. et seq.

*Shahzadahs*, kinsmen of Jengueiz, ii. 541. 555.

*Shaik-ul-hidjaurah*, or Father Flint, a title given to the avaricious Khalif Abdulmêlek, i. 465.

*Shaudy Melek*, a Moghul concubine, whimsical anecdote of, iii. 474.

*Shebeib*, the Sheybanian, leads the Bassorah insurgents i. 452. Extraordinary death, and miraculous appearances, 453.

*Sheher Baunu Begum*, princess, her adventures, iii. 832.

*Sheherzur*, city of, submits to the Abbassides, i. 596.

*Shehervaun*, battle of, and total defeat of Jerrauh, son of Abdullah, i. 549.

*Sheheryaur*, son of Rustum, anecdotes of, ii. 253.

*Sheiahs*, their doctrines propagated, ii. 134. Adverse sects, their disputes at Baghdad, 215.

*Sheidasku*, prince of Tangueit, revolts against Jenguiez Khaun, ii. 535, 539.

*Sheikh Abdurraihman*, the Essfraeinian, diplomatic visit to Teymur, iii. 151.

*Sheikh Ahmed Yeissivy*, extraordinary Mausoleum built by Teymur, iii. 216.

*Sheikh Ally Bahauder*, governor of Khauresm, under Teymur, iii. 22. Taken prisoner, 39.

*Sheikh Ally Beg Jullaeir*, faithful gallantry, iii. 808.

*Sheikh Behlowul*, a favourite of the Emperor Homayun, embassy, iii. 765. Murder, 766.

*Sheikh Daoud*, a Turkman chief, military services in the desart, iii. 109.

*Sheikh Gohriu*, sets an example of submission to Sultan Baber at Agra, iii. 687.

*Sheikh Hussun Buzurg*, first of the Eylekhaunian dynasty, ii. 681, et seq. 697.

*Sheikh Hussun Koutchek*, rebels in Anatolia, ii. 681, et seq.

*Sheikh Hussun Tchobauny*, military stratagem of, ii. 682. Death, 689.

*Sheikh Nur-ud-dein*, brings valuable treasures from Farss to Teymur, on his Indian expedition, iii. 227. Entrusted by Teymur with political arrangements on his death-bed, 480, et seq.

*Sheikh Pouran*, race of, held in high veneration, iii. 794.

*Sheikh-ul-jebbel*. Vide *Hussun Sabah*.

*Sheikh Zeyne*, the Suddur, his arithmetical paradox, iii. 710.

*Sheir Afkunn*, treachery and punishment, iii. 885, ante et seq.

SHEIR KHAUN, a celebrated Afghan chief, hostilities with the Emperor Homayun, iii. 713. History, 754, et seq. 912. Further hostilities with Homayun, the Moghul Emperor, victory at Yohssah, and proceedings which led to the rise of the Afghan power upon the ruins of the Moghul Empire, 771, et seq. Military proceedings and conquests, 820, et seq. Killed by the explosion of combustibles at the siege of Kalinjer, 824. Proceedings of the Afghans after his death, 825, et seq.

*Sheirpour*, a town in Bengal, iii. 761.

*Shekky*, city of, in Iberia, capture, and cruelties of Merwaun, i. 563.

*Shepherd*, Tartarian anecdote of one, ii. 547.

*Sherheil*, an Arabian chief, murders an emissary of Mahommed, and first provokes hostilities, i. 3. Applies to the Emperor Heraclius for assistance, 4.

*Sheref-ud-dein Ally*, author of the Zuffurnamah, iii. 210.

*Sherjeil*, son of Semmet, stimulates the Syrians to revolt, i. 254.

*Shirauz*, falls into the power of the race of Buyah, ii. 255. Of the Tartars, 371. Besieged, and taken, 441. Dreadful famine, 621. Invasion of Teymur, iii. 69. Advance of Teymur against Shah Munsur, 143. Battle, 144. Falls into the invader's power, 146. Anecdotes of oriental pomp and power, 147. Submits to Shah Rokh, 525.

SHIRVAUN, province of, occurrences during the Khozzer revolt, i. 554, et seq. Invaded by the Moghuls, ii. 514. Submits to the Moghul power under Teymur, iii. 62.

*Shoemaker*, anecdote of, viewing a battle, betrays the fugitive Sultan Ahmed, iii. 514.

*Showzeb Bostaum*, becomes schismatic, and excites revolt at Kufah, i. 524, et seq.

*Shukkury*. Vide *Futtahpour*.

*Shujia*, a female impostor, i. 29, 32. Attempts the sovereignty of Arabia, 33. Her intrigue with Mosseylemah, 35. Defeated, 37.

*Shumb-e-Ghazan*, battle between Mirza Abu Bukker and Kara Yussuf, iii. 503. Between Yussuf and Ahmed Eylkhauny, 513.

*Shums-ud-dein*, a Persian vezzeir, the victim of generosity, ii. 581, 583.

*Shums-ud-dein Mahommed*, a soldier, protects the defeated Homayun at Kanouje, iii. 783, 785.

*Shums-ul-Maula*, prince of Jurjaun, literary talents, ii. 273.

*Shurf-ud-dein*, rapacity of, ii. 556.

*Shurf-ud-doulah*, ii. 187.

*Shurf-ud-doulah*, of the race of Buyah, ii. 263.

*Siaulkote*, fortress of, erected by Sultan Shahaub-ud-dein, ii. 315.

*Siberia*, advance of Teymur, iii. 194.

*Sidon*, its capture by the Teymurian troops, iii. 335.

SIEGES, of Yemaumah, i. 41. Of Damascus, 60. Of Baalbec, 65. Of Aleppo, 83. Of Jerusalem, 84, et seq. Of Nessebein, 93. Of Neyshapur, 163. Of Bassorah, 198. Of Harran, 240. Of Rakkah, 241. Of Mekkah, 417. Of Samarkand, 474. Of Gûrgan, 498. Of Werkan, and interesting anecdote, 551. Of Baghdad, ii. 108. Of Baghdad by the Moghuls, 220. Of Meymundezh, 341. Of Hazaurasp, 391. Of Eklaut, 415. Of Shirauz, 441. Of Isfahaun, 443. Of Bokhara, 500. Of Otraur, 503. Of Samarkand, 508. Of Jurjauniah, 515. Of Meru, 520. Of Neyshapur, 524. Of Herât, 526. Of a fortified mountain in China, 558. Of Aleppo, 564. Of Miafaurekein, 566. Of Mossule, 568. Of Herât, 619. Of Damascus, 623. Of Rahebah, 639. Of Balkh, iii. 16. Of Khauresm, 19. Of Herât, 26. Of Foshunge, 26. Of Kolaut, 33. Of Tersheiz, 37. Of Budder-abad, 42. Of Sejestaun, 44. Of Hazaurbenn, 48. Of Sultauniah, 55. Of Alanjek, 64. Of Tuss, 88. Of Kellasefeid, 140, 141.

Of Tekreit, 160. Of Hamid, 178. Of Nihawend, 208. Of Yezd, 209. Of Multann by the Moghuls, 219. Of Batneir, 244. Of Dehli, 252, et seq. Of Auksu, 301. Of Sevauss, 318. Of Behesny, 322. Of Aleppo, 325. Of Damascus, 336. Of Baghdad, 360. Of Smyrna, 412. Of Kurtein, an extraordinary hill fort, 439. Of Kalinjer, 713. Of Tcheitour, 718. Of Kandahaur, 733. Of Tchampancir, 736. Of Chunar, 758. Of Kalinjer, 823. Of Bost, 854. Of Kandahaur, 858.

*Signet*, poisoned for purposes of suicide, ii. 286.

*Silver*, circulation of, prohibited in Persia, ii. 597.

*Sind*, deserts of, sufferings of Sultan Mahmud's army, ii. 292.

*Sind*, country of, politics of Shah Husseyne, &c. iii. 733.

*Slaughter*, human, horrible instances of, ii. 517, 522, 528, 531.

*Slave*, curious military anecdote, ii. 349.

*Sloughs*, battle of, iii. 13.

SMYRNA, advance of Teymur, iii. 407. Taken, 415.

*Sohul*, son of Sembaut, takes prisoner the impostor Baubek, ii. 144.

*Solomon*, oriental traditions respecting, iii. 335.

*Soraub*, river of, its devious course, iii. 289.

*Souls departed*, Mahometan mode of propitiation, iii. 434.

*Soungurr*, fortress of, iii. 731.

*Souroun*, the Tartar war-cry, iii. 146.

*Sourudj-gurr*, the north-west boundary of Bengal, invaded by Sheir Khaun, iii. 756.

*Sozopetra*, town of, birth-place of Ul Mutassem, is taken by the Greek Emperor, ii. 145.

*Srinuggur*, mountains of, a boundary of the Dehli Empire, iii. 715.

SPAIN, first threatened by the Mosslems, i. 156. Invaded, 158. Second invasion by the Saracens under Târik, who captured Andalusia, and gave his name to Gibraltar, 471.

*Stone* holy, left by Noah to his descendants, ii. 457, et seq.

ST. JOHN, Knights of, defend Smyrna, but without success, against Teymur, iii. 412.

*Stratagem*, daring one of Merwaun, i. 564. Military, of Berka Khaun, ii. 571. Military, at the siege of a Hindu castle by the Moghuls, iii. 281.

*Suaun*, battle of, and defeat of the Kerahmitans, ii. 172.

*Subbuzwaur*, its political history, ii. 449.

*Submission*, extraordinary anecdote of, iii. 182.

*Suddur Jahaun*, vezzeir to Ghazan Khaun, ii. 615.

*Suddur Khaun*, military proceedings in the revolt of Gujerat, iii. 731.

*Sufauriah* dynasty, its origin, ii. 164, 228.

*Sugar*, extraordinary consumption of, at a royal wedding, ii. 195.

*Sûliman*, son of Abdulmelek, succeeds to the khelaufut, i. 483. Circumvents the designs of Kateibah, 487. Commences hostilities against Constantinople, 496. Is irritated against Yezzeid, 508. Death, and remarkable circumstances connected with it, 509.

*Suliman*, son of Khaled, judicious advice to Ul Munsur, ii. 18.

*Suliman*, son of Kuttulmesh, founds the Anatolian dynasty of the Seljucides, ii. 352, 354.

*Suliman*, son of Sûrred, heads the insurrectionary army of Mekkah, i. 425. Is defeated and slain, 427.

*Suliman*, son of Zeiaud, makes himself master of the finest portion of Tartary, i. 412.

*Suliman Khaun*, fifteenth of the Perso-Moghuls, ii. 686.

*Suliman Shah* of Khorassaun, ii. 375.

SULLAH-UD-DEIN, or Saladin, his origin, ii. 205. Usurps power in Egypt, 206, 327.

SULTAN, first mentioned, ii. 190.

*Sultan Abu Saeid*, born, ii. 635. Made governor of Khorassaun, 640. Ascends the throne, 643. Contests amongst his tributaries, 647, et seq. Receives the popular title of Bahauder for his military prowess, 657. Amours, 660, 673. Dies, 672.

SULTAN AHMED JULLAEIR, fourth of the Eylekhaunian dynasty, ii. 708. Hostilities with Teymur, iii. 55, et seq. Advance of Teymur after unsuccessful diplomatic exertions, 151. Driven from Baghdad, 154. Final adventures, 155, et seq. Escapes into Syria, 186, et seq. thence to Egypt, *ib.* Returns to Baghdad, 187. Advance of the Teymurian troops to Baghdad, and domestic treachery, 307, et seq. Quits Baghdad with his family for Aleppo, 311. thence to Anatolia, to the court of Bajazet, the Othman Emperor, 312, et seq. 319. Further political and military proceedings in alliance with Bajazet, 367, et seq. Further hostilities with Kara Yussuf, and flight from Baghdad, 435, 471. Further recapitulations, 501, et seq. 513. Strangled, 518.

*Sultan alla-ad-dein*, claims to the throne of Dehly, iii. 722.

*Sultan Arslan*, of Khorassaun, ii. 376.

*Sultan Aveiss*, second of the Eylkhanians in Persia, ii. 697.

*Sultan Aveiss*, contests with Shah Rokh, iii. 532.

hostilities with Sultan Baber, iii. 673, et seq. 702.

SULTAN BABER, founder of the Hindustauny branch of the House of Teymur, iii. 622, 662. Birth and Family, 664. Royal accession and rise to imperial power, *ib.* et seq. Early conquests, 666. Contemplates the conquest of Dehli, and advances upon Budduksbaun and Kabul, 667. Towards Kandahaur, 668. Enters Khorassaun, on the death of Abulghanzy, 669. Defeats the Ousbeks, takes Samarkand, and marches for Hindustaun, 671. His first invasion described by himself, 672. Second invasion, and third, 673, et seq. Fourth expedition, 675. Fifth expedition, and final conquest, 676, et seq. Passes the Behaut, and Tchunaub rivers, 676. Battle of Paniput, 678. Uses musquetry, *ib.* Acquires the sovereignty of Dehli, by the fall of his rival, 680. Takes Dehli and Agrah, 682. His moderation, 683. Generosity, 684. Contests with the feudatories, discontents of his troops, *ib.* 685, et seq. Political views, 686, et seq. Hostilities with the Afghans, 689, with Rana Sanka, 692. Battle of Futtahpour, or Khanwah, 693. Holds a council of state, 701. Receives submission of the prince of Bengal, 702. Plants his standard on the Ganges, 703. Extraordinary act of parental self devotion, 706. Settles the succession of his eldest born, 708. Death and character, political and literary, 709. Anecdotes, and family, 710, et seq.

*Sultan Bahauder*, of Gujerat, political transactions and wars with the emperor Homayun, iii. 714, et seq. Extraordinary fate, 750.

*Sultan Bayezzid*, last of the Eylekhaunian dynasty, ii. 708, et seq.

*Sultan Bundkedaur*, of Egypt, ii. 568.

*Sultan Burguiaurug*, of the house of Seljuk, his reign, ii. 358, et seq.

*Sultan Eissa*, of Mardein, submits to Teymur, iii. 169, et seq.

*Sultan Husseyne*, third of the Eylekhaunian dynasty, ii. 703.

*Sultan Ibrahim Lody*, monarch of Agrah, hostilities with Sultan Baber, iii. 675, 677, et seq. Falls at the battle of Paniput, 680.

*Sultan Jullaul-ud-dein*, last of the Khauresm Shahies, ii. 410, et seq. 418.

*Sultan Mahmud*, of Dehli,—vide *Dehli, Teymur, Hindustaun;* invasion of Teymur, iii. 242. Battle before Dehli, 257. Defeated and Flies, 261.

*Sultan Mahmud*, (Mahommed Ghazan Khaun) vide *Ghazan Khaun.*

*Sultan Mahmud Khaun*, last of the Tcheghataian race in Turaun, iii. 9.

*Sultan Mahommed*, shares in the power of the Khelaufut, ii. 197.

*Sultan Mahommed*, king of Khaurezm, hostilities with Ul Nausser, ii. 209.

*Sultan Mahommed*, of Khorassaun, ii. 374.

*Sultan Mahommed*, sixth of the Shahies, ii. 398. Distress and death, 407.

*Sultan Mahommed Reshidy*, murdered by Khaujah Mauzzem, iii. 880.

*Sultan Mussaoud*, takes the Khalif Ul Mustershid prisoner, ii. 200, et seq.

*Sultan Melek Shah*, fixes his seat of empire at Isfahan, ii. 195. Death and further notices, 196.

*Sultan Melek Shah*, of Khorassaun, ii, 373.

*Sultan Mussaoud*, of Khorassaun, ii. 371.

*Sultan Rokken-uddein*, of Khaurezm, ii. 407.

*Sultan Saeid Khaun*, revolts in Kashgar, iii. 704.

*Sultan Shah*, son of Ayeil Arslan, fourth of the Khaurezm Shahies, ii. 393.

*Sultan Shah*, son of Kauerd, establishes the Seljukian race in Kermaun, ii. 383.

*Sultan Sheir Shah*, of Khauresm, ii. 408.

*Sultan Suliman*, first of the Seljuk monarchs of Anatolia, ii. 385.

SULTAN SUNJUR, assumes nearly all the power of the Khelaufut, ii. 197, 306, 334. Ascends the throne of Khorassaun, 364. Hostilities in Transoxiana, 365. Taken prisoner, 366. His fate, 369.

*Sultan Toghrel*, assaults Baghdad, but fails, ii. 199.

*Sultan Toghrel*, of Khorassaun, ii 370.

*Sultan Toghrel*, 2d. interesting reign, ii. 378, et seq. Slain, 382.

*Sultaness*, poisoned by her own treachery, ii. 381.

*Sultuun-e-Aullum*, revolt and cruel punishment, iii. 731.

*Sultaun-ud-doulah*, of the race of Buyah, ii. 268.

SULTAUNIAH, city of, its rise, ii. 587, 635. Described, 642. Besieged by Teymur, iii. 55, 59. Contests for succession after death of Teymur, 495.

*Sumbul*, fortress of, in Hindustaun, iii. 688.

*Sumbul Khaun*, general of artillery, protects the infant Akbar, at the siege of Kabul, iii. 888.

*Sumnaut*, in the Gujerat, famous Hindû temple, plundered by Sultan Mahmud, ii. 288.

*Sumsaum-ud-doulah*, of the race of Buyah, ii. 186, 264.

*Sunnies*, and Sheiahs, their disputes at Baghdad, ii. 215.

*Sunput*, town of, near Dehli, iii. 767.

*Superstition* military, extraordinary one of the Tartars, ii. 535.

*Surat*, castle of, how and when founded, iii. 726.

*Susa*, taken by the Mosslems, i. 125.

*Sword*, curious anecdote of one, ii. 154.

SYRIA, invaded by Mahommed, i. 3. Invaded by Abû Bukker, 28. Defeat of Greek army, 68. Its fate decided by battle of Yermûk, 75, et seq. First appearance of the plague, 88. Political changes after the accession of Ally, 192. Intrigues of Mauweiah, 232, Revolt and its consequences, 241. Overrun by the sect of Keraumitah, ii. 171. History of the Atabeks, 418. Invasion by Hulauku Khaun, from Persia, 563. Political arrangements, 622, et seq. Moghul invasion, 638. Invasion of Teymur, iii. 168, et seq. Political anarchy, 300, 320. Hostile designs of Teymur, 321, et seq. Fortresses captured, 323.

T.

TADMOR, (Tedmer) city of, invasion of Teymur, iii. 353.

*Taher*, son of Abdullah, succeeds to power in Khorassaun, ii. 228.

*Taher*, son of Mahommed, third and last of the Sufauriah, his downfall, ii. 234.

*Taher*, son of Ul Husseyne, founder of the Taherites, ii. 97, 98. Military skill, 100, et seq. Persuades the Khalif Ul Mamun to restore the succession to the House of Abbas, 139. Appointed governor of Khorassaun, and thereby founds the power of his family, *ib.* 224, et seq. His death, 226.

TAHERITES, in Khorassaun, House of, ii. 97, 139. Rise of that power under Taher Zulyemnein, 224. Accession of Tulleihah, 226. Of Abdullah Taher. 227. Of Taher, his son, 228. Of Mahommed, son of Taher, 228. Its downfall, 229.

*Talmaser*, celebrated sanctuary of, ii. 288.

*Talisman*, formed by the impostor Mokinniah, ii. 24. Anecdote, iii, 840.

*Tamerlane*, vide *Teymur*.

*Tanais* river, advance of Teymur, iii. 197.

*Tangouz Khaun*, of Khatay, sends ambassadors to Teymur, iii. 217.

*Tangrolipix*, first mentioned, ii. 155.

*Tank*, a remarkable one near Kabul, iii. 710.

*Tankah*, an Indian coin, iii. 682.

*Tapestry*, extraordinary, iii. 465.

*Tareikk gûzeidah*, an excellent Persian history, ii. 674.

*Tartar* wounded, extraordinary tenacity of life, iii. 101.

TARTARY, first contests with the Mosslems, i. 138, 154. Invaded, 155. Mosslem army defeated at Balkhjird, 155. Advance of the Mosslems under Obeidullah, across the Oxus, 384, 412. Revolt of the Khozzers, 544, et seq. Conversion of the Khagan of the Khozzers, 562. The slaves of that country first embodied as guards of the Khalif, ii. 143, 148. Rise of the Tartarian power, under Jengueiz Khaun and his descendants, 213, et seq. Irruption of the Moghuls into Persia, 217. The advance of Sebekteggin to the Indies, 277. The House of Seljuk, 344. General History, from earliest accounts, 457, et seq. Origin of the names of the various tribes, 464. Of the children of Light, 472. Conquest of China, 492. Final reduction under Jenguiez, 497. Irruption of the Moghuls, 500. Political arrangements after the death of Jenguiez, 537, 540, et seq. Extension of Christianity, 551. History of Turaun, iii. 3. History of Teymur, 9, et seq. Military Operations North of Moghulstaun, 94, et seq. Ib. on the Volga, 187, et seq. General suffering of the tribes in consequence of Teymur's hostilities, 203. Political anarchy of Northern provinces, 300. Geographical details connected with the expedition of Mirza Eskunder, 301, et seq. Political axioms respecting the Tartars, 315. Conquest of the Othman Empire, 367, et seq. Teymur's policy respecting the Kara Tatarians, 428. Death of Teymur, and its consequences, 480, et seq. Establishment of Moghul Empire in India, vide *Sultan Baber*.

*Tatar Khaun*, founder of the Tartar dynasties, history and descendants, ii. 461.

*Tatar Khaun*, hostile intrigues in Gujerat, iii. 718.

*Tatars*. Vide *Tartary*.

*Tattah*, city of, iii. 794.

*Tauje-ud-dein Ally Shah*, the only Moghul vezzeir who escaped a violent death, ii. 659.

*Tauk*, hills of, prospect of the plains of Keptchauk Tartary, iii. 106.

*Taulekan*, the strongest fortress of Asia, taken by the Moghuls, ii. 519.

*Tauris*, (Tebreiz) city of, rebuilt by Zobaidah, ii. 89.

*Tawus*, fortress of, extraordinary mode of attack by the Moghuls, iii. 200.

*Tayang Khaun*, his conflicts with Jengueiz, ii. 484.

*Tayming*, a magnificent Chinese city, ii. 490.

*Tchaharkund*, a hilly district in Bengal, iii. 760.

*Tchampaneir*, city of, in Gujerat, iii. 731. Siege, 736.

*Tcharikaran*, plunder of caravans at, by the Afghans, iii. 886.

*Tcheghatai*, throne of, competitors after the death of Teymur, iii. 487, et seq.

*Tcheghatai*, second son of Jenguiez, lays waste Mekraun, ii. 533. Share of Empire, 537, et seq. 540. Share of his father's conquests, iii. 1. Reign and death, 3. Successors, 4, et seq.

*Tchegher Beg Daoud*, brother of Toghrel Beg, ii. 345. Conquers and becomes prince of Herat,

347. His son sueeeeds to the throne of Khorassaun 348.

*Tehein*, a son of Yapheth, his history, ii. 458. Peoples the Chinese Empire, 460.

*Tehein Teymur Sultan*, gallantry and good eonduet at the battle of Futtahpour, iii. 696.

*Tcheitour*, an important fortress bordering on Gujerat, iii. 718, 725.

*Tehekmauk Beg*, (Captain Flint) obtains the diadem in Egypt, iii. 555.

*Tchengdu*, eapital of the Moghuls, ii. 559.

*Tehengtu*, eity of, in China, ii. 489.

*Tehengueiz*. Vide *Jengueiz Khaun*.

*Tehirkess*. Vide *Circassia*.

*Tehoul Jerou*, a desert of Hindustaun, iii. 234.

*Tehunaub*, river of, iii. 284, 286.

*Tchundeiry*, town of, taken by the Moghuls, iii. 700.

*Tebreiz*, eity of, rebuilt by Zobaidah, ii. 89. Irruption of the Moghuls, 513. Various improvements and enlargement by Sheikh Hussun, the Tehobaunian, 688. Dreadful plague, 701.

Tebristaun, (Hyreania) invaded by Yezzeid, i. 500, ii. 12. Various ehanges of power, 254, 297, 371. Invasion of Teymur, iii. 129.

*Teflis*, eity of, taken by the Khaurezmians, ii. 414. Taken by Teymur, iii. 61.

*Tehraun*, eity of, ii. 607.

*Teik*, river of, iii. 109, et seq.

*Tekkel*, prineess of the midland Tartars, married to Teymur, iii. 215, et seq.

*Tekreit*, a strong fortress of marauders, besieged by Teymur, iii. 160, et seq.

*Telhah*, poliey and death of Abû Bukker, i. 54. Named by Omar eleetor for the Khelaufut, 142, 148. Conduet towards Ally, 187. Inauspieious presage on saluting the new khalif, 188. Remonstrates with Ally, 193. Slain, 224.

*Temutehin*, the youthful name of Jengueiz Khaun, ii. 479.

*Tenjah*. Vide *Mekkah*.

*Tennaub*, Indian surveying eord for topographical measurements, iii. 711.

*Tents* first invented, ii. 458.

*Tereddy Beg*, governor of Tehampaneir, iii. 747.

*Terek*, river of, defeat of Hulaukn Khaun, ii. 571. Battle of, between Teymur and Touktemesh, iii. 190.

*Terkhan*, origin of the Terkhanians, ii. 483.

*Terkhûn*, prinee of Sogd, deposition and suicide, i. 471.

*Ternasherin Khaun* of Turaun, invades Hindustaun, iii. 4, 268.

*Termed*, eity of, taken by Moghuls, ii. 518.

*Tersheiz*, eity of, siege by Kutbud-dein Mahommed, the Khaurezmian, ii. 397.

*Tersheiz*, a mountain fortress, besieged by Teymur, iii. 37.

Teymur, first mentioned, ii. 448. Miraculous lineage, 472, 474. Birth, 674. History of the Eylekhaunian Monarehs, the last of whom, Sultan Bayezzid, he overthrew, 708, *et ante*. Commenees his mareh towards Irak and Azerbaijaun, 714. First notiee of Bajazet, the Ottoman, 715. His general history commenees, iii. 1. Genealogy, 9. Birth and infaney, 10. First military operations, 11. Military exploits in allianee with Ameir Husseyne, and defeat of Eleias Khaujah, 12. Obtains possession of Samarkand, 13. His first defeat, *ibid.* Disputes with Husseyne, 14. Proeeeds against Balkh, 15. Reeeives the insignia of Mahommedan power from Ameir Seynd Berrekah. Friendship with that deseendant of the prophet, *ibid.* Transaetions in Turaun, and siege of Balkh; also death of Ameir Husseyne, 16. Elevated to sovereign authority, 17. Establishes Samarkand as his royal eapital, 18. Hostilities with the Khaurezmians, 19. Proposes to eall a kuriltai, or Tartarian parliament, 22. Hostilities with the Prinee of Herat, 23. Invades Khorassaun, 24. Cruelty at Foshunge, 26. Conquers Neyshapur, &e. 31. Family afflietions, 32, 40. Advanees towards Mazanderaun, 33. Besieges Kolaut, without sueeess, 34, 38. Reeeives overtures of friendship from the Prinee of Shirauz, *ibid.* Reduees Sejestaun, 43, 47. Further eonquests, 48. Of the Afghans, 49. Of Kandahaur, 50. Invades Mazanderaun, 52. Besieges Sultauniah, 55. Invades Kohestaun, 56. Advanees towards Western Persia, 57, et seq. Conquests of Teflis, Van, Kurdestaun, Shirauz, &c. 68. Invasions of revolted Tartar tribes, 76, et seq. Family arrangements, 83, 99. Hostilities with Touktemesh Khaun, 84. Crosses the Seyhûn near Khojend, 85. Advanees towards the Irtish, 93. Proceeds through Moghulstaun, 96. Extraordinary eampaign, 99. Holds a kuriltai for military eontingeneies, 100. Despatehes troops towards Jettah, 101. Grand expedition into Keptehauk Tartary, 102, et seq. Distresses of his army, 107. Battle of Kunderjah, 119. Triumphant return, 125. Distribution of provinees, 127. Further plans for subjugating the western Persian provinees, 128. Advanees, 130. Ereets palaees in the eonquered eountries, 134. Pushes his eonquests further west into Guilan, &e. 135. Hostilities with Shah Munsur, 139. Siege of Kellaselfeid, and subsequent vengeanee, 142. Personal gallantry at the battle of Shirauz, 144. Conquers Fars, 147, et seq. Operations against the Turkomans in Kurdestaun, 149. Invasion of

Irak Arab, 151, et seq. Overthrows Sultan Ahmed, 153, et seq. Pours the wines of Baghdad into the Tigris, 158. Sends an embassy to Egypt, 159. Advances further westward, 166. Projects the invasion of Syria and Egypt, 168. Final subjugation of the Turkomans, *ibid.* Pious resignation on the loss of his son Omar, 173. Difficult march into the Kouhestaun, 174. Advance towards Diaurbeker, 177. Invades Georgia, and persecutes the Christians, 184, et seq. Marches again for the Volga, 187. Immense army and campaign against Touktemesh, 188. Battle of Terek, 190. Advances towards the Black Sea, 196. Bounds of his western career on the Euxine, 197. Advances to Moscow, 198. Religious persecution in the eastern parts of Europe, &c. 201, 205. Overruns Circassia and directs his march towards Mount Caucasus, 200. Further conquests round the Caspian, 202. Returns into Persia, 204. Honours of reception on his march, 206. Military operations in Persia, 207. Overruns the southern provinces, 209, et seq. Improvements at Samarkand, 213, 218. New marriage, luxurious enjoyments, &c. 215. Receives an embassy from China, 217. Sends troops into Moghulstaun, *ibid.* His armies cross the Indus, 219. Political views in regard to the invasion of China and Hindustaun, 220, et seq. Advances towards the Indus, 221. Destroys the strong holds of the Siapoush, 222. Advances towards Kabul, 226. Diplomatic messages from Tartar princes, 227. Receives immense treasures from Persia, 228. Invades the Afghans, 229, et seq. Attempted assassination, 231. Plunder and pillage, 233. Crosses the Indus, 234. Receives an embassy of submission from Mekkah and Medeinah, *ibid.* First meets resistance in Hindustaun, 236. Generous distribution of treasures, 241. Advances towards Dehly, 243. Cruelties at siege of Batneir, 246. Further hostilities, 248, et seq. Collects his army and marches to Dehly, 250. Horrid massacre of his Hindu prisoners, 254. Contempt of astrology, 255. Battle before Dehly, 257. Defeats Sultan Mahmud, 260. Enters the capital, 262. Destruction of Dehly, 263, et seq. Transmits slaves and treasures to Samarkand, 266. Proceeds to further conquests, 267. Reaches the Ganges, 270, et seq. Gains the battle of Koupela, 274. Recrosses the Ganges, 276. Operations in the mountains of Sewaulck, 277, et seq. Receives tribute from Kashmeir, 282. Confers honours on his generals, 286. Leaves Hindustaun for Samarkand, 287, et seq. 291. Founds a Cathedral Mosque, 292. Proceeds towards Persia, 296. Favourable political intelligence from yet unconquered countries, 299. Prepares hostilities against the Georgians, 304. Improper conduct of his grandsons, 306. Advance by Georgia and Armenia against Bajazet, 313. Receives a European embassy, *ibid.* Sends diplomatic remonstrance to the Othman Emperor, 314. Family arrangements, and advance against the Othmans, 316, et seq. Capture of Sevauss, and further cruelties, 318. Political designs upon Syria and Egypt, 320, et seq. Capture of Aleppo, 332. Further military successes, 333, et seq. Attempted assassination, 336. Siege of Damascus, 340, et seq. Triumphs and political improvements, 349. Destroys Damascus, 351. Further conquests, 355, et seq. Sends troops to overrun Georgia, 359. Also towards Baghdad, *ibid.* Capture and destruction, 364. Recommences hostilities against Bajazet, 367, et seq. Proceedings in Georgia and Tartary, 370. Diplomatic intercourse with Bajazet, 374. Marches towards Anatolia, 377. Military proceedings, 378, et seq. Battle with Bajazet before Angouriah, 388. Victory, 393. Reception of the captive Bajazet, 394. Overruns Asia Minor, 396. Courtly festivities, 398, 404. Further advance, 398. Takes the whole of Bajazet's family prisoners, 399. His troops advance to the Bosphorus, 400. Demands tribute from the Sultan of Egypt and the Emperor of Constantinople, 404. Proceedings along the coasts of the Mediterranean, 405, et seq. Assumes power in Europe, 416. Policy, 418, et seq. Favours to the family of the deceased Bajazet, 423. Loses his favourite grandson and destined heir, 424. Receives homage from the Egyptian Sultan, 426, et seq. Policy respecting the Karatatarian colony in Anatolia and Armenia, 428. Return towards Samarkand, 432. Further events in Georgia, 434, et seq. In Persia, 435. Georgian tribute, 445. Financial justice, 447, 462. Politics and cruelties, 448. Remarkable occurrences in the last year of his life, 453, et seq. Hostile march against the rebel Eskunder, 459. Returns to Samarkand, 463. Holds a parliament with great magnificence, 467. Prepares for the subjugation of China, *ibid.* His march towards that country, 474. Anecdotes and omens, 475, et seq. Oriental moralizing, 478. Arrives at Otraur, illness and death, political arrangements, family, &c. &c. 479, et seq.

*Teymur Kaan*, (Ouljaytu) fifth monarch of the race of Jenguiez, ii. 559. Love of justice, 560. Dies, 561.

*Teymur Melek*, a brave Khaurezmian prince, ii. 506.

*Teymûr Taush*, rebellious ambition, ii. 657.

*Teymûr Taush*, Governor of Aleppo, defence against the Moghuls, iii. 325, 337.

Teymurian Succession, various competitors, iii. 486, et seq.

*Thaubet*, the Neherwanian, gallant conduct at the battle of Semender, i. 559.

*Theophilus*, the Greek Emperor, ii. 141, 145.

*Thirst*, remarkable anecdote of, iii. 157.

*Thrace*, first occupied by the Othmans, iii. 403.

*Thunder*, Tartarian superstitions respecting, ii. 546.

TIGRIS, first passed by Mosslems, i. 120—ii. 18. Remarkable dream of the Khalif Ul Muatezzed, 166. Fatal inundation depopulates Baghdad, 702. Its passage by Teymur's army after the capture of Baghdad, iii. 154, 159. Countries bordering on, submit to Teymur, 169.

TIPPOO SULTAUN, contempt for other Sovereigns, iii. 465.

*Tirhut*, district of, taken by the Moghuls, iii. 761.

*Tobolsk*, city of, uncertainty of early geography, iii. 102.

*Togha Teymur Khaun*, invested by rebels with royal authority in Iran, ii. 680, et seq. 688.

*Toghai Khaun*, a celebrated Hindu General, at the battle of Delhi, iii. 257.

*Toghai Shah*, daughter of Teymur, her death, its consequences, iii. 32, 40.

*Toghatchaur*, son-in-law of Jengueiz, falls at Neyshapur, ii. 524. His death horribly revenged by his widow, 525.

*Toghatchaur*, a Moghul chief, ii. 600.

*Tokharestaun*, country of, iii. 7.

*Tokhaurjan*, extraordinary anecdote of, i. 134.

*Toghluk Teymur Khaun*, invades Kesh, and rouses the youthful Teymur to arms, iii. 8, 10.

*Toghlukpour*, a town in India, inhabited by the disciples of Zoroaster, iii. 251, 271.

*Toghmauk* Tartars, iii. 77.

TOGHREL BEG, first noticed, ii. 155. Advances towards Baghdad and takes it, 192. Conquers Mossule, and suppresses rebellions, 193. Again noticed; Extends his fame to the court of Sultan Mahmud, 345. Becomes first monarch of the Seljucides in Khorassaun, 346. Dies, and is succeeded by his nephew, 194, 348.

*Toghrel Haujeb*, the traitor, a Turkish chief, ii. 302.

*Tohanah*, station of, massacre of banditti by Teymur, iii. 249.

*Toledo*, its capture by the Saracens, i. 477.

*Toleration*, oriental instance of, ii. 497.

*Tolumbah*, town of, in Hindustaun, pillaged by Teymur, iii. 237.

*Tomaun Aga*, consort of Teymur, founds an hospital at Samarkand, iii. 291.

*Touatcheis*, commissaries of array in Teymurian army, iii. 57.

*Toukta Beiggy*, Khaun of Mekreit, defeated and slain by Jengueiz, ii. 487.

TOUKTEMESH KHAUN, hostilities with Teymur, ii 63, et seq. 84, et seq.

*Toumen*, the Nikoudrian prince, hostilities with Teymur, iii. 47.

*Touzûn*, Ameir-Ul-Umra, betrays the Khalif Ul Mutekky, ii. 181.

*Towlek Koutchin*, a faithful general, rewarded by Homayun, iii. 905.

*Towukkel Hindwi Kerkerrah*, cuts off the Jatt banditti in the Junguls, iii. 249.

*Traditions*, oriental, respecting the flood, ii. 457.

*Transoxiana*, submits to the House of Seljuk, ii. 352. Invasion and cruelties of the Moghul tribes under Jengueiz Khaun, 513.

*Treachery*, extraordinary anecdote of, i. 559.

*Treasure*, discovered by a curious incident, ii. 236.

*Tubbus-Killeky*, route to Isfahaun, iii. 837.

*Tukkesh Khaun*, fifth of the Khaurezm Shahies, ii. 394.

*Tukna Khaun*, a Tartar prince, battle of Jund, ii. 403.

*Tulleihah*, attempts a new imposture, i. 29. Defeated, 31.

*Tulleihah*, son of Taher, succeeds to power in Khorassaun, ii. 226.

*Tuly Khaun*, son of Jengueiz, his military progress, ii. 519. His share of the Empire of Jengueiz, 537, et seq. 540. Invades China, and dies, 543.

*Tun*, river, the modern Don, iii. 197.

*Tungah*, a small Indian coin, iii. 948.

*Tungouzleg*, mountainous pass near to, iii. 403, 410.

*Tur*, son of Feridun the happy monarch, ii. 468.

*Turakeina*, a Jengueizian dowager, her bloody politics, ii. 549.

*Turan Shah*, third of the Seljuks in Kermaun, ii. 384.

*Turaun*, succession of its princes from Tcheghatai Khaun, iii. 3, et seq.

Turk, founder of the Turkish nation, supposed to be a son of Yapheth, ii. 458, 460.

*Turkan*, sultaness of Farss, her sagacity, ii. 428. Murdered by her husband, 429.

*Tûrkan Khatûn*, princess of Khorassaun, ii. 355, et seq. 358.

*Tûrkan Khâtûn*, sultaness of Khaurcsm, drowns the young princes in her flight towards Mazanderaun, ii. 404, et seq. 534.

*Turkestaun*, kingdom of, ii. 246. Invasion of the Moghuls under Jengueiz Khaun, 514.

Turkomauns, first noticed by name, ii. 313. Origin and name, 465. Subjugated by Teymur, iii. 65. Vide *Shah Rokh*.

*Turks*, first noticed by that name, ii. 284.

*Tuss*, ancient city of, restored by Harun ur Rashid, ii. 60. Besieged by the Moghul troops of Teymur, iii. 88.

*Tyranny*, extraordinary anecdote of, ii. 449.

*Tyrant*, terrors of one, ii. 694.

U.

Ul Amein Billah, son of Harun ur Rashid, birth, ii. 58. Appointed to the succession in infancy, 60. His brother associated with him, 64, 85. Succeeds to the Khelaufut, 90. Policy, 91. Neglect of government, 93. Curious fishing anecdote, 99. Inefficient treachery, 100. Military contests with his brother, 101. Deposed, 104. Restored, 105. Further contests, 106, et seq. Anecdote of a broken vase, 112. Attempts to escape and is taken prisoner, 113. Slain, 114. Horoscope, 116.

*Ul Amyr*, tenth of the Egyptian Khalifs, ii. 323.

*Ul Auzzed*, last of the Fatimite Khalifs in Egypt, ii. 326.

*Ul Azziz*, fifth of the Egyptian Khalifs, ii. 319.

*Ul Faeiz*, thirteenth of the Fatimite Khalifs, ii. 325.

*Ul Hafez*, eleventh of the Egyptian Khalifs, ii. 324.

*Ul Hakem*, sixth Egyptian Khalif, ii. 319. Good policy and patriotic government, 320. Extraordinary murder of, 321.

*Ul Haudy Billah*, appointed successor to Mehedy, ii. 26. Assumes the Khelaufut, 40. Intrigues of his mother, 52. Death, 54, et seq.

Ul Kader, grandson of Muktedder, called to the Khelaufut, ii. 188. Dreams and miracles; reduces the power of the Ameirs, 189. Recovers Syria, nominates his son to the succession, patronizes Ferdoussy, the Persian poet, and dies, 190.

*Ul Kaeim*, second Fatimite Khalif, ii. 317.

*Ul Kaeim Bimmer*, succeeds to the Khelaufut, ii. 191. His power diminished, 192. Forms matrimonial unions with the family of Toghrel Beg, and dies, 194.

*Ul Kaher*, elected to the Khelaufut, ii. 175, 177. Injudicious conduct, and melancholy fate, 178.

Ul Mamun, son of the Khalif Harun, associated with his brother as co-heir, ii. 63, 85. Conduct on the accession of his brother, 90, et seq. Degraded by his brother, but assumes the title of Imaum, 95. Military successes in Khorassaun 98. In arms against his brother, 99, et seq. Proclaimed on the deposition of his brother, 104. Further contests, 105, et seq. Succeeds to the Khelaufut, 115. Various revolts, 121, et seq. Political intrigues, 128. Puts Harethmath to death, 129. Insurrections in Persia, 132. Plan to appease revolt by appointment of a successor, 133, et seq. Changes the succession from the House of Abbas to that of Ally, 135. Changes his plans on death of Ally Ruzza, 139. Marries Bûran, daughter of Hussun Sohel, 140. Attacks the supposed divine authority of the Koran, *ibid.* Nominates Mutâssem his successor, 141. Engaged in war with the Greek Emperor, *ibid.* Illness and death, 142. Recapitulation of various parts of his history, with anecdotes, 224.

*Ul Mehedy Billah*, appointed successor to Ul Munsur, ii. 20. Character, 21. Assumes the Khelaufut, 23. Pilgrimage to Mekkah, 26. Settles the succession, *ibid.* Numerous anecdotes of his reign, 27. Of his death, 31, et seq.

*Ul Melek-ur-raheim*, of the race of Buyah, ii. 271.

*Ul Mouffek*, defeated at Bassorah, ii. 163. Death, 165.

*Ul Muatemmed*, son of Ul Mutewukkel, raised to the Khelaufut, ii. 163. Attempts to regulate the succession in his own family, 164. Death, 166.

*Ul Muatezzed*, son of Mouffek, defeats the Zenguies, and is chosen heir-apparent, ii. 165. Called to the Khelaufut, 166. Dreams and apparitions, 167. Prudent conduct towards the Schismatics, 169. Subsequent cruelty, 170 and death.

*Ul Muattez Billah*, son of Ul Mutewukkel, abdicates his claim to the Khelaufut, ii. 156. De-

feats and murders his rival Ul Mustayne, and ascends the throne, 159. Jealousies excited towards his brother, 160. Seized by revolted guards, and dies, 161.

*Ul Muezz-ud-dein*, fourth Fatimite Khalif, ii. 318.

*Ul Muhtedy*, son of Ul Wauthek, raised to the Khelaufut, ii. 161. Murdered, 163.

*Ul Muktedder*, son of Ul Muatezzed, accedes to the Khelaufut, ii. 173. Youthful gallantry, 174. Politics, 175, et seq. Taken prisoner by rebels and slain, 176.

*Ul Mukteddy Billah*, son of Ul Kaeim, succeeds to the Khelaufut, ii. 195. Marries the daughter of Sultaun Melek Shah, 196; and death.

*Ul Mukteffy*, son of Ul Muatezzed, appointed to the succession, ii. 170. Ascends the throne, 171. Overpowers revolt in Syria, and dies, 172, et seq.

*Ul Muktefky*, son of Mustezhir, succeeds to the Khelaufut, ii. 202. Restores some splendour to the Khelaufut, and dies, 203.

Ul Munsur, or Almanzor, first known as Abû Jauffer, escapes from the fury of the Khalif Merwaun, i. 592. Takes command of his brother's army, ii. 2. Proceeds as Ameir of the Pilgrims to Mekkah, 5. Various competitors, 7. Quarrel with Abû Mosslem, 9. Orders his assassination, 11. Refuses divine honours offered by a new sect, 14. Founds Baghdad, 17. Death prophesied, 20. Death and character, 21.

*Ul Munsur*, third Fatimite Khalif, ii. 317.

*Ul Muntuzzer Billah*, son of Ul Mutewukkel, injudicious education, ii. 153. Its results, 155. Succeeds to the Khelaufut, 156. Sets aside the succession of his brothers, *ibid.* Sees his father's ghost, and dies, 157.

*Ul Musstayne Billah*, succeeds to the Khelaufut, ii. 157. Revolts and conspiracies, disputes of the Maumluks, 158. Abdicates, and is assassinated, 159.

*Ul Mustanser*, eighth of the Egyptian Khalifs, ii. 322.

*Ul Mustaully*, ninth of the Egyptian Khalifs, ii. 323.

*Ul Mustaussem*, grand-son of Mustunser, succeeds to the Khelaufut, ii. 213. Hostilities with the descendants of Jengueiz Khaun, 215. Injudicious conduct, 216. Is captured by Hulauku, and murdered, thereby ending the race of the House of Abbas, 223.

*Ul Mustekfy*, son of Muktefly, raised to the Khelaufut, ii. 182. His eyes put out, and dies, 183.

*Ul Mustershid*, succeeds to the Khelaufut, ii. 198. Displays ability, 199. Taken prisoner and murdered, 200.

*Ul Mustezhir*, son of Muktedy, succeeds to the Khelaufut, ii. 196. And death, 197.

*Ul Mustunjid*, son of Mukteffy, succeeds to the Khelaufut, ii. 203. Anecdotes of his reign, 204. Dies.

*Ul Mustunser*, son of Ul Zaher, succeeds to the Khelaufut, ii. 211. Patriotic conduct, 212. Founds the college of Mustansriah, and dies, 213.

*Ul Mustunzy*, son of Mustunjid, succeeds to the Khelaufut, ii. 205. Political errors, and death, 207.

*Ul Mutaussem*, son of the Khalif Harun, ii. 89. called Abû Ishank, advances into Yemen in support of his brother's authority, 127. Nominated successor to the Khelaufut by his brother Ul Mamun, 141. Succeeds, 142. Proceeds against the followers of the impostor Baubek, 143. Founds the city of Saumerah, *ib.* War with the Greek Emperor, 145. Defeats, revolt, 146. Death and characteristic anecdotes, 147.

*Ul Muteiah*, son of Muktedder, raised to the Khelaufut, ii. 184. Abdicates and dies, 185.

*Ul Mutekky Ullah*, son of Muktedder, advanced to the Khelaufut, ii. 180. Experiences a decline of power, *ib.* Political deceit, 181. Death, 182.

*Ul Mutewukkel*, succeeds to the Khelaufut, and persecutes Jews and Christians, ii. 151. Attempted regulation of succession to the Khelaufut, *ib.* Insults the memorials of the house of Ally, 152. His follies, 153. Murdered by his slaves, 154.

*Ul Nausser-ud-dein*, son of Mustunzy, succeeds to the Khelaufut, ii. 208. Patriotic conduct, 209. Death, 210.

*Ul Rashid*, son of Mustershid, succeeds to the Khelaufut, ii. 201. Murdered, 202.

*Ul Ranzy*, accession to the Khelaufut, ii. 178. Occurrences and death, 179.

*Ul Taeiah*, son of Ul Muteiah, succeeds to the Khelaufut, ii. 185. Unhappy sovereignty and death, 187.

*Ul Wauthek*, son of Ul Mutassem, succeeds to the Khelaufut, ii. 149. Attacks the orthodoxy of the Koran, 150. Cured of the dropsy by baking in a stove, *ib.* Death and benevolent character, *ib.*

*Ul Zaher*, son of Ul Nausser, succeeds to the Khelaufut, ii. 210. Anticipates destruction and dies, 211.

*Ul Zauffer*, twelfth of the Egyptian Khalifs, ii. 325.

*Ul Zauhir*, seventh of the Egyptian Khalifs, ii. 321.

*Ulema*, vide *Islâm*.

*Ulshansh*, or Taushkent, territory of, iii. 13.

*Ulûgh Nûyan*, the fourth son of Jengueiz, so entitled, ii. 500.

*Ur* of the Chaldees, the modern Rouha, or Edessa, iii. 168.

*Ustaud Husseyne*, son of Hussun Sabah, becomes the victim of his father's rigid justice, ii. 335.

*Usun Cassanes*, (Ozun Hussun,) so called, iii. 608.

V.

*Valley*, romantic, in Tartary, ii. 469.

*Van*, lake of, advance and check of the Turkomauns, ii. 703.

*Van*, fortress of, its fabulous origin, iii. 68.

*Vanity*, inebriated, whimsical anecdote of, iii. 739.

*Verujerd*, fortress of, iii. 525.

*Vezzaurut*, dangers of political power, ii. 659.

*Victory*, chapter of, in the Koran, twelve thousand times repeated by order of Shah Rokh, iii. 540.

*Volga*, river, its banks first peopled, ii. 458,—553.

*Vulture*, curious anecdote of, ii. 292.

WAKAAT-E-BABERY, a history written by Sultan Baber, iii. 672.

*Waleid-ul-Aukkebah*, takes command of Kufah, good government, and disgrace from wine-drinking, i. 153. Stimulates Mauweiah to revolt, 243. Conduct at Seffeine, 269, et seq. Curious dispute, 298, 414.

*Walid*, son of Abdulmelek, succeeds to the Khelaufut, i. 466. Enlarges the Mosque at Medeinah, and commences hostilities against the Greek Emperor, 468. Death, 482. Character and reign, 483.

*Walid*, son of Yezzeid, succeeds to the Khelaufut, i. 572. Is murdered, 573.

*Wall*, great, of China, ii. 489.

*Warfare*, Tartarian mode of, described, iii. 102. et seq.

*Washnagueir*, son of Zebbaur, ii. 254. His origin and usurpation of Jurjaun, 272. His descendants, 273, et seq.

*Wasseif*, governor of Baghdad, murdered by the Tartar guards, ii. 160.

*Wasseif*, general of Ul Mukteffy, defeats the Schismatics, ii. 172.

*Wandy-ul-jinn*, the desart of the Genii, battle at, i. 416.

*Waussit*, siege of, ii. 2.

*Weddiug*, royal, extraordinary one, ii. 195.

*Weiss Terkhan*, with his fellow Ameirs, put to death, iii. 587.

*Werkan*, siege of, and patriotic devotedness of a Baylekanite, i. 551.

*Weyss*, the son of Sedkah, conquers for, and quarrels with, the Khalif Ul Mustershid, ii. 198.

*Wheel Carriages*, extraordinary, of the Tartars, iii. 125.

*Widow*, horrible revenge for the death of her husband, ii. 525.

*Wine*, drinking of, first punished, i. 146.

*Wolf*, anecdote of one, ii. 547.

*Women*, Egyptian, making of their shoes forbidden, in order to keep them at home, ii. 320.

*Women*, present of, rejected by a Tartar prince, iii. 303.

Y.

YADGAUR NAUSSER MIRZA, a moghul general, iii. 746, ante et seq.

*Yaheya*, son of Abdullah ul Hûsseyny, revolts against Harun ur Rashid, and claims the Khelaufut, ii. 61, et seq. 70. Murdered, 72.

*Yaheya*, son of Khaled, raised to the vizzaurut, and commences the influence of the Barmecides, ii. 6, 41.

*Yaheya*, son of Omar, excites insurrection at Kufah, ii. 157.

*Yaheya*, son of Regzuiah, subjects Syria to the power of the Keraumitah, ii. 171.

*Yaheya*, son of Zaid, anecdotes of oriental treachery, and death, i. 572.

*Yakoub*, governor of Angouriah, his gallant defence against Teymur, iii. 387.

*Yakub*, son of Dâoûd, ii. 27. Extraordinary anecdote, 29.

*Yakub*, son of Laiss, founder of the Sûfauriah dynasty, origin, and revolt, ii. 164. Extends power from Sejestaun into Khorassaun, ii. 228. First of the Sûfauriah, 229. Military progress, 230. Death, 165, 231.

*Yakub-ul-Fuzzul*, heresy and crimes, ii. 51.

YAPHETH, son of Noah, considered as founder of the Tartar monarchy, ii. 457.

*Yapheth Oghlan*, his origin, ii. 459.

*Yathreb*, vide *Medeinah*.

*Yaughy Pausty*, contest with Melek Ashruf for the throne of Persia, ii. 689, 692, et seq.

*Yaumbulauk*, its uncertain geography, iii. 152.

*Yaurken*, a city of Kashgar, iii. 704.

*Year*, its commencement changed, and why, ii. 170.

*Yehkum Mukauny*, his usurped power, ii. 155.

*Yeik Souffy*, a Teymurian general, his disloyalty, iii. 179, ante et seq.

*Yeissy*, town of, extraordinary mausoleum erected by Teymur, iii. 216.

*Yelduz*, city of, iii. 98.

*Yelduz Khaun*, an early Tartar prince, considered as the legitimate origin of the Khauniet ii. 471.

*Yellow River*, incursions of the Moghuls, ii. 557.

*Yemaumah*, extraordinary warfare of Mosseylemah, and Shujia, i. 35. Attacked by Khaled, 41. Taken, 50.

YEMEN, its government usurped by Asswad, i. 28. Events on arrival of Abdullah Abbas, 192. Bribery of the tribes by Mauweiah, 312.

*Yenesei* river, distribution of captives near, by Teymur, iii. 97.

*Yenguisheher*, or the New City, iii. 399, 401.

*Yermuk*, river, battle of, i. 74, et seq.

*Yeshmout*, the Moghul prince, his cruelties at Mardein, &c. ii. 566.

*Yessaowels*, Tartarian officers of state, iii. 469.

*Yezd*, siege of, and horrid sufferings, iii. 209.

*Yezdaur Kotwaul*, defends the citadel of Damascus, against Teymur, iii. 345.

YESDEJIRD, last Persian Prince of ancient dynasty, i. 102. Military operations, 105. Negociations, 106. Defeated at battle of Kaudsiah, 110. Further defeats, abandons his capital, 119. Medaein taken, 121. Prepares further resistance, but loses battle of Nihawend, 129. His fate decided, 131. Becomes a fugitive, 135, 138. Raises troops, but is defeated at Istakhar, 159. Death, 160, et seq.

*Yezzeid*, succeeds Walid in the Khelaufut, i. 573. Dies, 574.

*Yezzeid*, son of Abdulmelek, surprizes the Mirzebaun, prince of Jurjaun, by an Antelope, i. 504. Besieges and captures the city, slaughter of the citizens, and bloody fulfilment of an oath, 505. Impolicy, 506. Succeeds to the Khelaufut, 528. Insurrections, 533. Cruelties towards rebels, 540. Dies for love, 547.

*Yezzeid*, son of Amru ben Hobairah, injudicious policy, i. 585. His lieutenant defeated, 594, 597.

*Yezzeid*, son of Aunis, gains a victory at Monssule, i. 435. Cruelties after the battle, 436.

*Yezzeid*, son of Husseyne, offered the supremacy of the Khouauredjc, i. 332.

*Yezzeid*, son of Mauweiah, undertakes the first Mosslem expedition into Greece, i. 383. Designated by his father to the succession, 385. His father's death-bed address, 387. Becomes Khalif, 389. Political Arrangements, 390. Insurrections at Mekkah and Medeinah, 391. Shameful treatment of the head of Husseyne, 410. Various changes of officers, 412. Death, observations, 419.

*Yezzeid*, son of Mohilleb, curious diplomacy, i. 462. Political elevation, 486. Rebellion, and escape from the Khalif, 528. Takes Bassorah, 529. Battle of Gheffer, 538. Defeated, and falls, 539.

*Yohssah*, near Bhoujepour, battle of, between Homayun and Sheir Khaun, where the former is defeated by surprize, iii. 771.

*Yuness Khaun*, appointed governor of Rey, ii. 395.

*Yurut*, original territory of the Moghuls, how reconquered, ii. 470.

*Yussuf Beg*, a youthful soldier, loses his life rashly in battle with Sheir Khaun, the Afghan, near Jounpour, iii. 763.

*Yussuf Kotewaul*, assassinates Alep Arslan, ii. 350.

*Yussuf Mahommed Khaun*, anecdote related by, iii. 812.

*Yûssuf Souffy*, Prince of Khaurezm, hostilities with Teymur, iii. 19, et seq.

Z.


ZABUL, province of, submits to Teymur, iii. 51.

*Zaid*, son of Zeyne-ul-aubbedein, aspires to the Khelaufut, i. 569. Falls, 570.

*Zauhed Beg*, his treachery towards Homaynn, iii. 769.

*Zawah*, a city of Khorassaun, folly and fate of its inhabitants ii. 511.

*Zeheir*, son of Mosseib, attempts to repress revolt at Kufah, but is defeated, ii. 122.

*Zeiad ben Ommeyah*, made governor of Bassorah for his skill in penmanship, i. 230.

*Zeiai-ul-mulk*, palace of, horrid conflagration at, iii. 58.

*Zeiaud*, son of Salah, revolt and death, ii. 5.

*Zeiaud*, son of Seimmeiah his origin, i. 379. His rise in political life under Omar and Ally, 380. Acknowledged to be half-brother to Mauweiah, 381. Government at Bassorah, 382. And at Kufah, 383. Miraculous events connected with his death, 384.

*Zeid*, son of Keiss, heads conspiracy against Othman at Kufah, i. 167.

*Zeid-ul-naur*, the son of Mûssa, captures Bassorah, ii. 123, 125. revolts against Ul Mamûn, 130.

*Zemmah*, in Buddukshaun, iii. 884.

*Zendah Peil*, the raging Elephant, an oriental sirname, iii. 796.

ZENDICISM, a new sect, history, ii. 43.

*Zengui*, or Zengbar, slaves, their revolt at Bassorah, ii. 162.

*Zerah*, (Zarenje) lake and fortress of, captured by Teymur, iii. 43.

*Zerdusht*, vide *Zoroaster*.

*Zerrhagurs*, a people, manufacturers of arms, spared by Teymur, and why, iii. 206.

*Zeyneb*, daughter of Ally, heroic conduct in captivity, i. 409, 411.

*Zeyne-ul-aubedein Ally*, son of Imaum Husseyne prudent conduct at Medeinah, i. 415.

*Zeytch-e-Eylekhauny*, oriental astronomical tables, ii. 574.

*Zhulaunah*, an oriental mode of punishment, now unknown, iii. 862.

*Ziauretgah*, place of religious resort, near Herat, iii. 839.

*Ziljousheny*, horrible cruelties, i. 407.

*Zitui*, battle of, ii. 43.

*Zobaidah*, favorite consort of Harun Ur Rashid, good deeds and character, ii. 89.

*Zobair*, son of Ul Awaum, named elector for the Khelaufut, i. 142, 148. Conducts the army of Mahommed's widow, 195, et seq. 224.

*Zohauk*, son of Keyss, interrupts supplies of Ally at Seffeine, i. 273. Defeat, *ibid.* Rebellion and death, 423.

*Zohauk*, country of iii. 903. et seq.

*Zoroaster*, remains of his disciples in India, iii. 251.

*Zuffer*, a fortress of Buddukhshaun, iii. 704.

*Zuffur*, town of, its obscure geography, perhaps Badakshaun, 881.

*Zuffurnamah*, or the Teymurian Chronicle, iii. 210, 553.

*Zul-Kaudrians*, a pastoral tribe in the vicinity of Palmyra, iii. 354.

*Zul-reiaussetein*, vezzeir to Ul Mamun, proposes the delegation of the succession to the house of Ally ii. 133. Deceives the Khalif, 137. Belief in astrology, 138.

*Zûlyemnein*, the Khalif Ul Amein murdered by his orders, ii. 105, 114.


CAUTION TO THE BINDER.

The amended Title Pages to be substituted for those at present annexed to this Volume.

Princeton Theological Seminary Library
1 1012 01461 7239